

THE

HISTORIE

OF THE

WORLD,

IN FIVE BOOKS.

THE FIRST.

Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the Creation unto Abraham.

THE SECOND.

Of the Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the Temple of SALOMON.

THE THIRD,

From the destruction of Jerusalem to the time of Philipof Macedon.

THE FOURTH

From the Reign of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the establishing of that Kingdom in the Race of Antigonus.

THE FIFTH.

From the settled Rule of ALEXANDERS Successors in the East, untill the ROMANS (prevailing over all) made Conquest of ASIA and MACEDON.

By Sir WALTER RALEOH, Knight.

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M DC LX VI.

THE MIND OF THE FRONT.

Rom Death and dark Oblivion (neer the same)
The Mistris of Mans life, grave H 1 S T O R Y,
Raising the World to good, or evil F A M E,
Doth vindicate it to E TERNITY.

High PROVIDENCE would so: that nor the Good Might be defrauded, nor the Great secur'd, But both might know their wayes are understood, And the reward and punishment assur'd.

This makes, that lighted by the heamy hand
Of TRUTH, which fearcheth the most hidden springs,
And guided by EXPERIENCE; whose straight W and
Doth mete, whose Line doth sound the depth of things;

She cheerfully supported what she rears:
Assisted by no strengths, but are her own.
Some note of which each varied Pillar bears,
By which, as proper Titles she is known,

Times Witness, Herald of Antiquity, The Light of Truth, and Life of Memory.



The true and a lively nortraiture of the bonourable Raley Raley Raley R. Raley D. Ra



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s. VIII. Lucius Scipio, having with him feus, he dieth. Publius the African his elder brother, for his In what fort the Romans used their victory. L. Warring upon him. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous Triumph over Antiochus, is surnamed The Asia- bussed with Pharnaces, the Rhodians, and o-

and diferaced. Nabis befiegeth Gyttheum, and of Rome to the two Scipios: and that beginning

CHAP. VI.

The second Macedon War.

§. I.

He condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were affectates the Etolian, comes over into Greece, ill attend- of the Romans, when the war with Antiochus

S.II. The death of Philopæmen, Hanni-

S. III. Philip making provision for war anocent, and intending to revenge it on Per-

§. 1 V. How the Baftarnæ fell upon Darda-Licetenant, is sent into Greece. He grants long nia. The behaviour of Perseus in the beginning truce to the Atolians, that so he might at leisure of his reign. Some wars of the Romans: and passe into Asia. Much troublesome businesse by how they suffered Masanilia cruelly to oppresse Sea, and divers fights. An invasion upon Eu- the Carthaginians. They quarrelled with Persemenes his Kingdome: with the fiege of Perga- us. They allow not their confederates to make mus, raised by an handfull of the Acheans. L. war without their leave obtained. The treason of Scipio the Confull comes into Asia, where An- Callicrates, whereby all Greece became more tiochus most earnestly descres peace, and is de- obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. nied it. The battell of Magnelia: wherein An- Further quarrels to Perseus. He seeks friendtiochus being vanquifted, yieldeth to the Ro- Ship of the Acheans, and is withflood by Calmans good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. licrates. The Romans discover their intent of

§. V. How Eumenes King of Pergamus was tique, as his brother was sliled, The Afri- thers. His batred to the Macedonian: whom he accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate §. IX. The Ætolians and Gallo-Greeks, honours him greatly, and contemns his enevanquished by the Roman Consuls Fulvius and mies the Rhodians with the causes thereof. Manlius. Manlius hardly obtains a Triumph: The unufual frontness of the Macedonian Embeing charged (among other Objections) with bassadours. Perseus his attempt upon Eumeattempting to have passed the bounds appointed nes, the brotherly love between Eumenes and as fatal to the Romans by Sibyl. Of sibyls Pro- Attalus. Perseus his device to posson some of phelies; the Books of Hermes; and that in the Roman Senators: whereupon they decree Gription Simon Deo Sancto. The ingratitude War against him, and send him defiance, other things concerning the justice of this Tempe, the Town of Dium quitted by Marti-

joyn with them in the war against Perseus, tius a cunning and a bad man, How the Greeks flood affelled in that war. S. VIII. of L. Æmylius Paulus, the Con-The timeronfiest of Perseus. Martius a Roman ful. His journer. He forceth Perseus to discamp. have had, but loft by his fear. Perfeus braves is fent prisoner to Emylius. the Romans, fights with them, knows not how to \$. 1 X. Gentius King of the Illyrians, taken use his victory, sues for peace, and is denied it by the Romans. by the vanguished. Perfeus having the worst in a | §. X. How the Romans behaved themselves skirmish, forsakes all the Country lying without in Greece and Macedon, after their victory Tempe. The Beatians rebell against the Ro-over Perseus.

mans, and are victorionsly punished. The Ro
5. XI. The war of Antiochus ngon Egypt man Commanders unfortunate in the war a- brought to end by the Roman Embassadors. gainst Perseus. They vex the Greeks their S. XII. How the Romans were dreadfulunfriends; for whose ease the Senate makes pro- to all Kings. Their demeanour towards Eumevision, having heard their complaints. The nes, Prusias, Masanista, and Cotys. The end flattering Alabanders.

extrem difficulty and danger enters into Tem- cius, and Octavius : With the conclusion of the pe. The Comardize of Perseus in abandoning Work.

us, repaired and fortified by the King. The Ro-\$. VI. The Romans folicite the Greeks to mans attempt many places, with ill fuccefs. Mar-

Embassadour deludes him with the hope of peace. He will not hazzard battel with any disadvan-His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of tage. Of an Ecclipse of the Moon. Emylius his fu-Thesialy. The forces of Licinius the Roman perstition. The battel of Pydna. Perseus his Conful: and what affiftance the Romans had flight. He forfakes his Kingdom; which haftily in this war. Of Tempe in Thessaly; and yields to Æmylius. Perseus at Samothrace. what advantages the Macedonian had, or might He yields himself to the Roman Admiral: and

of Perseus and his children. The instability of S. VII. Q. Martius the Roman Conful, with Kingly Estates. The triumphs of Paulus, Ani-

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THE PREFACE

Ow unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my felf, to undertake a Work of this mixture; mine own reason, though exceeding weak, hath sufficiently resolved me. For had it been begotten then, with my first dawn of day, when the light of common knowledg began to open it self to my younger years, and before any wound received, either from Fortune or

Time: I might yet well have doubted, that the darkneß of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Greation, I have proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly, purposed (some sew sallies excepted) to consine my Discourse, with this our renowned Island of Great Britain. I consess that it had better sorted with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out inother travels, to have set together (as I could) the unjointed and scattered frame of our English assairs, than of the Universal: in whom, had there been no other desect (who am all desect) than the time of the day, it were enough: the day of a tempessions life, drawn on to be very evening ere I began. But those inmost and soul-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured, with the desire to satisfy those sew friends, which I have tried by the streof Adversity; the former ensorcing, the later persuading; have caused me to make my thoughts legible, and my self the subject of every Opinion, wise or weak.

To the World I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were (Fortune changing) sped much better in any Age. For Prosperity and Adversity have evermore tyed and ontyed vulgar affections. And as we see it in Experience, That Doggs do always bark at those they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so it is with the inconsiderate multitude; who, wanting that Vertue which we call Honesty in all men, and that especial gift of GOD, which we call Charity in Christian men; condemn without hearing, and wound without offence given: led thereunto by uncertain Report only; which His Majesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. I is a monoing to the support of the support only; which His Majesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. I is a monoing to the support only; which His Majesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. I is a monoing to the support only; which His Majesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. I is a monoing to the support of the suppo

Rumour is without Witness, without Judge, malicious, and deceivable. This vanity of vulgar Opinion it was, that gave S. Augustine Argument to affirm, That he feared the times or amari praise of good men, and detested that of the evil. And herein no man hath given a better Rule, a milis deasters than this of Seneca; Conscientiæ satisfaciamus: nihil in samam laboremus, sequatur sen deins.

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vel mala, dum bene merearis; Let us satissie our own Consciences, and not trouble our selves with same; be it never so ill, it is to be despised, so we deserve well.

For my self, if I have in any thing served my Country, and prized it before my private: the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair Sun-shine day to a Sea-man after Shipwrack; and the contrary no other harm, than an outragious tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the love of many, for my stdelity towards tempest after the Rort attained. I know that I lost the love of many, for my stdelity towards there whom I must still bonour in the dust; though surther than the desence of Her excellent Her whom I must still bonour in the dust; though surther than the desence of Her excellent Person, I never persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Fudg of all the World, bath taken the accompt: so as for this kind of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that have made themselves Fathers of that same, which hath been begotten for them; I can neither envy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine own mishap in that kind; but content my self to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, in many particulars. To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope, seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travel the World without a Pass-port. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internal forms of the mind, as there are external sigures of men; there were then some possibility to persuade by the mouth of one

Advocate, even Equity alone.

But fuch is the multiplying, and extensive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breathgiving life which God hath cast upon slime and dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read and hear; and among those that are, whom we see and converse with; every one hath received a several Picture of face, and every one a divers Picture of mind; every one of form a-part, every one a fancy and cognitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is sound segreat diversity of Opinions; so strong a contrarity of inclinations: so many natural and unnatural; wise, soolish, manly, and childish affections and passions in mortal men. For it is not the visible sashion and shape of Plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the form internal.

And though it pleased God to reserve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himself; yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; so do the outward works of men (so farr as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to ghess at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to express the one by the other, very near the life, did not crast in many, sear in the most, and the World's love in all, the other, very near the life, did not crast in many, sear in the most, and the World's love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compass it hath, to qualifie and mass over their inward teach every capacity, according to the compass it hath, to qualifie and mass over their inward teach every capacity, according to the compass in hath, to qualifie and mass over their inward teach every capacity, according to the compass in that, no qualifie and mass over their inward teach every capacity, according to the compass the teach every capacity. No man can long conticito in naturam fuam residunt, quibus veritas non subset : No man can long conticito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subset : No man can long conticito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subset : No man can long conticito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subset : No man can long conticito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subset : No man can long conticito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subset : No man can long conticito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subset : No man can long conticito in naturam suam residunt, according to the residuation in the resid

tongues end.

In this great discord, and dis-similitude of reasonable Creatures, if we direct our selves to the In this great discord, and disserting the common People are with Multitude; Omnes honester rei malus Judex est vulgus: The common People are will Judges of honest things, and whose Wisdom (saith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised:

The Preface.

to the better fort; every understanding bath a peculiar judgment, by which it both censureth other men, and valueth it self. And therefore unto me it will not seem strange, though I find these my worthless Papers torn with Rats; seeing the slothfull Censurers of all Ages have not spared to tax the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the severess men to themselves, with Hypocrissis; the greatest lovers of Justice, with Popularity; and those of the truest Valour and Fortitude, with Vain-glory. But of these natures, which lie in wait to find fault, and to turn good into evil, seeing Solomon complained long since; and that the very Age of which selves the World renders it every day after other more malicious; I must leave the Prosessor their quant relations.

easie ways of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common and approved custom of those, who have left the memories of Time-past to after-Ages; to give, as near as I can, the same right to History which they have done. Yet, seeing therein I should but borrow other mens words; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it bath been honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane knowledg, That it hath given us life in our understanding, since the World it felf had life and begining, even to this day; yea, it hath triumphed over time, which, befides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledg over the vast and devouring space of many thousands of years, and given so fair and piercing eyes to our mind; that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great world, Magni Dei sapiens opus, The wife work (saith Hermes) of a great God, as it was then, when but new to it self. By it (I say) it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed; how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled; how Kings and Kingdoms have flourished and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt we ow unto History, that it bath made us acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and, out of the depth and darkness of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of History a policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries with our own like errors and ill deservings. But it is neither of Examples the most lively instruction, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that bath yet so wrought in our blind and stupisted mindes, as to make us remember, That the Infinite Eye and Wisdom of God doth pierce thorow all our pretences, as to make us remember, That the Justice of God doth require none other accuser, than our own consciences; which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacific the Opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, cover from his knowledg. And so much did that heathen Wisdom confess, no way as yet qualified by the knowledg of a true God: If any (faith Euripides) having in his life committed wickedness, think he can hide it from the everlasting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat GOD'S Judgments in particular, upon those of all degrees, which have played with his Mercies, would require a Volume a-part: for the Sea of Examples hath no bottom. The marks, set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the Earth; and their fortunes written onely in the memories of those that lived with them: so as they who succeeded, and have not seen the fall of others, do not sear their own faults. GOD'S Judgments upon

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the greater and greatest have been left to Posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their vertue, who have gathered the acts and ends of Men mighty and remarkable in the World. Now, to point farr off, and to speak of the conversion of Angels into Devils, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who have gnawn the grass of the earth with Beasts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or, of that wife working of Pharaoh, when he flew the Infants of Israel, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or, of the policy of Jezabel, in covering the murther of Naboth by a trial of the Elders, according to the Law, with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeless proof, that far-off Examples would not be left to the same far-off Respects, as heretofore? For who hath not observed, what labour, practice, peril, bloud-shed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the World have undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make themselves and their Issues Masters of the World? And yet bath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, and the rest, no fruit, no slower, grass, nor leaf, springing upon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No, their very roots and ruines do hardly remain. Omnia quæ manu hominum facta funt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel stando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length, by franding and continuing confumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diversly given by those that ground their Opinions on second causes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (say the Politicians) by outward and forein force, or by inward negligence and diffention, or by a third cause arising from both. Others observe, That the greatest have sunk down under their own weight; of which Livie bath a touch: eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret sua: Others, That the divine Providence (which Cratippus objected to Pompey) hath set down the date and period of every Estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my self a day over to resolve.

For seeing the first Books of the following Story, have undertaken the Discourse of the first Kings and Kingdoms: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface to travel after, and over-take far-off Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit bath been gathered by our own Kings, and their Neighbour Princes; who having beheld, both in divine and humane letters, the success of infidelity, injustice, and cruelty; have (not-

withstanding) planted after the same pattern.

True it is that the judgments of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred up alike with examples of like nature: But every one is touched most with that which most nearly seemeth to touch his own private; Or otherwise best sutab with his apprehension. But the judgments of GOD are for ever unchangeable; neither is be wearied by the long process of time, and won to give his blessing in one Age, to that which he hath curfed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom, if it he not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to discern the bitter fruits of irreligious policy, well among those examples that are found in Ages removed farr from the present, as in those of later times. And that it may no less appear by evident proof, than by affeveration, That ill doing bath always been attended with ill success; I will here, by way of Preface, run over some examples, which the Work ensuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman Race, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods Fustice, upon the children of Henry the First. For that King, when by force, craft, and cruelty, be had dispossess, over-reach'd, and lastly made blind, and destroyed his elder Brother, Robert, Duke of Normandy, to make his own Sons Lords of the Land; GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephews and Neeces (Maud excepted) into the bottom of the Sea. with above an hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the Kings dearly beloved.

To pass over the rest, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certain, that after the murther of that King, the iffue of bloud then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did again break out, and that so often, and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine Race(very few excepted) died of the same disease. And although the young years of Edward the Third, made his knowledg of that horrible fact no more than suspicious; yet, in that he afterwards caused his own Uncle, the Earl of Kent, to die, for no other offence, than the delire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earl as then supposed to be living; the King making that to be Treason in his Uncle, which was indeed Treason in himself, (had bis Uncles intelligence been true) this, I say, made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it otherwise; though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

This cruelty, the secret and unsearchable Judgment of GOD, revenged on the Grandchild of Edward the Third; and so it fell out, even to the last of that Line, that in the second or third descent, they were all buried under the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had been tempered with innocent bloud. For Richard the Second, who faw both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with divers others of his Counsellors, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet he always took himself for over-wise, to be taught by examples. The Earls of Huntington and Kent, Montagu and Spencer, who thought themselves as great Politicians in those days, as others have done in these; hoping to please the King, and to secure themselves by the murther of Gloucester; died soon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent bands; and farr more shamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himself (who, in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his Greatness, cannot be excused, as the disavowing bimself by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents:) He was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murthered by his Cousin-Germane and Vassal, Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry the Fourth.

This King, whose Title was weak, and his obtaining the Crown trayterous; who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, protesting to intend only the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard himself, and brake faith with all the Kingdom in Parliament, to whom he force, that the deposed King should live. After he had enjoyed this Realm some sew years, and in that time had been set upon on all sides by his Subjects, and never free from Conspiracies and Rebellions: he faw (if Souls immortal see and discern any things after the Bodies Death) his Grand-child Henry

the Sixth, and his Son the Prince, fuddenly, and without mercy, murthered; the possession of the Crown (for which he had caused so much bloud to be poured out) transferred from his Race, and by the Iffues of his enemies worn and enjoy'd; enemies, whom, by his own pra-Elice, he supposed that he had left no less powerless, than the succession of the Kingdom questionless, by entailing the same upon his own Issues by Parliament. And, out of doubt, humane reason could have judged no otherwise, but that these cautious provisions of the Father, seconded by the valour and signal victories of his Son Henry the Fifth, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the despair of all re-conquest and recovery. I say, that humane reason might so have judged, were not this passage of Causabon also true; Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus sufficet, quæ Adamantinis credebantur radicibus esfe fundatæ; A day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things that feem to have been founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now, for Henry the Sixth, upon whom the greatest storm of his Grand-father's grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon Richard, the Grand-child of Edward; although be was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince, yet, as he resused the Daughter of Armaignac, of the House of Navarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom be was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in France) and married the Daughter of Anjou (by which he lost all that he had in France) so in condescending to the unworthy death of his Uncle of Gloucester, the main and strong Pillar of the House of Lancaster; He drew on bimself and his Kingdom the greatest joint-loß and dishonour, that ever it sustained since the Norman Conquest. Of whom it may truly be faid, which a Counsellor of his own spake of Henry the Third of France, Quil estoit une fort gentile Prince; mais son reigne est advenu en une fort mauvois temps: That he was a very gentle Prince; but his Reign happened in a ve-

ry unfortunate Seafon.

It is true, that Buckingham and Suffolk were the practicers and contrivers of the Duke's death: Buckingham and Suffolk, because the Duke gave instructions to their authority, which otherwise under the Queen had been absolute; the Queen, in respect of her personal wound, spretæque injuria formæ, because Gloucester disfuaded ber marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the success to the counsel. For after the cutting down of Gloucester, York grew up so fast, as he dared to dispute his Right, both by arguments and arms; in which quarrel, Suffolk and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were diffolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down York; yet his Son the Earl of March, following the plain path which his Father had troden out, despoiled Henry the Father, and Edward the Son, both of their lives and Kingdom. And what was the end now of that politick Lady the Queen, other than this, That she lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers; that she lived to look on, while her Husband the King, and her onely Son the Prince, were hewen in funder; while the Crown was fet on his head that did it? She lived to see her self despoiled of her estate, and of her movables: and lastly, her Father, by rendring up the Crown of France, the Earldom of Provence, and other places, for the payment of 50000 crowns for her Ransome, to become a flark Beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which Siracides calleth fine, but unrighteous: for other fruit hath it never yielded fince the World was.

And now it came to Edward the Fourth's turn (though after many difficulties) to triumbh. For all the Plants of Lancaster were rooted up, one onely Earl of Richmond excepted; whom also he had once bought of the Duke of Britain, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward such a Plantation, as could any way promise it self stability. For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld & allowed the flaugh ter which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his own presence; of which tragical Actors, there was not one that escaped the Judgment of GOD in the same kind. And he, which (besides the execution of his Brother Clarence, for none other offence than he bimself had formed in his own imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the Sixth, his Predecesfor; taught him also, by the same art, to kill his own Sons and Successors, Edward and Richard. For, those Kings which have fold the bloud of others at a low rate; have but made the Market for their own enemies, to buy of theirs at the fame price.

To Edward the Fourth, succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Master in mischief of all that fore-went him; who, although, for the necessity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to perform in his own Perfon, than all the reft; yet be so well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his own interest. For he prought to cunningly upon the affections of Hastings and Buckingham, enemies to the Oueen, and to all her Kinred, as he easily allured them to condescend, that Rivers and Grey, the Kings Maternal Uncle and half Brother, should (for the first) be severed from him: Secondly, he wrought their consent to have them imprisoned: And lastly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their Heads severed from their Bodies. And baving now brought those his chief instruments to exercise that common Precept which the Scelera Scele Devil bath written upon every Post, namely, To depress those whom they had grieved, and to bus tuenda. destroy those whom they had deprest d; He urged that Argument so farr, and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the young King himself, and of his Brother, could fashion the conclusion. For he caused it to be hammered into Buckingham's head, That, whensever the

King, or his Brother, should have able years to exercise their power, they would take a most se-

vere revenge of that cureless wrong offered to their Uncle and Brother, Rivers and Grey. But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters Sons was without suspect; and yet the Devil, who never disfuades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But when he found by Catesby, who sounded him, that he was not fordable, he first resolved to kill him sitting in Council; wherein having failed with his Sword, he fet the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could move his appetite, he caused his head to be stricken off, before he eat his Dinner. A greater Judgment of God, than this upon Hastings, I have never observed in any Story. For, the self-same day that the Earl Rivers, Grey, and others, were (without trial of Law, or offence given) by Hastings advice, executed at Pomtret; I say, Hastings bimself, in the same day, and (as I take it) in the same hour, in the same lawless manner, had his Head struck off in the Tower of London. But Buckingham lived a while longer; and with an eloquent Oration per-

fuaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their King. And having received the Earl-

dom of Hereford for reward, besides the bope of marrying his Daughter to the Kings onely Son; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his trustiest servant; he had his Head severed from his Body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what success had Richard himself after all these mischievs and murthers, policies, and counter-policies to Christian Religion; and after such time as with a merciles hand he had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords, other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it took end, ere himself could well look over and discern it? the great out-cry of innocent bloud obtained at GOD'S hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonour both to his friends and enemies.

This cruel King, Henry the Seventh cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of Gods Justice. Apolitick Prince be was, if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wisdom, beat down and overturned as many strong oppositions, both before and after be wore the Crown, as ever King of England did; I say, by his wisdom, because, as he ever lest the reins of his affections in the hands of his profit, fo he always weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazzard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well observed the proceedings of Loys the Eleventh, whom he followed in all was royal, or royal-like; but he was farr more just, and begun not their processes whom he

hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his servants, and therein exceeding wife; for whatfoever himself gave, he himself received back the thanks and the love, knowing it well, that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great Kings, than great Subjects. On the contrary, in whatsoever be grieved bis Subjects, he wifely put it off on those that he found fit ministers for such actions. Howseever, the taking off of Stanlies Head, who fet the Crown on his, and the death of the young Earl of Warwick, Son to George Duke of Clarence, shews, as the success also did, that he beld somewhat of the errors of his Ancestors; for his possession in the first Line ended in his Grand-child, asthat of Edward the Third, and Henry the Fourth had done.

Now, for King Henry the Eighth, if all the Pictures and Patterns of a merciles Prima were lost in the World, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the Story of this King. For, how many servants did he advance in hast (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined again; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others, of more desert, gave he abundant flowers from whence to gather Honey, and in the end of Harvest burnt them in the Hive? How many Wives did he cut off, and cast of, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the bloud (wherof some of them for age, could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles have kept the accompt) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bid, and when he was at the point to give his accompt to GOD for the abundance of bloud already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Norsolk the Father; and executed the Earlof Surry the Son; the one, whose deserving he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned bis own bonour, and the Kings service; the other never having committed any thing worthy of his least displeasure; the one exceeding valiant and advised; the other no less vislant than learned, and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrows which he heaped upon the

Fatherless and Widows, at home; and besides the vain enterprises abroad, wherein it is thought that he confumed more treasure, than all our victorious Kings did in their several Conquells; what caulless and cruel warrs did he make upon his own Nephew King James the Fifth? What Laws and Wills did he devise to establish this Kingdom in his own Issues? using his sharpest weapons to cut off, and cut down those Branches, which sprang from the same root that himself did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious provisions)it pleased God to take away all his own, without increase; though, for themselves in their severalkinds, all Princes of eminent vertue. For these words of Samuel to Agag King of the Amalekites, have been verified upon many others: As thy Sword hath made other women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among other women. And that bloud which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold air of Scotland had frozen up in the North, God hath diffused by the Sun-shine of his grace; from whence his Majesty now living, and long to live, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, That if all the malice of the World were infused into one eye; yet could it not discern in his life, even to this day, any one of those foul stots, by which the consciences of all the fore-named Princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent bloud on the Sword of his Justice, with which the most that fore-went him have stained both their hands and same. And for this Crown of England, it may truly be avowed; that he hath received it even from the Hand of God, and hath staied the time of putting it on, how soever he were provoked to hasten it: That he never took revenge of any man that fought to put him befide it; That he refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long with as great glory as ever Princess did : That His Majesty entred not by a breach; nor by bloud; but by the Ordinary Gate, which his own right fet open; and into which, by a gene-Tal love and obedience, He was received. And how soever His Majesty's preceding title to this Kingdom, was preferred by many Princes (witness the Treaty at Cambray in the year 1559.) get he never pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady his Predecessor; no, notwithstanding the injury of not being declared Heir, in all the time of her long Reign.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thank fulness to God for the uniting of the Northern parts of Britanny to the South, to wit, of Scotland to England, which, though they were severed, but by small brooks and banks, yet, by reason of the long continued Warr, and the cruelties exercifed upon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely severed. This, I say, is not the least of God's blessings which His Majesty hath brought with him unto this Land; No, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to the height, they will appear as a Mole-Hill, compared with the Mountain of this concord. And if all the Historians since then have acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Rose and the White, for the greatest happiness (Christian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdom received from God, certainly, the peace between the two Lions of Gold and Gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our British Bloud, heretofore, and during the difference, so often and abundantly shed, the state of England is more assured, the Kingdom more enabled to recover her antient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, and conquests. It is true, that hereof we do not yet find the effect. But, had the Duke of Parma, in the year 1588. joined the Army which he commanded, with that of Spain, and landed it on the South-

coast; and had His Majesty at the same time declared himself against us in the North, it is easie to divine what had become of the Liberty of England; certainly, we would then, without nurmure, have brought this Union a farr greater praise than it hath since cost us. It is true, that there was never any Common-weal, or Kingdom in the World, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the World, and not above it. They are not Instinite, to examine every man's cause, or to relieve every man's wants. And yet, in the later (though to his own prejudice) His Majesty hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his own Cossers. Of whom it may be said, as of Solomon, Dedit Deus Solomoni latitudinem cordis; Which, if other mendo not understand with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitude of knowledg; yet may it be better spoken of His Majesty, than of any still the mendo had; who, as well in divine, as in humane understanding hath

exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees. I could say much more of the Kings Majesty, without slattery: did Inot fear the imputation of presumption, and withall suspect, that it might befall these Papers of mine (though the loss were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen Elizabeth, made by unskilfull and common Painters, which, by her own commandment were knock'd in pieces, and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the Beauty of the external; and weak Writers, in describing the Vertues of the internal; do often leave to Posterity, of well formed faces, a deformed memory; and of the most Perfect and Princely minds, a most defective Representation. It may suffice, and there needs no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruel and turbulent paffages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom, for that purpose I have inserted this brief Discourse) with His Majesties temperat, revengeless, and liberal disposition; I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them justly, and with an even band; and withall, but bestow every deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that bath so just a cause to complain, as the King himself hath. Now, as we have told the success of the trumperies, and cruelties of our own Kings, and other great Personages; so we find, that GOD is every where the same God. And, as it pleased him to punish the usurpation and unnatural cruelty of Henry the First, and of our Third Edward, in their Children for many Generations: so dealt he with the Sons of Loys Debonaire, the Son of Charls the Great, or Charlemain. For after such time as Debonaire of France bad torn out the eyes of Bernard his Nephew, the Son of Pepin, the eldest Son of Charlemaine, and Heir of the Empire, and then caused him to die in Prison, as did out Henry to Robert his elder Brother; there followed nothing but murthers upon murthers, poisoning, imprisonments, and civil Warr; till the whole Race of that famous Emperor was extinguished. And though Debonaire, after he had rid himself of his Nephew by a violent death, and of his bastard Brothers by a civil death (having inclosed them with sure guard all the days of their lives, within a Monastery) held himself secure from all opposition; yet God raised up against him (which he suspected not) his own Som, to vex him, to invade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him; his own Sons, with whom (to satisfie their ambition) he had shared his estate, and given them Crowns to wear, and Kingdoms to govern, during his own life. Tea, his eldest Son Lothaire (for he had som, three by his first Wife, and one by his second; to wit, Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, and Charles)

made it the cause of his deposition, that he had used violence toward his Brothers and Kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be slain. Eo quod, saith the Text, fratribus & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem sum, quem sup possible liberare poterat, intersici permiserit; Because he used violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, and suffered his Nephew to be slain, whom he might have delivered.

Tet did be that which few Kings do; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things which he performed in the General Affembly of the States, it follows: Post hac autem palam se errasse consessus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosii exem-Pass. Holden, plum, poenitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat: Aster this, he did openly consess himself to have erred, and following the Example of the Emperor Theodosius, he underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done against Bernard his own Nephew.

This he did, and it was praife-worthy. But the bloud that is unjuftly spilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, have but dead rewards.

The King, as I have faid, bad four Sons. To Lothaire his eldest, he gave the Kingdom of Iraiy, as Charlemaine his Father had done to Pepin, the Father of Bernard, who was to succeed hin in the Empire. To Pepin, the second Son, he gave the Kingdom of Aquitaine; to Loys, the Kingdom of Bavier; and to Charls, whom he had by a second Wife, called Judith, the remainder of the Kingdom of France. But his second Wife, being a mother-in-law to the rest, persuaded Debonaire, to cast his Son Pepin out of Aquitaine; thereby to greaten Charls, which, after the death of his Son Pepin, he prosecuted to effect against his Grand-child bearing the same name. In the mean while, being invaded by his Son Loys of Bavier, he dies for grief.

Debonaire dead, Loys of Bavier, and Charles afterward, called the Bald, and their Nephew Pepin of Aquitaine, join in league against the Emperor Lothaire their eldest Brother. They fight near to Auxerre, the most bloudy battel that ever was strucken in France; in which, the marvellous loß of Nobility, and men of Warr, gave courage to the Saracens to invade Italy; to the Hunns to fall upon Almaine; and the Danes to enter upon Normandy. Charles the Bald by Treason seizeth upon his Nephew Pepin, kills him in a Cloyster; Carloman rebels against his Father, Charles the bald, the Father burns out the eys of his Son Carloman; Bavier invades the Emperor Lothaire, his Brother, Lothaire quits the Empire, he is affailed and wounded to the heart by his own conscience, for his Rebellion against his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monastery. Charls the bald the Uncle, oppresseth his Nephews, the Sons of Lothaire, he usurpeth the Empire, to the prejudice of Loys of Bavier, bis elder Brother; Bavier's Armies, and his Son Carloman, are beaten, be dies of grief, and the Ulurper Charles is poisoned by Zedechias a Jew, his Physician, his Son Loys le Beque dies of the same drink, Beque had Charles the simple, and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman; they rebel against their Brother, but the eldest breaks his neck, the younger is slain by a wild Boar; the Son of Bavier had the same ill destiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in sporting with his companions.

Charls the gross becomes Lord of all that the Sons of Debonaire held in Germany; wherewith not contented, he invades Charles the simple; but being for faken of his Nobility, of his Wife, and of his Understanding; he dies a distracted Beggar. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes, Major of the Palace, then by Robert, the Brother of Eudes; and lastly, being taken by the Earl of Vermandois, he is forced to die in the prison of Peron. Loys the Son of Charles the fimple breaks his neck in chasing a Wolf; and of the two Sons of this Loys, the one dies of poison, the other dies in the Prison of Orleans; after whom, Hugh Capet, of another Race, and a stranger to the French, makes himself King.

These miserable ends had the Issues of Debonaire; who after he had once apparelled Injustice with authority, his Sons and Successors took up the fashion,, and wore that Garmen so long without other provision, as when the same was torn from their shoulders, every man despifed them as miserable and naked Beggars. The wretched success they had (saith a Learned French-man) hens, Que en ceste mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la justice: That in the death of that Prince; to wit, of Bernard the Son of Pepin, the true Heir of Charlemain, men had more meddling than God or Justice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certain that Francis the First, one of the Worthiest Kings (except for that Fact) that ever the French-men had, did never enjoy bimfelf, after he had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol, and Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Provence, which poor people were thereupon burnt and murthered; men, women, and children. It is true that the faid King Francis repented himself of the fact, and gave charge to Henry his Son, to do Justice upon the murtherers, threatning his Son with GODS Judgments, if he neglected it. Butthis unseasonable care of his, God was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry was flain in sport by Montgomery, we all may remember what became of his four Sons, Francis, Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which, although three of them became Kings, and were maried to beautiful and vertuous Ladies; ye were they, one after another, cast out of the World, without Stock or Seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty, and breach of Faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the Religion, and great effusion of bloud, the Crown was fet on his Head, whom they all laboured to dissolve; the Protestants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more strong Cities than ever they had.

Let us now see if God be not the same God in Spain as in England and France. Towards whom we will look no further back than to Don Pedro of Castile, ; in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicil, our Richard the Third, and the great Evan Vafilowick of Moscovia, were but petty ones: this Castillian, of all the Christian and Heathen Kings, having been the most merciless. For besides those of his own Bloud and Nobility, which be had caused to be slain in his own Court and Chamber, as Sancho Ruis; the great Master of Calatrava, Ruis Gonsales, Alphonso Tello, and Don John of Arragon, whom be cut in pieces, and cast into the streets, denying him Christian burial: I say, besides these and the flaughter of Gomes Mauriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great Commander of Castile; he made away the two Infants of Arragon his Cousin-Germans, his Brother Don Frederick, Don John de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Guttiere bis great Treasurer, and all

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bis Kinred; and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest Brothers, innocent Princes, whom after he had kept in close Prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived fixteen years, and the other fourteen; he murthered them there. Nay, he foared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Laftly, as he caused the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and the Dean to be killed, of purpose to enjoy their Treasures; so did he put to death Mahomet Aben Alhamar, King of Barbary, with thirty seven of his Nobility, that came Hist of Spices. unto him for succor, with a great summ of Money, to levy (by his favour) some Companies of Souldiers to return withall. Yea, he would needs affift the Hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope Urban declareth him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdom, and re-eliablished by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster; He was stabled to death by his younger Brother, the Earl of Astramara, who disposses all his Children of their Inheritance, which, but for their Fathers injustice and cruelty, had never been in danger of any such thing.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it must be Duke John of Burgoign, who, after his trayterous murther of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancellor of France, the Bifbops of Conftance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earl of gran Pre, Hector of Chartes, and (in effect) all the Officers of Justice of the Chamber of Accompts, Treasury, Requests (with fixteen others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have mastered France; He was soon after strucken with an Axin the face. in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his misseeds, presently slain. These were the lovers of other mens miseries; and miseries found them out.

Now, for the Kings of Spain, which lived both with Henry the Seventh, Henry the Eighth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon, was the first, and the first that laid the foundation of the present Austrian greatness. For this King did not content himself to hold Arragon by the usurpation of his Ancestor; and to fasten thereunto the Kingdom of Castile and Leon, which Isabel his Wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her own Neece, the Daughter of the last Henry; but most cruelly and crastily, without all colour or pretence of right, he also cast his own Neece out of the Kingdom of Navarre; and, contrary to Faith, and the Promise he made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any Army to invade it. This King, I say, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick, Kings of Naples, Princes of his own Bloud, and by double alliance tied unto him; sold them to the French; and with the same Army, sent for their succour under Gonfalvo, cast them out; and shared their Kingdom with the French, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wife and politick King, who fold Heaven and his own Honour, to make his Son the Prince of Spain, the greatest Monarch of the World; saw him die in the slower of his years; and his Wife great with child with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldest Daughter married unto Don Alphonso Prince of Portugal, beheld her first Husband break his neck in her presence; and being with child by her second, died with it. A just Fudgment of God upon the Race of Alphonio, now wholly extinguished; who had not onely left

many disconsolate Mothers in Portugal, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slain with his own hand, the Son and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Dutchess of Visco. The second Daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned fool, and died mad, and deprived. His third Daughter, bestowed on King Henry the Eighth, be faw cast off by the King; the Mother of many troubles in England; and the Mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy zeal, shed a world of innocent bloud; lost Calice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude, all those Kingdoms of Ferdinand have masters of a new name; and by a strange Family are governed and possess'd.

Charls the Fifth, Son to the Arch-Duke Philip, in whose vain enterprises upon the French, upon the Almans and other Princes and States; so many multitudes of Christian Souldiers, and renowned Captains were confumed; who gave the while a most perillous enrance to the Turks, and suffered Rhodes, the Key of Christendom, to be taken; was in conclusion chased out of France, and, in a fort, out of Germany; and left to the French, Mentz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire, flole away from Inspurg; and scaled the Alpes by torch-light, perfued by Duke Maurice; having hoped to swallow up all those Dominions; wherein he concocted nothing, save his own disgraces. Subardia 1.7. And having after the flaughter of fo many Millions of men, no one foot of ground in either, He crept into a Cloyster, and made himself a Pensioner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the year, to his Son Phillip, from whom he very flowly received his mean and ordina-

His Son again, King Philip the Second, not fatisfied to hold Holland and Zeland, ry maintenance. (wrested by his Ancestors from Jaqueline, their lawfull Princess) and to possess in peace many other Provinces of the Netherlands; persuaded by that mischievous Cardinal of Granvile, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable services, done to his Father the Emperor, by the Nobility of those Countreys, not onely forgot the Present made bim upon his entry of fourty Millions of Florens, called the Novaile aid; nor onely forgot that he had twice most solemnly sworn to the General States, to maintain and preserve their antient Rights, Privileges, and Customs, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him, Conditional Princes of those Provinces: but beginning first to constrain them, and enthral them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impoverish them by many new devised and intollerable Impositions, he lastly, by strong band and main force, attempted to make himself not only an absolute Monarch over them, like unto the Kings and Soveraigns of England and France; but Turk-like, to tread under his feet all their Natural and Fundamental Laws, Privileges, and antient Rights. To effect which, after be had easily obtain from the Pope a dispensation of his former Oaths (which Dispensation was the true cause of the Warr and Bloudshed since then ;) and after he had tried what he could perform, by dividing of their own Nobility, under the Government of his base Sister, Margaret of Austria, and the Cardinal Granvile; He employed that most merciles Spaniard, Don Ferdinand Alvarez of Toledo, Duke of Alva, followed with a powerful Army of strange Nations; by whom he first slaughtered that renowned Captain, the Earl of Egmont, Prince of Gavare; and Philip Montmorency Earl of Horn; made away Montigue, and the Marquess of Bergues, and cut off in those six years (that Alva Governed) of Gentlement

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and others, eighteen thousand and six hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous murthers and maffacres. By whose ministery, when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wished ends, having it in his hope to work that by subtilty which he had failed to perform by force, He sent for Governour, bis bastard Brother, Don John of Austria: a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But he, using the same Papal advantage that his Predecessors had done, make no scruple to take Oath upon the holy Evangelists, to observe the Treaty made with the General States; and to discharge the Low-Country's of all Spaniards, and other strangers therein garrisoned; Towards whose Pay and Pasport, the Netherlands strained themselves to mak a payment of 600000. pounds. Which Moneys receined, he suddenly surprised the Citadels of Antwerp and Nemures, not doubting being unsuspected by the States) to have possess d himself of all the mastering places of those Proninces. For whatsoever he overtly pretended, he held in secret a contrary counsel with the Secretary Escovedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, and others, Ministers of the Spanish Tyranny for merly practifed, and now again intended. But let us now see the effect and end of this perjury, and of all other the Duke's cruelties. First, for himself; after he had murthered so mane of the Nobility; executed (as aforesaid) eighteen thousand six hundred in six years, and most cruelly slain Man, Woman, and Child in Mecklin, Zutphen, Narden, and other places: and after he had confumed fix and thirty Millions of treasure in fix years, notwithflanding his Spanish vaunt, That he would suffocate the Holanders in their own Butterbarrels, and Milk-tubs; He departed the Countrey no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse and detestation of the whole Nation; leaving His Majesties Assairs in a ten-fold worse estate than he found them at his sirst arrival. For Don John, whose haughty conceit of himfelf overcame the greatest difficulties; though his judgment were over-weak to mannage the least: What wonders did his fearful breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his Brothers jealousie and distrust, with the untimely death that seized on him, even in the flower of his youth? And for Escovedo his sharp-witted Secretary, who in his own imagination had conquered for his Master, both England and the Netherlands; being sent into Spain upon some new project, he was at the first arrival, and before any access to the King, by certain Ruffians, appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his) rudely murthered in his own lodging. Lastly, if we consider the King of Spain's carriage, his counsel and success in this business, there is nothing left to the memory of Man more remarkable. For be bath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above four hundred thousand Christians, for the loss of all those Countreys, which, for beauty, gave place to none; and for revenue, did equal his West-Indies; for the loss of a Nation which most willingly obeyed bin; and who, at this day, after fourty years Warr, are, in despight of all his forces, become a free Estate, and farr more rich and powerfull than they were, when he first began to impoverish and oppress them.

Oh! by what plots, by what for-swearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, possings, and under what reasons of State, and politick subtilty, have these fore-named lings, both strangers, and of our own Nation, pulled the vengeance of G.O.D upon themdoes, upon theirs, and upon their prudent ministers I and in the end, have brought those lings to pass for their enemies, and seen an esset so directly contrary to all their own counsels

and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themselves; and the other never have succeeded; if no such opposition had ever been made. GOD hath said it, and performed it ever: Perdam sapientiam sapientum; I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end do we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead; seeing the world is the same that it hath been; and the children of the present time, will still obey their Parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the World are exercised. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawfull; and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at least we hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For, as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledg, in all things that concern our selves; or persuade our selves, that GOD bath given us Letters Patents to perfue all our irreligious affections, with a Non obstance: so we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what shall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: we are by it joined to the earth; we are compounded of earth; and we inhabit it. The Heavens are high, farr off, and unsearchable; we have sense and feeling of corporal things; and of eternal grace, but by revelation. No marvel then that our thoughts are also earthly; and it is less to be wondred at, that the words of worthless men cannot cleanse them; seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose underflanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For, as the Prophet Efay cried out long agone, Lord, who hath believed our reports? And out of doubt, as Esay complained then for himself and others: so are they less believed, every day after other. For, although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in every man's mouth, yea, in the discourse of every woman, who, for the greatest number are but Idols of Vanity; what is it other than an universal dissimulation? We profess that we know GOD, but by works we deny him. For Beatitude doth not confift in the knowledg of divine things, but in a divine life; for the Devils know them better than men. Beatitudo non est divinorum cognițio, sed vita divina. And certainly, there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the passionate dispute, the personal batred, and the perpetual warr, massacres, and murthers, for Religion among Christians; the discourse where of bath so occupied the World, as it bath well near driven the practice thereofout of the World. Who would not soon resolve, that took knowledg but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their lives which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, thanth purchace of Heaven; and that the World it self were but used as it ought, and as an Inne, or place wherein to repose our selves in passing on towards our Colestial habitation? when on the contrary, besides the Discourse and outward profession, the Soul bath nothing but hypocrisie. We are all (in effect) become Comædians in Religion; and while we act in gesture and word, divine vertues, in all the course of our lives, we renounce our Persons, and the parts weplay For Charity, Justice, and Truth, have but their being in tearms, like the Philosophers Materia prima.

Neither is it that wisdom, which Solomon defineth to be the School-Mistress of the Knowledg of God, that hath valuation in the World; it is enough that we give it our god word: but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the World, as the get thering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtain honour, with the many respect

which attend it. These indeed be the marks, which (when we have bent our consciences to the highest) we all shoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our own; the care our own in this life, the peril our own in the future; and yet, when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we our selves enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, He that had the greatest wisdom, and the greatest ability, that ever man had, bath told us, that this is the use: When goods increase (faith Solomon) they also easily s. 16. increase that eat them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? As for those that devour the rest, and sollow us in fair weather: they again for lake us in the first tempest of missortune, and steer away before the Sea and Wind: leaving us to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand Examples, I will take but one out of Master Dannet, and use his own words: Whilest the Emperor Charles the Fifth, after the refignation of his estates, stayed at Uloshing for Wind, to carry him his last journey into Spain; He conferred on a time with Seldius, his Brother Ferdinand's Embaffador, till the deep of the night. And when Seldius should depart; the Emperor calling for some of his fervants, and no body answering him, (for those that attended upon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the restasseep) the Emperor took up the Candle himself, and went before Seldius, to light him down the Stairs; and fo did, notwithstanding all the refistance that Seldius could make. And when he was come to the Stairs foot, he faid thus unto him; Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperor, when he shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast known in thy time environed with so many mighty Armies and Guards of Souldiers, thou hast also feen alone, abandoned, and for faken, yea, even of his own fervants, &c. I acknowledg this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD, which I will by no means go about to withstand.

But you will say, that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first is, the reverend respect that is held of Great Men, and the Honour done unto them by all forts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their Justice and Piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which, what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Herd of Animals, who, without the knowledg of any true cause, please themselves with the noise they make? For, seeing it is a thing exceeding rare to distinguish Virtue and Fortune; the most impious (if prosperous) bave ever been applauded; the most vertuous (if unprosperous) have ever been despised. For, as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune her self rides the Man. Who, when he is descended, and on foot; the Mantaken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base Groom beats the one, and a bitter contempt spurns at the other, with equal liberty.

The second is, the greatning of our Posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of those which conceive that their Souls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be said of them, which Lactantius spake of certain Heathen Philoso- Last defails phers; Quod sapientes sunt in re stulta. For, when our spirits immortal shall be once sparate from our mortal bodies, and disposed by GOD; there remaineth in them no other joy of their Posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a King's Palace, nor any other forrow for their poverty, than there doth of

shame in that, which beareth up a Beggars cottage. Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non interfunt; The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their own children; for the Souls of those departed, are not conversant with their affairs that remain. And if we doubt of Saint Augustine, we cannot of Job; who tells us, That we know not if our Sons shall be honourable; neither shall we understand concerning them, whether they shall be of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confirmeth; Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain ; he heapeth up riches, and Pfal 39 cannot tell who shall gather them. The living (faith be) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all; for, who can shew unto man, what shall be after him under the Sun? He therefore accounteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and travel in the World; not knowing after death, whether a fool or a wife man should enjoy the fruits thereof; which made me (faith he) endeavour even to abhorr mine own labour. And what can other men hope, whose bleffed or sorrowfull estates after death, God bath reserved? Mans knowledg lying but in his hope specing the Prophet Esay confessel of the Elect, That Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knows us not. But hereof we are assured, that the long and dark night of death of whose following day we shall never behold the dawn till his return that bath triumphed over it) shall cover us over till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall again receive Organs glorified, and incorruptible, the feats of Angelical affections; in fo great admiration shall the Souls of the bleffed be exercifed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or less joy; nor any return of forgone and mortal affection towards Friends, Kinred, or Children. Of whom, whether we shall retain any particular knowledg, or in any sort distinguish them, no man can affure us; and the wifest men doubt. But on the contrary; If a divine life retain any of those faculties, which the Soul exercised in a mortal body; we shall not at that time so divide the joys of Heaven, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the World. No, be their estates greater than ever the World gave, we shall (by the difference known unto us) even detest their consideration. And whatsoever comfort shall remain of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity, which we exercised living: and in that Piety, Justice, and firm Faith, for which it pleased the Institute Mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unnecessary and vain? Certainly, no. For that Infinite Wisdom of God, which bath distinguished his Angels by degrees; which hath given greater and less light and beauty to beavenly bodies; which bath made differences between Beasts and Birds; created the Eagle, and the Flie, the Cedar, and the Shrub; and among Stones, given the fairest tincture to the Ruby, and quickest light to the Diamond; half also ordained Kings, Dukes, or Leaders of the people; Magistrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And, as Honour is left to Posterity, for a mark and enses of the vertue and understanding of their Ancestors; so (seeing Siracides preferred Death before Beggary; and, that Titles, without proportionable estates, fall under the miserable succour of other mens pity) I account it foolishness to condemn such a cart; milerable succour of other mens pity) I account it sould bright to condens for thing for thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a just God;

out of other mens ruines. For, as Plato doth first preserr the persection of bodily health; second-pendeteg 1.2. ly the form and beauty; and thirdly, Divitias nulla fraude quæfitas: fo Jeremy cries, Wo 6.00 m George unto them that erect their houses by unrighteousness, and their chambers without Jer 12-13equity; And Esay the same, Wo to those that spoil, and were not spoiled. And it was significant out of the true wisdom of Solomon, that he commandeth us, not to drink the Wine of violence; not to lie in wait for bloud; and not to fwallow them up alive, whose riches we 3, 8, 825. covet; for fuch are the ways (faith he) of every one that is greedy of gain.

And, if we could afford our selves but so much leisure, as to consider, That he which bath most in this world, hath, in respect of the world, nothing in it; and that he which hath the longest time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for ever; I say, if both, to wit, our proportion in the World, and our time in the World, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of understanding, that we so much prise the one, which hath (in effect) no being; and so much neglect the other, which bath no ending; covering those mortal things of the World, as if our Souls were therein inmortal, and neglecting those things which are immortal, as if our selves, after the World, were but mortal.

But let every man value his own wisdom, as he pleaseth. Let the rich man think all fools, that cannot equal his abundance; the Revenger effeem all negligent, that have not troden down their opposites; the Politician all groß, that cannot Merchandize their faith: Tet, when we once come in fight of the Port of death, to which all winds drive us, and when, by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end ; Then it is, I say, that our own cogitations (those sad and severe cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermost for all the pleasing passages of our lives past. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our selves can no longer exercise cruelty to others; and it is onely then, that we are strucken through the Soul with this terrible Sentence, That God will not be mocked. Gal. 6.7. For if, according to S. Peter, The righteous scarcely be saved: and that God spared 1 Fee 4. not his Angels; where shall those appear, who, having served their appetites all their lives, presume to think, that the severe Commandments of the All-powerfull God were given but in sport; and that the short breath, which we draw when death presset us, if we can but fashion it to the sound of Mercy (without any kind of satisfaction or amends) is sufficient? O quam multi, saith a reverend Father, cum hac spe ad æternos labores & bella descendunt! I confess, that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it faid, That we ended well; for we all defire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But, what shall we call a dif-esteeming, an opposing, or (indeed) a mocking of God; if those men do not oppose him, dis-esteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for God, to ask him forgiveness at leifure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For, what do they otherwise, that die this kind of well-dying, but say unto God, as followeth? We befeech thee, O God, that all the falshoods, for swearings, and treacheries of our lives past, may be pleasing unto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that have had no leisure to do

that thou wilt love injuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdom, and charity foolishness. For I shall prejudice my Son (which I am resolved not to do) if I make restitution; and confess my felf to have been unjust (which I am too proud to do) if I deliver the oppressed. Certainly, these wise worldlings have either found out a new God, or made One; and in all likelihood, such a Leaden One, as Lewis the Eleventh ware in his Cap; which, when he had caused any that he feared or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head, and kiss it; beseeching it to pardon bim this one evil all more, and it should be the last; which (as at other times) he did, when, by the practice of a Cardinal, and a falfified Sacrament, he caused the Earl of Armagnac to be stabbed to death; mockeries indeed, fit to be used towards a Leaden, but not towards the Everliving GOD. But of this composition are all devout lovers of the World, that they fear all that is dureless and ridiculous; they fear the plots and practices of their opposites, and their very whisperings; they fear the Opinions of men, which beat but upon shadows; they flatter and for sake the prosperous and unprosperous, be they Friends or Kings; yea, they dive under water, like Ducks, at every pebble-stone, that is but thrown towards them by a powerful band; and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giant-like valour against the terrible judgments of the All-powerfull God; yea, they shew themselves Gods against God, and Slaves towards men; towards men, whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now, for the rest; If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rid and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poor and oppressed, whom we accompt wretch ed; we shall find the hapiness of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by God to the very instant, and both so subject to enterchange (witness the sudden downfall of the greatest Princes, and the speediest uprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certain, whereof to boast; nor the other so uncertain, whereof to bewail it self. For, there is no man fo affured of his bonour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of either, or all, the very next hour, or day to come. Quid vesper vehat, incertum est; What the evening will bring with it, it is uncertain. And yet ye cannot tell (faith S. James) what shall be to morrow. To day he is set up, and to morrow he shall not be found; for he is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the air which compasseth adversity, be very obscure; yet therein we better disease God, than in that shining light which environeth worldly glory; through which, for the clearneß thereof, there is no vanity which escapeth our fight. And let adversity seem what it will; to happy men ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other mens missortunes; and w those under the cross, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very in flant, the portions remaining are equal to either. For, be it that we have lived mun years, and (according to Solomon) in them all we have rejoyced; or be it that me han measured the same length of days, and therein have evermore sorrowed; yet, looking back from our present being, we find both the one and the other; to wit, the joy and wo, falled out of fight; and death, which doth perfue us, and hold us in chace, from our infancy; hit gathered it. Quicquid æratis retro est, mors tenet; Whatfoever of our age is path death holds it. So, as whosever he be, to whom Fortune hath been a servant, and the Time a friend; let him but take the accompt of his memory (for we have no other keeping our pleasures past) and truly examine what he hath reserved, either of Beauty and Touth or fore-gone delights; what it hath faved, that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of whatever else the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and he shall find that all the Art which his elder years have, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heavy, secret, and sad sagss. He shall find nothing remaining, but those sorrows, which grow up after our sast-pringing youth, over-take it, when it is at a siand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither; in so much as looking back from the very instant time, and from our now being, the poor, diseased, and captive creature, hath as little sense of all his former miseries and pains, as he, that is most bless of in common Opinion, bath of his fore-passed pleasure and delights. For whatsoever is cast behind us, is just nothing; and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it: Omnia quae eventura sunt, in incerto jacent. Onely those sew black Swans I must except; who, having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without fear, and embrace both, as necessary.

For my felf, this is my confolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the forrows of this life are but of two forts; whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other to the World, In the first, we complain to GOD against our selves, for our offences against him; and confest, Et tu justus es in omnibus que venerunt super nos; And thou, O Lord, art just in all that hath befallen us. In the second, we complain to our selves against GJD; as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites; or for taking them from us having had them; forgetting that bumble and just acknowledgment of Job, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. To the first of which, S. Paul hath promised blessedness; to the second, death. And out of doubt, he is either a fool, or ingrateful to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledg, kow mean soever his estate be, that the same is yet farr greater, than that which God oweth him; or doth not aknowledg how sharp soever his afflictions be, that the same are yet farr less, than those which are due unto him. And if an Heathen wise man call the adversities of the World but tributa vivendi; the tributes of living: a wife Christian man ought to know them, and bear them as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them man-like, and resolvedly, and not as those whining Souldiers do, Qui gementes sequuntur Imperatorem.

For feeing God, who is the Anthor of all our Tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play; and bath not, in their diffibution, been partial to the most mighty Princes of the World; That gave unto Darius the part of the greatest Emperor, and the part of the most miserable Beggar; a Beggar, begging Water of an Enemy to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Bajazeer to play the Grand Seignior of the Turks in the morning, and in the same day, the Footstool of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had also played; being taken by Sapores) that made Bellisarius play the most visitorious Captain, and lastly, the part of a blind Beggar; of which; examples of many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but as the least Worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly, there is no other accompt to be made of this ridiculous World, than to resolve, That the change of Fortune on the great Theatre, is but as the change of Garments on the less. For, when on the one and the other, every man

wears but his own skin, the Players are all alike. Now, if any man out of weakness prise the passages of this world otherwise (for, saith Petrarch, Magni ingenii est revocare mentem a sensibus) it is by reason of that unhappy fantasie of ours, which forgeth in the brains of Man all the miseries (the corporal excepted) whereunto he is subject. Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adversity work all that they work. For, seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, what soever Fortune or Force takes from any one; it were a foolish madness in the shipwrack of worldly things, where all finks but the Sorrow, to save it. That were, as Seneca saith, Fortunæ succumbere, quod tristius est omni sato; To sall under Fortune, of all other, the most miserable destiny.

But it is now time to found a retreat, and to defire to be excused of this long persuit; and withall, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the Picture of time past (which we call History) in so large a Table, may also be accepted in place of a better

The examples of divine Providence, every where found (the first divine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) have persuaded me to setch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For, though these two glorious astions of the Almighty be so near, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implies the other; Creation inferring Providence (for what father for saketh the child that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation; Tet many of those that have feemed to excel in worldly wisdom, have gone about to dis-join this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the World had a beginning; the Aristotelian granting Providence but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now, although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for, by Faith, we understand that the World was made by the Word of God) be too weighty a work for Aristotle's rotten ground to bear up, upon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the Defences and Fortresses of all his Verbal Doctrine; yet that the necessity of Infinite power, and the World's beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary, even in the judgment of Natural reason, wherein he believed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no less strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledg (seeing Aristotle bath failed in this main point; and taught little other than tearms in the rest) bave so retrenched their minds from the following and overtaking of Truth, and so absolutely subjected themseves to the law of those Philosophical Principles; as all contrary kind of teaching, in the fearch of causes, they have condemned, either for phantastical, or curious. But doth it follow, that the Positions of Heathen Philosophers are undoubtedly Grounds and Principles indeed, because so called? Or, that ipsi dixerunt, doth make them to be such? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reason hath built any thing so strong against it self, as the same reason can hardly assail it, much less batter it down: the same in every question of Nature, and infinite power, may be approved for a fundamental Law of bumane knowledg. For, saith Charron, in his Book of Wisdom, Tout proposition humaine a autant d'authorite quel'autre, si la raison n'on fait la difference; Every humane proposition hath equal authority, if reason make not a difference: the rest. being but the Fables of Principles. But hereof, how shall the upright and impartial judge

ment of man give a Sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And, to this purpose, it was well said of Lactantius, Sapientiam fibi adimunt, qui fine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their own wisdom, who without any judgment approve the invention of those that fore-went them; and fuffer themselves, after the manner of Bealts, to be led by them. By the advantage of which sloth and dulness, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant, as it bath set true Philosophy, Physick and Divinity in a Pillory; and written over the first, Contra negantem principia; over the second, Virtus specifica; and over the third, Ecclesia Romana.

But for my self, I shall never be persuaded, that God hath shut up all the light of Learning within the Lanthorn of Aristotle's brains; or, that it was ever said unto him, as unto Esdras, Accendam in corde tuo Lucernam intellectus; That God hath given invention but to the Heathen, and that they onely invaded Nature, and found the strength and bottom thereof : the same Nature having consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to afteraves. That these, and these, be the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught us; and not Reason; and so bath Experience without Art. The Cheef-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that sowre Rennet doth coagulate her Milk into a Curd. But, if we ask a reafon of this cause, why the sowreness doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philosophy, to satisfie this, and many other like vulgar questions. But man, to cover his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason for the Grass under his feet, why it should be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet discover the way and reason of Nature's working, in those which are farr less noble Creatures than himself; who is farr more noble than the Heavens themselves: Man (saith Solomon) that can hardly differn the things that are upon the wift. 1. 9. Earth, and with great labour find out the things that are before us; that bath for short a time in the World, as he no fooner begins to learn, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledg; in his understanding nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his own Soul, and which the wifest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle be he) could never so much as define, but by the Action and Effect, telling us what it works (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any else doth know, but GOD that created it (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my Soul, faith Job.) Man, I say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his own life, and in the cause of all actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the 10 10. World; of GOD, who (faith Job) is so excellent as we know him not; and examine the beginning of the work, which had end before Mankind had a beginning of being. He will disable God's power to make a World, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the Motes of the Air for a cause; cast the work on necessity or chance; bestow the bonour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of Form; and lastly, for want of a work-man, have it Eternal; which latter Opinion Aristotle, to make himself the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World; and bis Setiators have maintained it; Parati ac conjunati, quos fequentur Philosophorum animis invictis opiniones tueri. For Hermes, who lived at once with, or food after

Moses, Zoroaster, Musaus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Meliffus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whose Opinions are exquifitely gathered by Steuchius Eugubinus) found in the necessity of invincible reason, One Eternal and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the Universal. Horum omnium sententia quamvis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, ut providentiam unam effe consentiant: five enim Natura, five Æther, five Ratio, five Mens, five Fatalis Necessitas, five divina Lex, idem est quod a nobis dicitur Deus; All these mens Opinions (faith Lactantius) though uncertain, come to this; That they agree upon one Providence, whether the same be Nature, or Light, or Reason, or Understanding, or Destiny, or divine Ordinance, that it is the same which we call G O D. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the World, though they have divers rifings, and divers runnings; though they sometimes hide themselves for a while under ground, and seem to be lost in Sea-like Lakes; do at last find, and fall into, the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humane capacity bath; and after all Philosophical contemplation and curiosity, in the necessity of this Infinite power, all the reason of Man ends and dissolves it self.

Ead. S.

As for others: and first touching those which conceive the matter of the World to have been eternal, and, that God did not create the World, ex nihilo, but ex materia præexistence; the Supposition is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith Eusebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere; They feem un-Estate de prese to me, which affirm this, to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune; in so much as if God had not found this first matter by chance, He had never been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Universal. For, were the Matter or Chaos eternal, it then follows, That either this supposed Matter did fit it self to God, or God accommodate bimself to the matter. For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Work-mans Will. For the second; it were horrible to conceived God, That as an Artificer he applied himself, according to the proportion of matter which

But let it be supposed, That this matter hath been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, be lighted upon. and infinitely wife; I would gladly learn how it came to pass, that the same was proportion able to bis intention, that was Omnipotent, and infinitely wife; and no more, nor no less, than ferved to receive the form of the Universal. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as fervied to finish the work of the World: Or, bad there been more of this matter thin sufficed, then God did dissolve and annihilate whatsoever remained and was superstitution And this must every reasonable Soul confess, That it is the same work of God alone; to create any thing out of nothing, And by the same Art and Power, and by none other, and those things, or any part of that eternal matter, be again changed into Nothing; by which this things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to far that this matter was the cause of it self ; this, of all other, were the greatel Idioisim. For, if it were the cause of it self at any time; then there was also time when it self was not; at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceive, that it could neither procure it felf, nor any thing elfe. For to be, and not to be, at once, it

inposible. Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neque seipsum componit corpus; There is nothing that doth precede it felf, neither do bodies compound themselves.

For the rest, Those that seign this matter to be eternal, must of necessity confess, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternity. And then had infinite matter left no place for infinite form; but that the first matter was finite, the form which it received proves it. For conclusion of this part, whosever will make choice, rather to believe in eternal deformity, or in eternal dead matter, than in eternal light, and eternal life; let eternal death be his reward. For, it is a madness of that kind, as wanteth terms to express it. For what reason of man (whom the curse of presumption bath not stupisted) hath doubted. That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of shadow; quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) bath any thing wanting in it self, either for matter or form; yea, for as many worlds (if fuch had been Gods will) as the Sea hath fands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation than the workman's will. Yea. Reason it self finds it more easie for Infinite power, to deliver from it self a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a fool and dust, to change the form of matter made to his hands. They are Dionifius his words; Deus in una Cab. 16 w. 21. existentia omnia præhabet; and again, Esse omnium est ipsa Divinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; to mit, causaliter, or in better terms, non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa universalis. Neither hath the World Universal closed up all of GOD: For the most part of his works (faith Siracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his Wisdom be opened by the glorious work of the World; which never brought to knowledg all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes. That we feldom entitle G O D The All-shewing, or The All-willing; but the Almighty, that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing, nothing is made, inferr the Worlds eternity; and yet not so salvage therein, as those are, which give an eternal being to dead matter: It is true, if the word [Nothing] be taken in the affirmative; and the making, imposed upon Natural Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But feeing their great Doctor, Aristotle himself confesseth, Quod omnes Antiqui decreverunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumque infinitum: That all the Antient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be infinite; and a little after, more largely, and plainly, Principium ejus est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omni complecti ac regere: it is strange, that this Philosopher, c. 9. ex sar se with his followers, should rather make choice out of falshood, to conclude falsly; than out conclude falsly; of truth, to resolve truly. For, if we compare the World Universal, and all the unmeasureable Orbs of Heaven, and those marvellous bodies of the Sun, Moon, and Starrs, with infunt Infinitum, it may truly be said of them all, which himself affirms of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum; and therefore to bring smite (which bath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omner proportionem) is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore, Anaximander, Meliffus, and Empedocles, call the World Universal, but, particulam Universitatis & infinitatis; a parcel of that which is the Universality, and the Infinity it self: And Plato, but a shadow

of God. But the other, to prove the World's eternity, urgeth this Maxime, That, A fulficient and effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted, Inferring, that God being for ever a sufficient and effectival cause of the World, the effect of the cause should also have been for ever; to wit, the World universal. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Master, to confess a sufficient and effectual cause of the World (to wit, an Almighty God) in his Antecedent; and the same God to be a God restrained in bis Conclusion; to make God free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiously to resolve of God, as of natural necessity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding; which cannot but work, matter being present: As Fire, to burn things combustible. Again, he thus disfuteth, That every Agent which can work, and doth me work, if it afterward work, it is either thereto moved by it felf, or by somewhat else; and so it passets from power to act : But God (saith he) is immovable, and is neither moved by bimself, nor by any other; but being always the same, doth always work. Whence he concludeth, If the World were caused by God, that he was for ever the cause thereof; and thenfor eternal. The answer to this is very easie; For that God's performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him. For the same action of his will, which made the World for even, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it self sufficient, others add further, that the Pattern or Image of the World may be said to be eternal; which the Platonicks call Spiritualem mundum; and do in this fort distinguish the Idea and Creation in time. Spiritualis est mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque De Mar. Fiela de opus, vita æquali est Architecto, suit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus immert. in autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit jam ab opisice ex parte med. 18.c. i una, quia non fuit semper: retinet alteram, quia fit semper futurus: That reprefentative, or the intentional word (fay they) the famplar of this vifible world, the first work of GOD, was equally antient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever shall be. This material world, the second work or creature of $G \theta b$, doth differ from the Worker in this; that it was not from everlafting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for ever to come; The first point, That it was not sa ever, all Christians confess: The other they understand no otherwise, than that after the confumnation of this world, there shall be a new Heaven, and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. But of these things we need not here stand to argue; though subopinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this confideration, of an eternal and unchange able cause, producing a changeable and temporal effect; Touching which point, Proclusth Placonist disputeth, That the compounded Essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissipable) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individual and in separable power, slowing from Divine unity; and that the World's natural appetite of side sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a good and understanding divine; and that this wetue, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinite, and everlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite Wall (faith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temp The Pretace.

ral Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little; even as the whole material World is not aliogether; but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the varts yet to come, do by the same small degrees succeed, as the shadow of a tree in a River, seemeth to have continued the same a long time in the Water, but it is perpetually renewed in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to return to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall denv that ever it shall have any end, and to this purpose affirm, That it was never heard, never read never seen, no, not by any reason perceived, that the Heavens have ever suffered corruption; or that they appear any way the older by continuance; or in any fort otherwise than they were; which had they been subject to final corruption, some change would have been discerned in so long a time. To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newness, and that they have not continued so long, than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural arguments may receive answer by conjectures; it And if the conjectures it And if then seemeth, that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Pliny, Strabo, Beda, strait, 1. Aguinas, and others, were großly mistaken; or else those parts of the World, lying within two. 11.632. the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sun's heat, neither were the quot and Seas under the Equinoctial navigable. But we know by experience, that those Regions so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, over which we navigate, passable enough. We read also many Histories of Deluges; and how that in the time of Phae-

ton, divers places in the World were burnt up, by the Sun's violent heat. But in a word, this Observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That Stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, have flood two or three thousand years; that many things have been digged up out of the Earth, of that depth, as supposed to have been buried by the general Flood; without any alteration, either of substance or figure; yea, it is believed, and it is very probable, that the Gold which is daily found in Mines and Rocks, un-

der ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times have not invaded and corrupt. ed; what great alterations should we look for in Celestial and Quintessential bodies? And yet we have reason to think, that the Sun, by whose help all creatures are generate, doth not in these later Ages assist Nature, as heretosoxe. We have neither Giants, such as the eldest World had, nor Mighty Men, such as the elder World had; but all things in general are reputed of less vertue which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Prefacewould permit a larger Difcourfe, we might eafily fetch store of proof; as that this World sball at length have end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good Answer that can be to this Objection: If the World were eternal; why not all things in the World eternal? If therewere no first, no Cause, no Father, no Creator, m incomprehensible Wisdom, but that every Nature bad been alike eternal; and Man more rational than every other Nature; Why had not the eternal reason of Man, provided for his eternal Being in the World? For, if all were equal, why not equal praditions to all? Why should Heavenly bodies live for ever, and the bodies of Men

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keep the Centre, and gave order that it

some efficient cause, by which it is bounded. Now, for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the School of Aristotle hath buth commended many errors unto us, and fought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World; of the best definition be taken out of the second of Aristotle's Physicks, or primo de Coelo, or out of the fifth of his Metaphyficks, I say, that the best is but nominal, and serving onely to difference the beginning of Natural motion from Artificial: which yet the Acade micks open better; when they call it, A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soul of the World; who give the first place to Providence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Providentia (by which they understand GOD) Dux & Caput; Fatum, medium ex providentia prodiens; Natura postremum. But be it what h will, or be it any of these (God excepted) or participating of all; yet that it had choice or understanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hab avoned. For this is unanswerable of Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam; He onely can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledg in the doing ir.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly express d by Ficinus: Potest ubique Natura, vel per diversa media, vel ex diversis materiis, diversa sacere; sublata vero mediorum materiarumque diversitate, vel unicum, vel similimum ope ratur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Na ture by diverfity of means, or out of diverfity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the divertity of means, and the divertity of matter, it then works but one or the like work; neither can it but work, matter being present. Now, Nature made choice of diversity of matter, to work all these variable works of Heaven and Earth, it had then both understanding and will; it had counsel to begin; reason to

distrole; wertue and knowledg to finish, and power to govern; without which, all things had been but one and the same; all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth, And, if we grant Nature this will, and this understanding, this counsel, this reason, and nower; Cur natura potius quam Deus nominetur? Why should we then call such a Last delira Dei cause rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the first and highest place to divine power: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omnesque fummum locum divino cuidam numini assignant. And this I say, in short, that it is a wine 3.7.22. true effect of true reason in man (were there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledg and adore the first and most sublime power. Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his quæ fiuunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere funt, & semper eadem: True Philosophy is an ascending from the things which flow, and rife, and fall, to the things that are for ever the fame.

For the rest; I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety, monstrous, to confound God and Nature; be it but in tearms. For it is God, that onely disposeth of all things according to his own will, and maketh of one Earth, veffels of honour and dishonour: It is Nature that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God that commandeth all; it is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth. It is Nature that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth, nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in bimself; Nature nothing in it self. It is God which is the Father, and hath begotten all things; it is Nature which is begotten by all things, in which it liveth and laboureth; for by it self it existeth not. For, shall we say, that it is out of assection to the Earth, that heavy things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct every River into the salt Sea? Shall we tearm it knowledg in Fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledg in these; by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledg it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore, seeing all things work as they do (call it by Form, or Nature, or by what you please) yet, because they work by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, insused by the supremest power; we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder; and to him is the worship due, who hath treated such a Nature in things, and such a faculty, as neither knowing it self, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doth yet work all things to their last and uttermost persection. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to himself for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that ever the World had, to wit; That there is a power Infinite, and eternal (which also neußity doth prove unto us, without the help of Faith and Reason; without the sorée of Authority) all things do as eafily follow which have been delivered by divine Letters, as the waters of a running River do successively persue each other from the sirst sountains.

Thus much, I fay, it is, that Reason it self hath taught us; and this is the beginning hwwledg. Sapientia præcedit, Religio seguitur; quia prius est Deum scire, con-tall 1 s.c. 18 equens colere; Sapience goes before, Religion follows; because it is first to know God, and ben to worship him. This Sapience, Plato calleth absoluti boni scientiam, The Science of

the absolute good: And another, Scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum. For Faith (faith Ifidore) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples persuaded: Fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. I confest it, That to enquire further, as of the Essence of God, of his Power, of his Art, and by what mean he created the World; Or of his secret judgment, and the causes, is not an affect of Reason; Sed cum ratione infaniunt; but they grow mad with reason, that enquire after it: For, as it is no shame nor dishonour (saith a French Author) de saire arrest au but qu'on nasceu surpasser; For a man to rest bimself there, where he finds it impossible topass on further: so whatsoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, it acknowledgeth it to be so; as understanding it self not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it bath, to be a Teacher, that best knows the end of his own Art. For, seeing both Reason and Necessity teach us (Reason, which is pars divini spiritus in corpus humenter 2 frientitie manum merfi) that the World was made by a Power infinite; and yet how it was made, it entitle manum merfi) that the World was made by a Power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us: and feeing the same Reason and Necessity make us know, that the same infinite Power is every where in the World; and yet how every where it cannot inform us: our belief hereof is not weakned, but greatly strengthned by our ignorance, because it is the Same Reason that tells us, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by Man.

I have been already over-long, to make any large Discourse, either of the parts of the sollowing Story, or in mine owne excuse; especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the groffest, the unsutable division of the Books, I could not know how to excuse, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first Part finished. All men know, that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it suits well enough with a great many Books of this Age, which speak too much, and yet say little, ipsi nobis furto subducimur; We are stollen away from our selves, fetting a high price on all that is our own. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I believe as he doth; That who so thinks bimself the wifest man, is but a poor and miserable Ignorant. Those that are the best mend Warr, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do always keep the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from their selves; from self-love, self-estimation, and

Generally, concerning the order of the Work, I have only taken counsel from the Argufelf-opinion. ment. For of the Assyrians, which after the down-fall of Babel take up the first Part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of Posterity; some feet enterprises, greater in Fame than Faith, of Ninus and Semiramis, excepted.

It was the Story of the Hebrews, of all before Olympiads, that overcame the confuming disease of Time, and preserved it self from the very Cradle and Beginning to this day; andy not so entire, but that the large Discourses thereof (to which, in many Scriptures, we are no ferred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the Actions of those King and Princes which shot up here and there in the same Time, I am driven to relate by way digression; of which we may say with Virgit:

The Preface.

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto; They appear here and there, floting in the great gulf of Time.

To the same first Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us; though most of the Authors Names have perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Laws; they had their diversity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobility; Policy in Warr; Navigation, and all, or the most of needful Trades. To beak therefore of these (seeing in a general History we should have left a great deal of Nakedneß by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is, that I have also made many others; which, if they shall be laid to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heap of humane error. For, seeing we digress in the ways of our lives; year seeing the life of Man is nothing else but digression; I may the better be excused, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Laws of History, and of the kinds.

The same hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity. than by that excellent learned Gentleman, Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Laws are also taught us by the Prophets and Apostles; and every day preach'd unto us. But we still make large digressions; yea, the Teachers themselves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.

For the rest, after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldwans, and had raifed a great Monarchy, producing actions of more importance than were elsewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whilest it so flourished, that the affairs of the Nations adjoining had reference thereunto. The like observance was to be used towards the Fortunes of Greece, when they again began to get ground upon the Persians; as also towards the affairs of Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty than the Greeks.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations, who refished the beginnings of the former Empire, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember what was known of them from their several beginnings, in such times and places as they in their slourishing estates opposed those Monarchies, which in the end swallowed them up. And herein I have sollowed the best Geographers; who seldom give names to those small Brooks; whereof many joined together, make great Rivers; till such time as they become united, and run in main stream to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weak, and the Style not every where like it self; the first shews their legitimation and true Parent; the second will excuse it self upon the Variety of Matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Eclogues, gracili avena, used stronger pipes, when he sounded the wars Eneas. It may also be laid to my charge, that I use divers Hebrew words in my first book, and elsewhere in which language others may think, and my self acknowledgett, that am altogether ignorant; but it is true, that some of them I find in Montanus, others in atine Characters in S. Senensis; and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some my friends. But say, I had been beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, wing had an eleven years leifure to attain the knowledg of that, or of any other Tongue;

Howsoever, Iknow that it will be said by many, That I might have been more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine own Times, having been permitted to draw water as near the Well-head as another. To this I answer, That whosever in writing a modern History, Ball follow Truth too near the beels, it may haply frike out his teeth. There is no Mistress or Guide that bath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himself; and he that walks after her at a middle distance; I know not whether I should call that kind of course, Temper, or Baseness. It is true, that I never travelled after mens Opinions, when I might have made the best use of them; and I have now too few days remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardife, or both, do yet (when Death bath them on his shoulders) flatter the World, between the Bed and the Grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest Times; wherein also, why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and tax the Vices of those that are yet living, in their persons that are long since dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly, if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall find fault with me for painting them over anew, they shall therein accuse

For, I protest before the Majesty of God, that I malice no man under the Sun. Impossible themselves justly, and me fally. I know it is, to please all; seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured themselves, by reason of their subjection to their private passions, but that they seem divers pafons in one and the same day. Seneca bath said it, and so do I: Unus mihi pro populo erat: and to the same effect, Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis, sed tibi; (or as it bath fince lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an antient Philosopher, Satiselt unus, Satis est nullus. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince, Henry, the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertook this Work. I pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amiss. It is now left to the World without a Master; from which, all that is presented, hath received both blows and thanks: Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est onnis judicii, in quo lis secundum plures datur. But these Discourses are idle. I know, that as the date ritable will judg charitably; so against those, qui gloriantur in malitia, my present advasity bath disarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not farr to fall; and for rifing again, as in the Natural privation, there is no recession to babit; so it is selden feen in the privation politick. Ido therefore forbear to stile my Readers, Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good Opinions, or to promife a second and third Volume (which I also intend) if the first receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certain, let us claw it Reader with never to many courteous Phrases, yet shall we evermore be thought soils, the write foolighly. For conclusion, all the hope I have, lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well-deferving of the than ever I shall do again. For had it been otherwise; I should hardly have had this light HT bod on the west years he to have made my self a Fool in Print.



THE OFTHE OFTHE

Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the CREATION UNTO ABRAHAM.

The FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. L.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

§. I.

That the Invisible God is seen in his Creatures.



niverfal Nature, which cannot be defined. In these motions, their Almighty Maker. the glorious Lights of Heaven, we perceive a

OD, whom the wifeft making existent the World universal, by the men acknowledg to be absolute Art of his own Word, his Power a Power uneffable, and and Almightiness; which Power, Light, Ver-Vertue infinite, a Light tue, Wisdom, and Goodness, being all but by abundant clarity in- Attributes of one simple Essence, and one visible; an Understand- God, we in all admire, and in part discern ing which it felf can per speculum creaturarum, that is, in the dispoonely comprehend; an Effence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himself known by the Work of the World; in the worders and magnitude; which in their worders are made and simplified and spiritual. wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he imbraceth, filleth, and fulfaineth) we behold the Image of that glory which cannot be measured, and withall, that one, and yet universely live and the imbraceth filleth. The measured is the measured of the measured in the measur

In these more then wonderful works, God shadow of his divine Countenance; in his (faith * Hugo) speaketh unto man: and it is * Hugo fits * Hug merciful provision for all that live, his mani- true, that these be those discourses of God, Homil. 8. fold goodness: and lastly, in creating and whose effects, those that live, witness in them-

Mor. Herm. according to * S. Gregory, Omnis bomo eo iplo que falte sint queque sint & gubernantur, ob-Tal. 1. quad rationalis conditus est, ex issa ratione, il- servatione & collatione; velex issues to service the property of the property of the condition of th ingentian.

The wind of the condition of the common of the control of the common of th o not of Every man, in that he is reasonable out of the parts of fame reason may know, that he which made or beginning (faith Montanus) but either by Not. His immerification may know, that he which made the observing and conferring of things which fat, omits the observing and conferring of things, which fat, omits the observing to the Fathers. Does he hath or doth create and govern or alle (flut, omnia minis Job) which is according to the Fathers, Dohe hath, or doth create and govern; or elfe mifelan minationem illius conspicere in creaturis, To by the word of God himself.

his omia dicens him in his providence by his creatures. per ounid discern him in his providence by his creatures. in omnibus. That God hath been otherwise seen, to wit, Apparenta with corporal eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understanding, grounded on these places of S. John and S. Paul, Te have not apparitio heard his voice at any time neither have ye seen

his shape. And again, Whom never man saw. Joh. 5 3. nor can see.

And this I am sure agrees with the nature Ongent 2. of Gods simplicity, of which S. Augustine, Ipfa க்றிழ்ஒன் enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio noe. 23. mine appellandum eft, id ipsum quod Deus eft, cyril. o mine appenantum ep., to typum invo sens ep., linean an those who are intered by 5. Magn. peniloberts in corporaliter videri non potest. That nature, or fline, Summi Fhilosophi, Philosophers of high- or in corporaliter videri non potest. That nature, or fline, Summi Fhilosophi, Philosophers of high- or in corporaliter videri non potest. That nature, or is considered that full flance, or by what loever name that is est judgment and understanding. Mercurius with Greg. Nat. to be called which is God, whatfoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were Origen, Cyril, Chryso-Aug. 1. 2. stom, Gregory Nazianzene, Hierom, Augustine, de Trin. Gregorythe great, Evariftus, Alcuinus, Dionysius Gree, Mag. Areopagita, Aquinas, and all others of authori-L. 18. Mor. ty. But by his own Word, and by this visible Ever ep.1 World, is God perceived of men; which is Decret. WOTIG, is God perfect anguage of the Almighde Trin. ty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hie-16. D. roglyphical Characters are the unnumbred cal Hie Stars, the Sun and Moon; written on these yar. Thosa, darge Volumes of the Firmament: written al-p. 1, q 11. c fo on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of of one fire. alibi. Deus all those living creatures, and plants, which qui natura introduction inhabit and refide therein. Therefore faid en us vi that learned Culanus, Mundus universus nihil fibilisus possessin, dind est, quam Deus explicatus; The World posse seri, universal is nothing else but God exprest. And omnia Jupiter summus, deinde in lumen graopus few universalis nothings of God (faith S. Paul) are tum emift, ex facro corde operans cogitata of tum emift, ex facro corde operans cogitata of tum emift. Of which I conceive this fende; following feen by the creation of the World, being committee in the conceive this fende; nighten. fidered in his creatures. Of all which, there When great Jupiter had hidden all things in as per cere was no other cause preceding then his own himself, working out of the love of his sared tum feire- Will, no other matter then his own Power, no tur, o ille other Workman then his own Word, no o-Deux annui-um efferre ther confideration then hisown infinite good-derein, ness. The example and pattern of these his Creatures, as he beheld the same in all eterreput. as to be the Father and Creator of all things; culan. de it at length in the most wise order, by his ungen illus. changed Will moved, by his high Wisson disposed, and by his Almighty Power perfeditioned, and by his Almighty Power perfeditions. Red, and made visible. And therefore (faith Mirandula) we ought to love God, ex fide, &

felves; the sensible in their sensible natures; ation: Neque enim qui causa caret,ex causa & "Gra, in the reasonable, in their reasonable fouls: for, origine siri, cognosciq; potest, sed vel ex rerum,

6. II.

That the wifest of the Heathen, whose authority is not to be despised, have acknowledged the World to have been created by God.

His work and creation of the World. did most of the antient and learned Philosophers acknowledg, though by divers terms, and in a different manner exprest; I mean all those who are intitled by S. Augu-Pernal Trismegistus calleth God, Principium univerforum, The original of the Universal; to whom he giveth also the attributes of Mens, Natura. Aclus, Necessitas, Finis, & Renovatio. And wherein he truely with S. Paul, casteth upon God all power; confessing also, that the World was made by Gods Almighty Word, and not by hands : Verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundus. Zoroaster (whom Heraclitus followed in opinion) took the word Fire to express God by (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in S. Halls Paul it is used) Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt, All things (faith he) are caused or produced out

So did Orpheus plainly teach, that the World had beginning in time, from the Will of the most high God; whose remarkable words are thus converted; Cum abscondisset heart, he sent thence, or brought forth, into grateful light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wifest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, Unus Deus, Pater, Creator summus, Plato calland reason of the universal; Totius rerum via natura, causa, & origo Deus. But hereof more at large hereafter.

Now, although the curiofity of some men Word, and by the effects of the Worlds Cre- have found it superfluous; to remember the opinions of Philosophers in matters of Divinity: (it being true, that the Scripture hath not want of any forrain testimony) yet as the Fathers, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so S. Paul himself did not despise, but thought it lawful and profi-table, to remember whatsoever he found agreeable to the word of God among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not: as in the Epistle to Titus he citeth Epimenides against the Cretians, and to the Corinthians, Menander; and in the seventeenth of the Acts. Aratus &r. For, Truth (faith S. Ambrofe) by whomsoever uttered, is of the holy Ghost; that is, Thou hast made the world of a matter Veritas à quocunque dicatur, à Spiritu sancto without form; which matter thou madest of eft: and lastly, let those kind of men learn nothing, and being made, it was little other this rule ; Que sacris serviunt, prophana non funt; Nothing is prophane, that serveth to the use of holy things.

5. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, Genef. 1. 1.

This visible world of which Moses writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (faith Tertullian) things began to be. This word Beginning (in which the Hein the Jews Targum is converted by the word Sapientia) cannot be referred to fuccession of time, nor to order, as some men have conceived, both which are subsequent: but only to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary Matter to be informed, nor Form to inform, nor any Being, but the Eternal. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but disposed of Matter already in being, then as the word Beginning could not be referred to all things, fo must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceded from a greater power, then that of God. And by what name shall we then call fuch an One (faith Lactantius) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to dispose of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we fain a double creation, or allow of two Powers, and both infinite; the impoffibility whereof scorneth defence. Namimpossibile est plura esse infinita : quoniam alterum effet in altero finitum; There cannot be more Inone: eyes in astero pristing, there cannot so mil. limit, finities then one: for one of them would limit the other.

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§. IV.

of the meaning of the words Heaven and Earth, Genef. 2. 1.

He Universal matter of the world (which Moses comprehendeth under the names of Heaven and Earth) is by divers diverfly understood; for there are that conceive, that by those words was meant the first matter, as the Peripateticks understand it; to which S: Augustine and Isidore seem to adhere, Fecisti mundum (faith S. Augustine) de materia informi ; quam fecisti de nulla re, pene nullam rem : then nothing.

But this potential and imaginary materia

prima, cannot exist without form. Peter Lom-

bard, the Schoolmen, Beda, Lyranus, Comestor, Toftatus, and others affirm that it pleased God first of all to create the Empyrean Heaven: which at the succeeding instant (faith Beda and Strabo) he filled with Angels. This Em- Beda Hes. pyrean Heaven Steuchius Engubynus calleth Strabo fupyrean rieaven stements Engaging Called Per Gen.

Divine clarity and uncreated: an errour, for Eng. Cof. which he is sharply charged by Pererius, or denat. though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the in corp. brews seek some hidden mystery, and which subsequent, when he made it to be a place, and the feat of Angels and just Souls, then in the former affirmation; for of the first, That God liveth in eternal Light, it is written, My Pf. 104.122 foul, praise thou the Lord, that covereth himself Clania diwith light: and in the Revelation, And the vina non est City hath no need of the Sun, neither of the fed sapien-Moon to Shine in it: for the glory of God did tia Dei, non light it. And herein also John Mercer upon nata, Apoc, Genesis, differeth not in opinion from Eugu- 21. 23. bynus: for as by Heaven created in the be- Gen. 7. 7. ginning, was not meant the invisible or supercelestial; so in his judgment, because it was in all eternity the glorious feat of God himfelf, it was not necessary to be created; Quem Mundum Super-colestem meo judicio creari (faith Mercer) non erat necesse.

But as Moses forbare to speak of Angels, and of things invisible and incorporate, for the weakness of their capacities, whom he then cared to inform of those things which were most manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliver them from the bondage of Egypt, according to his promile made to their forefathers; but also that he created, and was the fole cause of this aspectable, and perceivable Universal: fo on the other side I dare not think, that any supercelestial Heaven, or whatsoever else (not himself) was increate and eternal; and as for

ex effectibus (that is) both perfwaded by his

the finite wisdom of mortal men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the feat of infinite power, no more then infinite power it self can be limited: for his place is in Himfelf, whom no magnitude else can contain: Bar. 3. 14, How great is the house of God (faith Baruch) how bath no end, it is high and unmeasurable.

But leaving multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words Heaven and Earth, was meant the folid matter and substance, as well of all the Heathe Earth and Waters, which covered it over, (to wit) that very matter of all things, Materia, Chaos, pollibilitas, five posse fieri. Which matter (faith Calvin) was fo called, quod totius mundi semen fuerit; Because it was the feed of the Universal: an opinion of antient Philosophers long before.

6. V.

That the substance of the Waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by Moses understood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and void, is described as the Chaos of the antient Heathen.

prest: and by the name of Earth and Waters, given to the Earth, while it was consused; all was meant, whatloever is under the norto the Heavens, before they had motion, Moon, and subject to alteration. Corrupt and adornment. God fam that it mas good, that feeds bring forth corrupt plants; to which the is, made perfect for perfection is that to which pure heavens are not subject, though subject nothing is wanting. Et perfett Dei perfett a fant Plio. 26, to perishing. They shall perish (saith David) and the heavens shall vanish away like smoak, faith Efay. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth; for it is written, Let the maters under the heavens be gathered into one place. and let the dry land appear: which proveth, that the dry land was mixt and covered with the waters and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or feed of the Earth, much less of the Universal. Ini-Ph. 104.6. tio tu, Domine, terram fundafti, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth: and again, The Earth was covered with the Deep (meaning with waters) as with a garment, faith

the place of God before the world created, David. And if by natural arguments it may be proved, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth us also, that earth rarified may become water: water, air: air, fire: and lo on the contrary.

Deus ignis substantiam per aerem in aquam convertit, God turneth the substance of fire by air large is the place of his possession; it is great, and intowater. For the Heavens and the Earth were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicity of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. Cælum verd & terra in statu creati- Gal 1 vens, and Orbsfupernal, as of the Globe of onis remanserunt quantum ad substantiam, licet 600. multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est. And the word which the Hebrews call Maim, is not to be underftood according to the Latine translation fimply, and as specifical water; but the same more properly fignifieth liquor. For (according to Montanus) Est autem Maim liquor ge- A. Ma minus. & hoc nomen propter verborum penuri- de un am, Latina lingua plurali numero Aquas fecit; For Maim (faith he) is a double liquor (that is, of divers natures) and this name or word the Latines, wanting a voice to expressit, call it in the Plural, Aquas, Waters.

This Mais, or indigested matter, or Chaos, created in the beginning, was without form, that is, without the proper form, which it af-Moles first nameth Heaven and Earth terwards acquired, when the Spirit of God (putting waters but in the third place) had separated the Earth, and digested it from as comprehending waters in the word Earth; the Waters. And the Earth was word, that is, call but afterwards he nameth them apart, when not producing any creatures, or adorned God by his Spirit began to diffinguish the with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after confused Mass, and (as Bask saith) Preparare the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, naturam aque ad fecunditatem vitalem 5 To and wrought this indigested matter into that prepare the nature of water to a vital fruit- form, which it now retaineth; then did the earth bud forth the herb, which feedeth feed, and For under the word Heaven, was the mat- the fruitful tree according to his kind, and God ter of all heavenly bodies, and natures ex- fam that it mas good; which attribute was not opera; The works of the perfect God, are perfect.

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the antient Poets their invention of Demogorgon; Hesiodus and Anaxagoras the knowledg of that Chaos: of which ovid; Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) 11.1.

Cælum,

Unus crat toto natura vultus in Orbe, Quem dixêre Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles. Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide,

In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide: Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heap.

6. VI.

How it is to be understood, that the Spirit of God moved upon the waters; and that this is not to be fearched curioufly.

Athen void and without form, the Spirit past finding out. O righteous Father, the world of God moved upon the Waters. The seventy Interpreters ule the word superfereba-tur, moved upon or over: incubabat or soout of a Syrian Doctor; Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cujusdam syri sententiam recensebo (faith Bafil:) which words incubare or fovere, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a special likeness. Verbum translatum est ab avibus pullitici suæ incubantibus, quamvis spirituali, & plane inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo; The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner. Some of the Hebrews convert it to this

effect, Spiritus Dei volitabat; The Spirit of God didflutter: the Chaldean Paraphrast in this sense, Ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat : or, as other understand the Chaldean, Flabat, pellebat, removebat : The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did Plat 147. blow upon; according to the 147. Plalm. He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no wind nor exhala-Ar. Mont, tion. Arias Montanus in these words, Et Spiph.in cof. ritus Elohim Meracheset, id est, efficaciter motitans, confovens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris; The Spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and cherishing, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor. For he maketh four originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and material, to wit, Causa, which is the di-Mr. Mont. vine Goodness . Jehi, which is, fiat, five erit, nura, pag. Let it be, or, It shall be. Que vox verbo dei prima prolata fuit: Which voice (saith he) was the first that was uttered by the Word of God. The third, Spiritus Elohim, the Spirit of God, id est, Vis quædam divina, agilis ac præsens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens; that is, A certain divine power, or strength every where active and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things. The fourth he calleth Maim, id est, Materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis; Matter apt to becom everything. For my felf, I am refolved (Cum Deus sit super rationale omni ratione; Seeing God is in all reason above reason) that although the effects which follow his wonderful waies of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans understanding, yet mee maketh Animammundi, The foul of the

the manner and first operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortal body. Animalis homo que Dei sunt non percipit : For my thoughts (faith the Lord in Efay) are not Efa. 55. 8. your thoughts, neither are your waies my waies. And as the world hath not known God him-Fter the Creation of Heaven and Earth, self: fo are his waies (according to S. Panl) hath not known thee, faith Christ. And there-

fore, whether that motion, vitality, and operation, were by incubation or how elfe, the vebat (faith Hierome) out of Basit; and Basit manner is onely known to God. Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus nofter non capit; For how God (faith S. Augustine, speaking of his Ubi-Trest. 16, quity) is in all things, either by essence, pre-motion sense, or power, our understanding cannot com- 17.25. prehend. Nihil inter Deum hominemque distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius Majestatis Lat. in aterna, cogitatio assequeretur humana: There would be no difference between God and man; if man's understanding could conceive the counsels and disposing of that eternal Majesty; and therefore to be over-curious in fearching how the all-powerful Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operative spirit distinguishing gave form to the Matter of the Universal, is a labour and fearch like unto his, who not contented with a known and fafe Foord, will presume to pass over the greatest River in all

parts, where he is ignorant of their depths:

for fo doth the one lose his life, and the other

his understanding. We behold the Sun, and

enjoy his light, as long as we look towards

it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warm

our selves safely, while we stand neer the fire;

but if we feek to out-face the one, to enter

into the other, we forthwith become blind

or burnt. But to eschew curiofity: this is true, that the English word (moved) is most proper and fignificant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatfoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, Principium motus, and with Mirandula, Vis cause efficientis. The force of the efficient cause; S. Augustine sometimes taketh for the Holy Ghoft: fometimes for a wind or breath, Sub nomine Spiritus, under the name of a Spirit, which is sometimes so taken: or for virtualis creatura. For a created virtuality: Tertullian and Theodoret call it also a breath or wind : Mercurius nameth it. Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem, A pure or thin intelligible Spirit: Anaxagoras, Mentem : Toftatus Voluntatem & mentem Dei . The will and mind of God; which Mens, Plato in Ti-

calleth it the Law of Heaven; in his Epistles, The Leader of things to come, and the presence of things palt. But as Cyprian wrote of the incarnation of Christ our Saviour, Mens deficit, vox filet, & non mea tantum, sed etiam Angelorum ; My mind faileth, my voice is filent, and not mine onely, but even the voice of Angels: fo may all men else say in the understanding and utterance of the waies and works of the Creation; for to him (faith Nazianzenus) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, sed confubstantiale illi eft, quicquid ejus eft, & quicquid eft; Whatfoever attribute of him there is, and whatfoever he is, it is the very same substance that him-

But the Spirit of God which moved upon wind, nor for any other creature, separate living Creatures. from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and diffinguished, and which now fustaineth and giveth continuance to the Universal. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it which maintaineth all things, faith Solomon. If thou fend forth thy Spirit (faith David) they are created: And Gregory, Deus suo prasentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quòd si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent universa; God giveth being to all things, by being present with all things, so then as of nothing the world was made, it would Virgil hath exprest excellently:

Principio Cœlum ac Terras, camposque liquentes, Virg. E- Lucenténiq, globum Luna, Titaniaq, aftra, Spiritus intus alit : totamq; infusa per artus, Mens agitat molem. & magno se corpore miscet.

The Heaven, and Earth, and all the liquid

The Moon's bright Globe, and Stars Tita-

A Spirit within maintains: and their whole

A mind, which through each part infus'd doth pais,

Fashions, and works, and wholly doth transpierce

All this great Body of the Universe.

And this was the same Spirit, which moved in the Universal, and thereby both diral motion; motion brought forth heat; and called the Chaos, or material substance of

world: and in his fixth Book de Republica, he | heat rarifaction, and fubtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby, operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one fuperiour, as lighter then the waters; through whose vast, open, subtile, Diaphanick, or transparent body, the light, afterwards created might eafily transpierce: Light for the excellency thereof being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit Chrysoftom calleth a vital Operation, Aquis à Deo insetam, ex qua aque non solum motionem, sed & vimprocreandi animalia habuerint. He calleth it, A vital Operation given by Godunto the waters, whereby the waters had not onely mothe waters, cannot be taken for a breath or tion, but also power to procreate or bring forth

s. VII.

Of the Light created, as the material substance of the Sun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledg of it: and of the excellency and use of it: and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

Hele Waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gatheas if he should withdraw himself from them, red and united, and called the Sun, the Organ and Instrument of created light. For again fall away and vanish into nothing. And this first and dispersed light did not (as I conthis working of Gods Spirit in all things, ceive) diftinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Suns creation, and the uniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proved by these words, Let there be Gen. 1.14 lights in the Firmament, to separate the day from the night: which lights in the Firmament of Heaven, were also made for signes, and for feafons, and for daies, and for years, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which, days and years are diftinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three days which preceded the Suns creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the Day named in the fifth Verse; was but such a space, as afterwards by the Suns motion made a civil or natural day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, ftinguished and adorned it. His spirit hath and of the lower and upper waters, and of garnified the Heavens; faith Job. So then the seas, and Creatures therein; Earth, the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and matter of Beafts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans created in them their spirituality, and natu- body: so may Light (for expression sake) be

the Sun, and other lights of heaven: How- ons of Beda, Hugo, Lombard, Lyranus, and obeit, neither the Sun, nor any thing fenfible, thers: fo is his own judgment herein, as berg needs is that light it felf, *Quæ caufa eft lucidorum*, weak as any mans; and most of the Schoolmen which is the caufe that things are lightfone men were rather curious in the nature of moved upon the waters, which were in one of indigefred lump, and Chaos, difpoied to all offing and in the nature of the same of the luminateth the Moon, by whom the neight then discoverers of any thing hidden, either 4.0 bouring Region (which the Greeks call A. in Philosophy or Divinity: of whom it may ther, the place of the supposed Element of be truly said, Nihil sapientia odiosius acumine fire) is effected and qualified, and by it all nimio; Nothing is more odious to true wifbodies living in this our ayr. For this light dom, then too accute sharpness. Neither hath Avicenna calleth Vehiculum & fomentum omnium colestium virtutum, & impressionum: The conducter, and preserver, or nourisher of all brought forth and devoured) resolved us. celestial virtues and impressions, nothing defcending of heavenly influences, but by the medium, or means of light. Arifietle calleth because then it could neither pierce the ayr, light a quality, inherent or cleaving to a Di- nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies, aphanous body, Lumen eft qualitas inhærens which it doth; and yet every day we fee the Diaphano: but this may be better avouched ayr illightned: Incorporal it cannot be, beof the heat, which it transporteth and bring- cause it sometime affecteth the fight of the eth with it, or conducteth: which heat (fay eye with offence, and therefore by most of Min 1b. the Platonicks) Abeunte lumine residet in sub- the Fathers so esteemed. Others say (as Pajecto, The light being departed, doth reside in tricius) that it cannot be matter, because no the subject, as warmth in the ayr, though the form so excellent as it self to inform it: neifame be deprived of light. This light Plotinus ther can it be any accident, which is not feand all the Academicks make incorporal, and fo doth Montanus, Cui nec duritia relistit, nec spatium : Which neither hardness resisteth, nor Space leaveth.

> of light; but it is but by way of repetition of these, lucid or bright, dark or opake, Dia imperois M. de fait. other mens opinions, faith Picolomineus. De- phanous or transparent; but darkness cannot plens fais mocritus, Leucippus, and Epicurus, give mate- be parent of light; and things Diaphanous tembris aliriality to light it felf, but improperly: for it (being neither light nor darkness, but capamalicity at an infrant from the Heaven to the ble of either learners by the ble of either learners. ranky to ngut it iest, but improperly: 101 h ble of either) cannot be the cause of either, remarks be of either, cannot be the cause of either, remarks be and therefore must the matter, or form, or behavioral therefore must be matter, or form, or behavioral therefore must be matter. cause it passeth through the solid body of both, be lucid and shining. Lucid and shi event six glass, or other Crystalline matter; and whereas it is withstood by unclean and unpure therefore if we derive this being of light in or laearthy substances, less hard, and more easie to from a former, then would the progress go on mine or 100 invade then the former, the same is, 200d infinitely and against nature; and therefore metric perobstaculum natura terreum atq; sordidum, non he concludeth, that light in the Sun hath his sed. so. capit candidam luminis puritatem; Because an being primarily, and immediately of it self, ex. 71. obstacle by nature earthy and soul, doth not and is therefore the Suns form, and the form receive the pure clearness of light: alluding to of all lucid and shining bodies: but what is that most divine Light, which onely shineth taught hereby, let others judge. on those minds, which are purged from all worldly drofs, and humane uncleannefs.

taught thereby. Thomas Aquinas (not inferi-

the length of time, and the search of many learned men, (which the same time hath whether this light be fubstantial, corporal, or incorporal: Corporal they fay it cannot be, parable without the destruction of the subject: for light being taken from the Sun, the Lucidator-Sun is no more the Sun in existence. Second-pora funt ly, if light were proceeding from matter and plena fua Ariftotle findeth corporality in the beams form, then either, or both must be one of mitteteris

But in my understanding, Lumen (which may be Englished by the word shine) is an But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion 3, neither do I marvel at it, Englished by Light; and so, this shining which for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, proceedeth from the Sun, or other lights of Philotophers, or School-men, or other anti-Heaven, or from any other light, is an Image, ent or latter Writers, that any of them underftood either it or themselves therein: all tional Species may be understood by exammen (to cast off ignorance) have disputed ple of a red or green colour, occasioned by thereof, but there is no man that hath been the shining of the Sun through red or green our to any in wit) as he hath flewed little cast upon any thing opposite; which redness frength of argument in refuting the opini- or other colour, we call the intentional Spe-

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what way is the Light parted, and where is the

may where Light dwelleth? we thereby know,

that the nature thereof falleth not under

mans understanding; and therefore let it

fuffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy the ef-

fects thereof. For this light is of the treasure

do invisibili; in mundo visibili umbræ rerum:

Things themselves are in the invisible World;

in the world visible, but their shadows. Surely.

if this Light be not spiritual, yet it approach-

eth neerest unto spirituality; and if it have

any corporality, then of all other the most

fubtile and pure; for howfoever, it is of all

things feen, the most beautiful, and of the

fwiftest motion, of all other the most neces-

fary and beneficial. For it ministreth unto

men, and other creatures, all celestial influ-

ences; it diffipateth those sad thoughts and

forrows, which the darkness both begetteth

and maintaineth; it discovereth unto us the

glorious works of God, and carrieth up with

an Angelical swiftness, our eyes unto Heaven,

that by the fight thereof, our minds being

informed of his visible marvels, may conti-

nually travel to furmount these perceived

Heavens, and to find out their omnipotent

rebus creatis; Our knowledg doth not quiet it

tera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cum

suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communi-

cet; It is the Light (Saith Saint Ambrose) that

maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise, sceing that it self communicateth its

goodness and beauty unto all. Of which, Ovid

Cause and Creator. Cognitio non quiescit in Filis

of God (faith Efdras:) And those which inha- Eft.

dro) certainly is not a mind, but the cause that properly for the waters above the ayr, or in the mind hath his being; nor spirit, but the the uppermost region of the same.

cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.

gies of the colour in that glass. And again, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, be the same which the Sun inholdeth and cafteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Suns creation.

bite the Heavens, do onely know the Essence . 6.0 But by the most wise and unchanged orthereof. Nihilignotum in calo, nihil notum in Him. der, which God observed in the works of the terra: Nothing unknown in Heaven, nothing World, I gather, that the Light, in the first perfectly known on Earth. Res veræ funt in munday created, was the substance of the Sun: for Mofes repeateth twice the main parts of the Universal: first, as they were created in matter; fecondly, as they were adorned with form: first, naming the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused; and afterward the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry Land; and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called Arida, or dry Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their virtual forms: So the Sun although it had not its formal perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united, and set in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the first day God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects felf in things created. Et ipfa lux facit, ut canamed by Anticipation (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed after this Light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdome of God find cause why it should move (by which motion, days and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sun might give light, heat, and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herb &c. God caused the Sun to move, and (by interchange of time) to visite every part of the inferiour World; by his heat to stir up the fire of generation, and to give actiquemadme vity to the feeds of all natures : For, as a dum Rex King, which commandeth fome goodly builer. Pro ding to be erected, doth accommodate the cop. in Gen. fame to that use and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith Procopius) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerful Word he approved, and approving it, disposed thereof, to the use and comfort of his future Creatures.

But in that it pleased God to ask of Job, By

out of Orpheus: Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum, Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia

Mundi oculus. The world discerns it self, while I the World behold,

By me the longest years, and other times are told,

I the worlds eye.

Lastly, If we may behold in any creature, any one spark of that eternal fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightness, the same in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this Light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called Lux ipfa; and the Light, by Hermes, named Lux fancta; and Christ our Saviour said to be that Light which lightneth e- 3th very man that cometh into the world. Yet in

6. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Crystalline Heaven, or any Primum mobile.

ded, and those of the Earth and Sea.

respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimity, and Æsher, then for the heavens, as the and purity, this is also true, that God is neibest Hebricians understand them, Quo suprether a mind, nor a Spirit of the nature of o- ma ac tenuia ab infimis crassis diducta, interther Spirits; nor a light, such as can be di- sett aque distarent, for that whereby the supreme scerned. Deus profecto non mens est, at vero and thin bodies were placed in distance, being ut lit mens causa est; nec spiritus, sed causa severed and cut off from low and gross matters: qua firitus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qua and the waters above the firmament, exprest lumen existit: God (saith Hermes in Poeman- in the word Majim, are in that tongue taken

And that the word Heaven is used for the con. 45. Ayr, the Scriptures every where witness; as 25. So then the Mass and Chaos being first cre- in the blessings of Joseph, and in the 104. ated, void, dark, and unformed, was by the Pfalm: * By these springs shall the foul of the * rfal. operative Spirit of God, pierced and quick-ned; and the Waters, having now received rahit rained brimflone and fire out of the Heat-14. Co. Spirit and motion, resolved their thinner ven; and in Isaacs bleffing to Jacob; God 17.18. parts into Ayr, which God illightned: the give thee therefore of the dew of Heaven: and Job 38 29, Earth allo by being contiguat, and mixt with in Deuteronomy the 11. But the land whither Manh. 6. waters (participating the same divine virtue) you go to possess it, is a land that drinketh mater brought forth the bud of the herb that feed- of the rayne of Heaven; and in Job, Who hath eth feed, &c. And for a mean and organ, ingendred the frosts of Heaven ? and in S. Matby which this operative virtue might be them, Behold the Fowls of Heaven, for they fow continued, God appointed the Light to be not. So as in all the Scriptures of the Old united, and gave it also motion and heat, Testament throughout, is the word Heaven which heat caused a continuance of those se- very oft used for Ayr, and taken also hyperverall species, which the Earth (being made | bolically for any great Height, as, Let us Gen. 11.4. fruitful by the Spirit) produced, and with buildus a Tower, whose top may reach to Heamotion begat the time and times succeeding. | ven &c. And in this very place Basil avoucheth, that this appellation of Heaven for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude: his own words be thefe; Et vocavit Deus firmamentum cœlum. Hac appellatio alii quidem propriè accommodatur, buic autem nunc ad similitudinem; And God called the firmament Heaven: This appellation (faith Basil) is pro-A Fter that the Spirit of God had moved perly applied to another (that is to the Starry Heaven) but to this (that is, to the firmament God faid, Let there be a Firmament in the mid- dividing the waters) it is imposed by similitude. dest of the waters, and let it separate the waters | And if there were no other proof, that by from the waters: that is, those waters which the Firmament was meant the Ayr, and not by rarifaction and evaporation were ascen- the Heaven, the words of Moses in the eighth verse, conferred with the same word Firma-But these waters, separate above this Ex- ment in the twentieth verse, make it manitension, which the Latine Translation calleth fest: for in the eighth verseit is written, firmamentum, or expansum (for so Vatablus, that God called the Firmament, which divi-Pagninus, and Junius turn it) are not the Cry- ded waters from waters, Heaven; and in the stalline Heavens created in the imaginations twentieth verse he calleth the Firmament of of men; which opinion Basilius Magnus call- Heaven, Ayr; in these words, And let the eth a childish supposition, making in the same Fowl five upon the earth in the open sirmament place many learned arguments against this of Heaven. And what use there should be of infancie. For the waters above the firma- this ycie, or crystalline, or waterie Heaven, I ment, are the waters in the ayr above us, conceive not, except it be to moderate and where the same is more folid and condense, temper the heat, which the Primum mobile which God separated from the neather wa- would otherwise gather and increase: though ters by a firmament, that is, by an extended in very truth, infead of this help, it would distance and vast space: the words Raquia add an unmeasurable greatness of circle, (which Montanus writeth Rakiagh), and Sha- whereby the swiftness of that first Moveable majim, being indifferently taken for the hea- would exceed all possibility of belief. sed ven and for ayr, and more properly for the nemo tenetur ad impossibilia; but no man

ta; cum verò tot temporibus, tot ingeniis in

eius inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa,

time, and so many wits have been worn out in the inquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no

wildom there to be had. Nam ft de una re præ-

necessario haberetur: If the precise knowledg of

any one thing were to be had, it should necessa-

rily follow, that the knowledg of all things were

to be had. And as the Phylosophers were ig-

norant in Nature, and the waies of her work-

ing; so were they more curious, then know-

ing, in their first matter and Phisical form.

For if their first matter had any being, it were

not then the first matter: for, as it is the first

matter, it hath only a power of being, which

it altogether leaveth, when it doth subsist.

And feeing it is neither a fubstance perfect,

nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of

perfection, how any other substance should

thence take concrescence, it hath not been

taught, neither are these forms (saith a lear-

tentia aug nibil eft. Again how this first matter

should be subjectum formarum, and passive,

is hard to conceive: for to make form, which

caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary

not subsist without the other, but in a kind

of rational confideration. Leaving therefore

these Riddles to their Lovers, who by cer-

tain Scholastical distinctions wrest and per-

Aristotle hath laboured to prove a false eter-

nity of the World, I think it farr fafer to af-

ffirm with Saint Augustine, That all species and

kinds are from God, from whom, what soever

is natural proceedeth, of what kind or estimati-

on soever; from whence are the seeds of all

motions; A quo est omnis species, à quo est quic-

quid naturaliter est, cujuscunq, generis est, cu-

juscunq; estimationis est; à quo sunt semina for-

Albertus upon Dionysius.

mente 1.3. cisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia

CHAP. I

felf (which furmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible conductor the Word of Truth, which also may be called lumen omnis rationis & intellectus; the that this supposed first Moveable, turneth it culty, any first or sole power, have therein felfe formany hundred thousand miles in an no other understanding, then such a one hath instant(seeing the Scriptures teach it not)let those that can believe mens imagination, apprehend it; for I cannot. But of these many Heavens, let the Reader that defireth fatilfaction, search Orontius; and of this waterie 40,41. e. c. and Matth. Beroaldus, in his fecond hand: forgetting in this and in all elfe, that Heaven, Basilius Magnus, in his Hexam. fol. Book and fixth chapter. For my felf, I am by the virtue of the first act, all Agents work perswaded, that the waters called, The waters above the Heavens, are but the clouds and waters engendred in the uppermost ayr.

6. IX.

A Conclusion, repeating the summ of the works in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.

O conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of Genesis, that this was the order of the most wife God in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or Being, but Gods incomprehensible eternity. First, he created the matter of all things: and in the first three dayes he distinguished, and gave to every nature his proper form; the form of levitie to that which afcended; to that which descended, the form of gravity: for he separated light from darknels, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the last three days, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the World: he fet in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sun, Moon, and Starrs; filled the Earth with Beafts, the Ayr with Fowl, and the Sea with Fish, giving to all that have life a power generative, thereby to continue their Species, and kinds;toCreatures vegetative and grow-6.1.14 ing, their Seeds in themselves, for he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world are preserved.

6. X

That Nature, is no Principium per se; nor Form, the giver of being: and of our ignorance how second causes should have any proportion with their effects.

Acall Nature, the beginning of motion tis knic studio subjaceret, aliquando esset inven-

ought to be held to impossibilities: and faith it | and rest, according to Aristotle, the same is which God hath infused into every creature, having no other felfe-ability, then a Clock, after it is wownd up by a mans hand, hath. Those therefore that attribute unto this fafinding it guided by the Helm and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute virtue to the peece of wood, without all confideration of the hand that guides it, or of the judgment, which also directeth and commandeth that agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt: for as the mind of man feeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the ears, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore we attribute fight to the eye, and hearing to the ears, &c. and yet it is the mind only, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; fo God worketh by Angels, by the Sun, by the Starrs, by Nature or infused properties, and by men as by feveral Organs, several effects; all second causes whatsoever, being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they have received from the head and fountain of the Universal. For as it is Gods infinite power, and everywhere-prefence (compaffing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sun power to draw up vapours, to be made clouds; clouds to contain rain, and rain to fall: fo all fecond and instrumental canses together with Nature it self, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would become altogether filent, virtueles, and dead: of which excellently Orpheus; Name Per te virescunt omnia, All things by thee spring minimal forth in youthful green. I enforce not these of pull things, thereby to annihilate those variable division virtues which God hath given to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly Lat. and earthly bodies, &c. for all His workes fall his in their virtues prayse him: but of the man ner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I say, there is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or express it, ever enrich his own understanding with any certain truth, or ever edific others (not foolish by selfe-flattery) therein. For (saith Lastantius, speaking of the wisdom of the Nd for this working-power, which we Philosophers) si facultas invenienda verita-

apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam; If in this studie (faith he), were means to find out the Of Fate; and that the Starrs have great intruth, it had ere this bin found out : but seeing fluence: and that their operations may diit is not yet comprehended, after that so much verfly be prevented or furthered.

> Nd, as of Nature, fuch is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that have written thereof, may be fafely received, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an inevitable necessity, and made it more general, and univerfally powerful then it is, by giving it Dominion over the mind of man, and over his will, of which Ovid and Tuvenal:

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet. Servis regna dabunt, captivis Fata triumphos. 7. 201.

'Gainst Fate no counsel can prevaile. Kingdoms to Slaves by Destinie, To Captives triumphs given be.

them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscillian- 4. nedAuthour)any thing, si ex ea exprimatur po- lists, the Bardisanists, and others, as Basil, An- beref. 10. gustine, and Thomas have observed: but that c. 35. Fate is an obedience of second causes to the Gent 3. which is understood to precede the form, it first, was well conceived of Hermes, and A- cap. 8. 31 puleius the Platonist. Plotinus out of the A. Ficin. in is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing stronomers calleth it a disposition from the cit. defet. acts of celestial Orbs, unchangeably workto all reason, divine and humane; only it ing in inferiour bodies, the same being also may be faid, that originally there is no other true enough, in respect of all those things difference between matter and form, then which a rational mind doth not order nor between heat and fire, of which the one can- direct. Ptolemie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicurus, Chrysippus, Empedocles, and the Stoicks, fome of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and inevitable necessity; and that it is the same which vert the truth of all things, and by which is spoken and determined by God (quod de unoquoq; nostrum fatus est Deus) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starrs are instruments of far greater use, then to give an obfoure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunfet: it being manifest, that the diversity of forms, and the forms of all seeds and their feafons, the Winters, and Summers, more hot and cold, are not fo uncertained by the Sun and Moon alone, who alway keep one and the same course; but that the Stars have also

marum, formæ seminum, motus seminum atq; formarum. And thus much Averrois is forced And if we cannot deny, but that God hath to confess. For all forms (faith he) are, in given virtues to Springs and Fountains, to primo motore; which is also the opinion of cold Earth, to Plants and Stones, Minerals, Aristotle in the twelfth of his Metaph, and of and to the excremental parts of the basest living creatures, why should we rob the beautiful Stars of their working powers? for feeing they are many in number, and of emi-

6. XI.

An errour of the Chaldeans, and after Ball. Ella. their working therein.

CHAP. I.

nent beauty and magnitude, we may not doubted. Corpora caleftia (laith Damascene) think, that in the treasury of his wisdom, who constituent in nobis habitus, complexiones, & is infinite, there can be wanting (even for e- dispositiones. The heavenly bodies (saith he) as every herb, plant, fruit, and flower adornas every nero plant, truit, and nower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For further) hath undoubtedly a kind of draw-ing, as these were not created to beautifie the ing after it the affections of the mind, especiearth alone, and to cover and shadow her dufty face, but otherwise for the use of man virtues; for those of cholerick complexions and beast, to feed them and cure them; so are subject to anger, and the surious effects were not those uncountable glorious bodies thereof; by which they suffer themselves to fet in the Firmament, to no other end, then be transported, where the Mind hath not reato adorn it; but for Instruments and Organs fon to remember, that passions ought to be of his divine Providence, fo far as it hath her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they pleafed his just will to determine. Origen up-on this place of Genefit, Let there be light in folved: For all those which were created Gen. 1.151 the Firmament, &c. affirmeth, that the Starrs mortal, as birds, beafts, and the like, are left are not causes (meaning perchance binding to their natural appetites; over all which, causes;) but are as open Books, wherein are celestial bodies (as instruments and executicontained and fet down all things what soever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisdom: which latter part I believe well, and this faying of Syracides with-Ecclus. 42, all: That there are kid yet greater things then And though, for the capacity of men, we tue and piety prepared, putteth himself altothese be, and we have seen but a few of his works. most virtues of herbs and plants, which our tite; Vincitur fatum fi resssar, vincit si confelves fow and fet, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much it; if thou neglett, it conquereth. more in the powers and working of celestial bodies. For hardly (faith solomon) can me discern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find we out those things that are before us: Who can then investigate the things that are in Heaven? Multum eft, de re-Anfolie. bus calestibus aliquid cognoscere: It is much to know a little of heavenly things. But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we doe not bind God to his creatures, in this suppofed necessity of Destriny; so on the contrary, we do not rob those beautiful creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these fecond causes despoiled God of his Prerogative, or had God himself constrained the mind and will of man to impious acts by any celestial inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some, were justifiable; of whom S. Augustine, Impia perversitate in malis factis points And orem Syderum, quam commissionem fame, and weaken their operation; and drifterum; Where we reprehend them of earl stolle himself confession, that the Heavens do Aug 10. rectissime reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum spor Gen. potius shelorem Syderum, quam commissorem ad in.

The first Book of the first Part

then the door of the evil, is to be accused. dies incline the will by mediation of the fenconstitution and complexion, it cannot be the Fathers virtue is, and so the contrary, Pafitive appetite, which is also stirred by the

ally bodies strong in humour, and weak in oners of Gods providence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge of men, who little differ from beafts, I cannot tell; for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them; so whosoever shall neglect the remedies by virgether under the power of his fenfual appe-

But that either the Stars or the Sun have any power over the minds of men immediately, it is abfurd to think, other then as aforesaid, as the same by the body's temper may be effected. Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsam movet & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sun (faith S. Augustine) helpeth the ge- control neration of sensible bodies, moveth them to life, il. and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them: yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio, The Sun is good to serve, not to sway (faith S. Ambrose.) And S. Augustine. Deus re- und git inferiora corpora per superiora, God ruleib the bodies below by those above; but he avoucheth not, that superiour bodies have rule over mens minds, which are incorporal.

But howfoever we are by the Stars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the deeds, they again with wicked perverfness urge, not always work their effects in inferiour bothat rather the Author and Creator of the Stars, dies no more then the figns of rain and wind But that the Stars and other celectial bocounter-working to these inclinations. Est in an Juvencis Patrum virtus, In the young Off fring ol, trum vitia: and herein also there is often vere execution, as that there should be nemen, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men to virtue.

Egregia est soboles scelerato nata parente:

A worthy fon is born of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods referved power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as Education doth: for there are none in the World fo wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing up, may fashion anew and reform them; nor any fo well disposed, whom (the reins being let loose) the continual fellowship and familiarity, and the ex- but that God (which only knoweth the opeamples of diffolute men, may not corrupt ration of his own creatures truly) hath affuand deform. Vessels will ever retain a savour red us, that there is no inclination or temptaof their first liquor : it being equally difficult tion so forcible, which our humble Prayers either to clense the mind once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet savour of virtue first received, when the mind was yet tender, open, and eafily feafoned; but where a favourhappily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding virwere) running together and agreeing in one : without hope. for as the feeds of virtue may by the art and hulbandry of Christian counsel produce better and more beautiful fruit then the strength of Self-nature and Kind could have yielded them; fo the plants apt to grow wild, and to true God of the one, and the imaginary gods change themselves into weeds, by being set of the other, would thereby be despoiled of in a foyl futable, and like themselves, are made more unfavoury and filled with poyfon. It was therefore truly affirmed, Sapiens adjuvabit opus Astrorum, quemadmodum Agricola terra naturam; A wife man affifteth the work of the Stars, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the foyl. And Ptolemy himself con-fesseth thus much, Sapiens, & omina sapientis Medici, dominabuntur Astris; A wise man and the ominous art of a wife Physician shall prevail against the Stars. Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the Stars, as he did the rest of the Universal; whose influences may be called his referved and unwritten Laws. But let us confider how they bind: even as the Laws of men do; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Laws decreed, that a Thief and a Murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magistrates (the Stars of Kings) executed accordingly; yet these Laws do not deprive Kings of their natural or religious compassion, or bind them without prerogative, to such a se-

found an enterchange; the Sons of virtuous thing left of liberty to judgment, power, or conscience: the Law in his own nature, being no other then a deaf Tyrant. But feeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) do fometimes for causes to themselves known, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves; it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himself, which his Substitutes enjoy; God being mercy, goodness, and charity it felf. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our Saviour taught; And let us not be led into Mat. 6.13. temptation, but deliver us from evil, had been no other but an expence of words and time; and Defires may not make frustrate and break afunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Destiny, though depending upon eternal power, yet being once able constellation (allowing that the Stars ordered and disposed, had such a connexion incline the will) and a virtuous education do and immutable dependency, that God himfelf should in a kind have shut up himself therein; How miserable then were the condituous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it | tion of men (faith S. Augustine) left altogether

And if this strength of the Stars were fo transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures; be he

all worship, reverence, or respect.

And certainly, God which hath promifed us the reward of well-doing, which Christ himself claimed at the hands of the Father, (I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do:) and the same God, who hath threatned unto us the forrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be founjust, as to bind us inevitably to the Destinies or Influences of the Stars, or subject our souls to any imposed necessity. But it was well faid of Plotinus, that the Stars were fignificant, but not efficient, giving them yet something less then their due: and therefore as I do not consent with them, who would make those glorious creatures of God virtueless: so I think that we derogate from His eternal and absolute power and providence, to ascribe to them the same dominion over our immortal fouls, which they have over all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the Souls of men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it felf, whereof the Suns clarity, and that

CHAP. I.

14

of the Stars, is by Plato called but a shadow. Plat pol 6. Lumen est umbra Dei, Deus est lumen luminis; Light is the shadow of Gods brightness, who is the light of light: But to end this question, because this Destiny, together with Providence, Prescience, and Predestination, are often confounded, I think it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every man hath not observed it, though all learned men have.

6. XII.

of Prescience.

Rescience, or fore-knowledg (which the Greeks call Prognosis, the Latines pracognitio, or prescientia) considered in order and nature (if we may speak of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be Apostles assure us hereof; and besides the cared for; and Prescience is no other then Scriptures, Hermes, Orpheus, Emripides, Pythaan infallible fore-knowledg. For what foever goras, Plato, Plotinus, and (in effect) all learnour felves fore-know, except the same be to ed men acknowledg the Providence of God; fucceed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prescience of God therein, as they refuse not to accompany and (as it is Prescience onely) is not the cause of visit each other in the most pestilent diseases, any thing futurely succeeding: neither doth nor shun any peril whatsoever, though death Gods fore-knowledge impose any necessity, therein do manifestly present it self. or bind. For in that we fore-know that the Sun will rife, and fet; that all men born in the World shall die again; that after Winter, ticular, as I shall need to repeat but a few of the Spring shall come; after the Spring, Sommer, and Harvest; and that according to the feveral feeds that we fow, we shall reap feveral forts of grain; yet is not our fore-knowledg the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledg in us bind or con- Joung Raven that cries: All these wait upon are otherwise manifest and known to all. The eth (faith God to Eliah) and I have commandeye of man (faith Boetius) beholdeth those things Subject to fense, as they are; the eye feeth that fuch a beaft is an horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they evenirent ex necessitate, pramia bonorum, G. pæna malorum periret; Divine Providence (faith lie) imposeth no necessity upon things that are to exist; for if all come to pass of necessity, there (bould neither be reward of good, nor punishment of evil.

6. XIII.

of Frovidence.

Ow Providence (which the Greeks call Pronoia) is an intellectual knowledg, both fore-feeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all paft, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their fo being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philosophers (saith S. Augustine) is divided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the past; Knowledg of the prefent; and Care of the future: and we our selves account such a man for provident, as, remembring things past, and observing things present, can by judgment, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times fucceeding. That fuch a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures every where teach us; Moses in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Christ himself and his yea the Turks themselves are so consident

The places of Scripture proving Providence, are so many, both in general and parthem in this place: Sing unto God (faith David) which covereth the Heavens with clouds, Pfalia and prepareth rain for the earth, and maketh 8. the grass to grow upon the Mountains, which giveth the beafts their food, and feedeth the ther doth the knowledg in us ding or con- joung Raven that cries: All these wast noon frain the Sun to rise and set, or men to die; thee that thou mayest give them food in due sea- 27,9,0 for the causes (as men perswade themselves) on: And thou shalt drink of the River Chear-14,15 ed the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the I Reg !!! Forels of the Air, they fow not, nor reap, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them : Again, Luketh Are not two Sparrows fold for a farthing? and 6,7. one of them shall not fall on the ground without be in their own natures. And again out of the your Father: yea, all the hairs of your head are fame Author; Divina providentia rebus gene-randis non impanti recollinatem ania li camaia. randis non imponit necessitatem, quia si omnia him, for be careth for you: And his judgments passis de are written, faith David.

God therefore, who is every where prefent, Who filleth the Heavens and the Earth, Just whose eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance against them that do evil, was therefore by Orpheus called oculus infinitus, an infinite eye, beholding all things; and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on,

as if he had transferred his power to any o- Destinare, of praparare; and of the same opiand all livings, for their young ones. If Pro- rans, cur non videat, rationem videt; He that vidence be found in second Fathers, much seeth no reason in the actions of God, by consider more in the first and Universal: and if there ration of his own insirmity, perceiveth the reabe a natural loving care in men, and beafts, son of his blindness. And again, with S. Auguginning, and is the bond of the Universal: Amor divinus rerum omnium est principium. vinculum universi (saith Plato:) Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus immobile sustentaculum, ac universa machine fundamentum; The love of God is the perpetual knot, and link or chain of the world. and the immovable pillar of every part thereof. and the Basis and foundation of the Universal. God therefore who could onely be the cause of all, can onely provide for all, and fultain all; so as, to absolute power; to every where 1 Joh. 4.1. presence; to perfect goodness; to pure and

S. XIV.

divine love; this attribute transcendent ha-

bility of Providence is onely proper and be-

longing.

Of Predestination.

Ow for Predeftination, we can differcareth for, and hath respect to all creatures, perly, in the common use of Divines; or perthe Devil; for according to Nonins Marcellus, whereof Athenaus:

ther; for it is contrary to his own word, Glo-nion are many Protestant Writers, as Calvin, Cal. inc 9. eso 41. 8. riam meam alteri non dabo, I will not give my Beza, Bucanus, Danaus, and such like : and de Rom, glory to another. No man commandeth in the as for the manifold questions hereof arising, see, in Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; I leave them to the Divines; and why it hath myen and, but Cod is every where present and King of pleased God to create some vessels of her incore. but God is every where prefent, and King of pleafed God to create some vessels of ho-ad king. Kings. The example of Gods universal Pro- nour, and some of dishonour, I will answer Domental Pro-Kings. The example of Gods universal Providence is feen in his creatures. The Father with Gregory, who faith, 2ni in fact is Dei rades Salat. provideth for his children: beafts and birds tionem non videt, infirmitatem suam consider Job 9. much more in God, who hath formed this fine, Occulta effe causa potest, injuste effe on Polin est. notice that the subject to nature, and whose Divine love was the be- potest; Hidden the cause of his Predestination 59. may be, unjust it cannot be.

§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of somethings that seem to be by Fortune, and against Reason and Providence. Aftly, feeing Destiny or Necessity is sub-

_fequent to Gods Providence, and feeing that the Starrs have no other dominion, then is before spoken and that Nature is nothing, but, as Plato calleth it, Dei artem, vel artificiolum Dei Organum. The art, or artificial Organ of God: and Culanus, Divini pracepti instrumentum; The instrument of the divine precept: we may then with better reason reject that kind of Idolatry, or God of fools, called, Fortune or Chance; a Goddess, the most reverenced, and the most reviled of all other, but not antient: for Homer maketh her the Daughter of Oceanus, as Paulanias witneffeth enceit no otherwife, from Providence in his Messeniacks. The Greeks call her Toylor, and Prescience, then in this; that Prescience signifying a relative being, or betiding, so as onely fore-feeth; Providence fore-feeth and | before Homers time this great Ladywas scarce heard of; and Hesiodus, who hath taught even from the brightest Angels of Heaven to the birth and beginning of all these counthe unworthiest Worms of the Earth: and terfeit gods, hath not a word of Fortune; yet de Perind Predestination (as it is used specially by Diagrams of the grew so great and omnipotent, as vines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belonging has of the first of the men belonging, but of their falvation pro- Cottages, she ordered all things; resilting the Paliorette perly, in the common rule of Divines; or per-dition, as fome have used it. Yet reter Lom-bard Thomas. Permanental in the folly of often bard, Thomas, Bernensis Theologus, and others, the most foolish, by making the success pro-thanges of take the word Predestination more strictly, sperous: insomuch as the actions of men were tune, is and for a preparation to felicity. Divers of laid to be but the sports of Fortune, and the bid to be but the sports of Fortune, and the bid to be better. the Fathers take it more largely fometimes: variable accidents happening in mens lives, to ey among whom Saint Augustine speaking of two but her pastimes: of which Palladius, Vita ho- out upon Cities, and two Societies, uleth these words, minum ludus fortune est; The life of man is Formac, but Quarumest una, que predestinata est in ater-the play of Fortune: and because it often fall-to her a num regnare cum Deo; altera aternum supplici- eth out, that enterprises guided by ill coun. Vette of um subjection Deby after a everyum supplier-etti out, that enterprises guided by in country and subject to those by the best Etchilus, is predestinated to assess the supplier to the supplie is predestinated to reign for ever with God, but judgment conducted, therefore had Fortune with the other is to undergo everlasting torment with the same external figure with Sapience; dem mit the same external figure with Sapience; dem mit

Longi simè

CHAP. II.

Longissime à Sapientia Fors dissidet. Sed multa perficit tamen simillima:

From Wisedom Fortune differs far, And yet in works most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the fuccesses of human actions and endevours were for their variety ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be given, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of Plato, Nibil est ortum sub Sole, cujus causa legitima non pracesserit; Nothing ever came to pass under the sun, of which there was not a just preceding cause. But Aquinas hath herein anfwered in one distinction, whatsoever may be objected; for many things there are (faith he) which happen, befides the intention of the Inferior, but not beliefes the intention of the Superior; Prater intentionem Inferioris, fed non prater intentionem Superioris (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (faith Te facimus Melanchilon) Quod poet e Fortunam, nos Deum appellamus; whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God. And that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth us; as in the Law of Murther, He that smiteth a man, and he die, shall die the death; and if a man hath not laid wait, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. Now, where the Scripture hath these words, God hath offered him verf. 33. Proverbs the fixteenth, The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the ordinance of God, as all things elfe; and hereof the wifer fort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as Cicero of Aristotle and his Sectators, with those of Plato, and the Academicks, to this effect, That the same power which they called Animam mundi; The foul of the World, was no other then that incomprehenfible Wisdom, which we express by the name of God, governing every Being aswell in heaven as in earth; to which Wifdom and Power they fometime gave the tirle of Necessity or Fate, because it bindeth by incvirable ordinance: fome-

effects there appear unto us no certain causes. To this effect speaketh S. Augustine in his questions upon Genesisthe first Book: the fame hath Scneca in his fourth of Benefits; which was also the doctrine of the Stoicks. of which Sett he was: For whatfoever (faith Sente, Le he) thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or For- 6.7. tune, all are but one and the same, differenced by divers terms, according as he useth, and exerciseth his power diversly.

But it may be objected, That if Fortune and Chance were not fometimes the causes of good and evil in men, but an idle voice, whereby we express success; how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend upon so many unworthy and emptyheaded fools? that riches and honour are given to external men, and without kernel; and so many learned, virtuous, and valiant men wear out their lives in poor and dejected estates? In a word, there is no other inseriour, or apparent cause, beside the partiality of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our felves according to the nature of the times wherein we live : for who foever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withal an honest and open heart and loving truth; if Princes, or those that govern, endure no other discourse then their own flatteries: then, I fay, fuch an one, whose virtue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheel; which kind of deserving well and receiving ill, we alwayes fallly charge Fortune withal. For whosoever shall into kis hands, we say, If he hurt him by tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is Chance: and in Deuteronomy the nineteenth, not Just; the General of an Army, that he is where the flipping of an Ax from the helve, not valiant; and great Ladies that they are whereby another is flain, was the work of not fair; fhall never be made a Counfeller, God himself; we in our phrase attribute this a Captain, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficiaccident, to Chance or Fortune: and in ent to be wife with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperi-Lord: fo as that which feemeth most casual ty; but he must also change with the succesand subject to Fortune, is yet disposed by the for, if he be of contrary qualities; fail with the tyde of the time, and alter form and condition, as the Estate or the Estate's Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, witnefieth for them, gathering the opinion that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attain to honour and riches, but by such an observant flavish course? These men having nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are virtues, and all their dusty actions crystalline, have yet in all ages prospered equally with the most virtuous, if not exceeded them. For, according to Menander, Omnis instpiens, time, the fiyle ci Fortune, because of many arrogantia & plaisibus capitur, Every feel is

wonne with his own pride, and others flatter- What more foolish then for him that despairs (eing applause: so as who soever will live alto- specially of the effect) to be entangled with endfuch a one is often the author of his own mifery; but best it were to follow the advice, which the Pope gave the Bishop of that age, out of Ovid, while the Arian Herefie raged:

ovid Met. Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede surori. While fury gallops on the way, Let no man furie's gallop stay.

And if Cicero (then whom that world be-He might then have died the death of nature, one God, the Father, of whom are all thing, v. 6.6.13. sertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicaris fame which workethall in all.

gether out of himselfe, and study other mens less contentions? Whosoever therefore will humours, and observe them, shall never be set before him Machiavel's two marks to shoot unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man at (to wit) Riches, and Glory, must set on which prizeth truth and virtue (except the and take offa back of yron to a weak woodfeason wherein he liveth be of all these, den Bow, that it may ht both the strong and and of all forts of goodness, fruitful) shall net the feeble; for as he who first devised to add ver prosper by the possession or profession says to rowing vessels, did either so proporthereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise tion them as being fastened aloft, and toman, not to war or contend in vain against wards the head of his Mast, he might abide the nature of times wherein he liveth: for all winds and ftorms, or else he sometime or other perished by his own invention: fo that man which prizeth virtue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoyse and strike his fayls, as the divers natures of calmes and stormes require, must cut his sayls and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himself with a slow and sure navigation, (to wit) a mean and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or gat not a man of more reputed Judgment) whatfoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powhad followed the counsel of his Brother ers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishness) Quintus, Potnisset (saith Petrarch) in lectulo of man hath found out: let us resolve with fuo mori, potuisset integro cadavere sepeliri; S. Paul, who hath taught us, that there is but 1 cor. e. 8;

and been with an untorn and undiffevered bo- and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by dy buried; for, as Petrarch in the same place whom are all things, and we by him; there noteth Quid stultius quam desperantem, (pre- are diversities of operations, but God is the

CHAP. II.

Of Man's estate in his first Creation, and of God's rest.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

"He creation of all other creatures be- | Santius his animal, mentifa; capacius alta, ing finished, the heavens adorned, and the earth replenished, God said, Let us make , man in our own Image, accordingto our likeness.

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods works to us known: Ingens miraculum Ald. homo; Man is the greatest wonder (faith Plato out of Mercurius:) Natura ardentissima artikg. ficium, The artificial work of the most ardent or fire-like nature (as faith Zoroaster) though the same be meant, not for any excellency external, but in respect of his internal form, both in the Nature, Qualities, and other Attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an effence, immortal, and spiritual; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

Deerat adhne, & quod dominari in catera prin im poset: Natus homo est.

in mortali. More holy then the rest, and understan- In locum ding more,

A living creature wants, to rule all made before:

So man began to be.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoolmen, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceive, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as S. Chrysoftom, Ambrose, and some others: which S. Ambrose denieth to the woman in these words, Ut sicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus; & quomodo ex Deo uno omnia,

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18

faciem totius terræ: unus igitur, unum fecit, qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kind should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one, made one, that should have the Image of his unity. But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the same Verse, that man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power; it is written Dominamini in the plural number; and let them rule over the fish in the Sea, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that Man is faid to be after the Image of God in respect of his immortal soul onely: because as God is invisible, so the soul of man is invisible; as God is immortal and incorporal, -fo is the foul of Man immortal and incorporal; and as there is but one God which governeth the world, fo but one foul which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, fo is the foul of man wholly in every part of the body: Anima est tota in toto, de tota in ding to Aristotle; though Chalcidius, and other learned men deny that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all prove. These and the like arguments do the Jews make (faith Toftatus) and these resemblances, between the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The School-men refemble the Mind or Soul of Man to God, in this respect especithree diffinct powers, or faculties (to wit) they distinguish between Imaginem Dei, and plainness and fincerity of the Scriptures: foul doth not therefore leave to be the Image racides it is written, He made them according

omnia, ita ex uno bomine omne genus esset super of God; but it hath not his Similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. Augustine also against Adimantus the Manichee affirmeth, that by fin, the perfection of this image is lost in man; and in his Retractations maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken. then the Image.

But howfoever the School-men and others diftinguish, or whatsoever the Fathers conceive; fure I am, that S. Paul maketh the same fense of the Image, which Villorimus doth of the similitude, who saith: As we have born the image of the earthy, so shall we bear the i- 49. 19 mage of the heavenly; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scripture, that the words Image and similitude were used but in one sense, and in this place the better to express each other; whatfoever Lombard hath faid to the contrary. For God knows, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himself in the Scriptures, which neither Moses, the Prophets, or Apostles, ever conceived. Now as S. Paul useth the word (Image) for both: fo Saint James useth the word (Similitude) for both, in these words: qualibet parte; The foul is wholly in the whole Therewith bless we God even the Father, and body, and wholly in every part thereof, accortherewith curse we Men, which are made after Jass Augustine seemeth, out of a kind of elegancy in writing, to make some difference: as the Aristotelians in the world shall never where he writeth, Confitemen imaginem in e- miga ternitate, similitudinem in moribus inveniri; we confess that this image is found in eternity, but his similitude in manners, that is in the spiritual dispositions and qualities of the mind; yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: Quasi verò possit esse imago aliqua, in qua similitudo son ally; because that as in the Mind there are non sit: stenim omnino similis non est. proculdubio nec imago est; As if (faith he) there could Memory, Understanding, and Will; and yet be any image, where the similitude is not: no, all thele, being of real differences, are but out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is one Mind: foin God there are three diffinet | no image. The very words of the Text make persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, this most manifest, as, Let us make man in and yet but one God. They also make the our image, according to our likeness: which Image and Similitude diverse; and again, is Let us make man in our image, thathe may be like us: and in the next Verse folad Imaginem Dei; and spin into small threds lowing, God himself maketh it plain; for with subtile distinctions, many times the there he useth the word (Image) only as thus: God created the man in his image, in the image their wits being like that strong water, that of God created he him. And to take away all eateth thorow and dissolveth the purest dispute or ambiguity, in the first Verse of gold. Vittorinus also maketh the Image of the fifth Chapter, the word (Similitude) is God to be fubfiantial, but not the similitude: used again by it self, as, In the day that God Sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declarati- created Adam, in the likeness of God made be vum; A word declaring quality in the sub-fiance. Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the Image new man which is renewed in knowledg after and Similitude do greatly differ, so the sinful the image of him that created him. And in 85-

to his image. Now if we may believe S. Paul stance, the image of such a nature or wherebefore Peter Lombard and other Schoolmen, in can man be faid to refemble his unexcogithat the mage and manufacture words directly in be the Prince of this World, and the Kingof a corruptible man.

2 mile de Zantein about a parts and than a franching and Will; for the Devils are also body and mind: Nulla pars in komine, que immortal, and participate those faculties, beh Gon. hominis lineament a refert (faith S. Augustine:) clude Reason, as it is the ability of Under-

Surely Cicero, who was but a Heathen, had yet a more divine understanding then these groß Hercticks: Ad similitudinem Dei propiùs accedebat humana virtus, quàm figura; The virtue which is in man (faith he) came nearer the similitude of God then the figure. For God is a spiritual substance, invisible, and most simple; God is a just God, God is Merciful, God is Charity it felf, and (in a word) Goodness it self, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleafed God himfelf

then it is as manifest as words can make it, table power and perfectness? Certainly, not that the image and fimilitude is but the same; in Dominion alone; for the Devil is said to fee 612. one sense. For they turned the glory of the in- dom of Christ was not thereof, who was the corruptible God, to the similitude of the image true and perfect image of his Father : Neither because man hath an immortal foul, and Zanth de Zanckius laboureth to prove, that Man therein the faculties of Memory, Undernon fuerit kujusce imaginis particeps; No part ing called Damones, because scientes of know-P'a in in a man (faith he) which was not participa- ledg and fubrilty: Neither because we are ting God image for God said, Let us make man reasonable creatures, by which we are distinaccording to our own image. But the foul a- guiffied from beafts: For who have rebelled lone is not man, but the Hypoftasis or whole against God? Who have made gods of the Man compounded of body and foul. The vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Catts, of Owls. body of man (faith he) is the image of the yea, even of shameful parts, of lusts and pleaworld, and called therefore Microcosmus; but stures, but reasonable men? Yet do I not conthe Idea and exemplar of the world was first demn the opinion of S. Chrylostom and Am- of ories de in God, so that man, according to his body, brose, as touching Dominion, but that, in remust needs be the image of God. Against spect thereof, man was in some fort after the which opinion of this learned man, his own image of God, if we take Dominion, fuch as objection seemeth to me sufficient, where he it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Juallegeth that it may be faid, that Mofes spake | stice and Piety; for God did not onely make by the figure synechdocke, As when a man is man a Ruler and Governour over the Fishes called a mortal man, yet is not the whole of the Sea, the Fowls of Heaven (or of the man mortal, but the body onely: so when air) and over the Beasts of the Field; But God said, Let us make man after our image, he God gave unto man a dominion over men.he meant the foul of man, and not the body of appointed Kings to govern them, and Judges earth and dust: Maledissus qui Deitatem ad to judge them in equity. Neither do I ex-Curfed is he that referreth the Deity of God to standing. For I do not conceive that Ireneus the lineaments of mans body: Deus enim non did therefore call Man, the image of God, est humane forme particeps, neque corpus hu- because he was animal rationale onely; but manum droine (faith Philo;) God is not parthat the understood it better, with Sybilla; taker of humane form, nor humane body of the Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens, form divine. The Hebrew word for ittiage, is Man that is endued with right reason is said to Ifelem, which fignifieth a shadow or obscure resemble God (that is) by right reason to know refemblance: In imagine pertransit homo; and confess God his Creatour, and the same Man passeth away in a shadow. Let us then God to serve, love, and obey: and therefore know and confider, that God, who is eternal faid S. Angustine (who herein came nearer the and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or Truth) Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & composition; for it is both against his Nature similitudinem suam in mente; God made man and his Word; an etrour of the Anthropo- in respect of the intellect after his own image morphite, against the very essence and Ma- and similitude; and Reynerius, Homo, and babet mentem, factus eft ad imaginem Dei ; Man was made after the image of God in mind, Reyn. de or, in that he hath a mind.

9. II.

Of the Intellectual mind of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sin.

But Mens is not taken here for anima phy-fica, according to Aristotle, which is, forma to teach us, and to make us know of himfelf. velnatura hominis, The form or nature of man; What then can be the shadow of fuch a sub- but this faculty or gift of God, called Mens;

The first Book of the first Part is taken for prima vis animi, the principal bitual in wife men, and in mad men this frength of the mind, or foul, enjur altus eft (mens) is extinguished, and not the foul; for perpetua veritatis contemplatio ; whose all, ex- mad men do live, though distract. ercife, or office, is the perpetual contemplation of truth; and therefore it is also called Intellectus divinus, intellectus contemplativus, & Pamend. anima contemplativa, A divine understanding. and an intellect or mind contemplative. Est au-De mente tem mens nostra (saith Cusanus) vis compre-1dios. h. 3. hendendi; & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectual mind (faith he) is a power of comprehending; even the whole, that is in this kind powerful, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: unto which Mercurius attribuwords) that he esteemeth it to be the very effence of God (which was also the errour of the Manichees, and others) and no otherwise feparate from God (faith he) then the light from the Sun: for this Mens or understand-Sen. ep. 65. ing (faith Mercurius) eft Deus in hominibus, f. o 31.f. Is God in men; or rather (and which I take to Lib 9. 6.5. be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For, as the Sun is not of the same effence or nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; so is this Mens or understanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite understanding, but a power and faculty of our fouls the pureft; or, the lumen anima rationalis, by the true and eternal light illightned. And this Mens, others call Animam anima, The foul of the foul or, with S. Augustine, the eye of the soul, or re-

Que amorem sapientie tanquam ducem sequi-

Therefore this word being often used for the Soul giving life, is attributed abusively to mad men, when we fay that they are of a distract mind, in stead of a broken understanding: which word (Mind) we use also for Opinion, as, I am of this mind, or, that mind: and sometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, He is of an honest mind, or, a man of a just mind: sometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mind's fake: and Ariftotle fometimes useth this word (Mens) for the phantalie, which is the strength of the imagiteth fo much (if his meaning accompany his nation: formetimes for the knowledg of principles, which we have without discourse: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is used in the proper signification, including both the understanding agent and possible, it is described to be, A pure, simple, substantial act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large, thus; A part or particle of the Soul, whereby it doth understand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion coming from without, and apt to be differered, as, eternal from that which is mortal. Hereof excellently Mercurius ; Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præcst, mens animæ, anima corpori; The Soul (meaning that which giveth life) is the image of this understanding, or Mens; and this (Mens) or understanding is the Image of ceptacle of Sapience and divine Knowledg, God. God is President or Ruler over this underflanding, this understanding over the Soul and this Soul over the body. This division and ditur, Which followeth after the love of sapience as her guide (saith Philo;) between which and stinction out of the Platonicks and Peripatereason; between which and the mind, called ticks, I leave to the Reader to judge of. That anima; between which and that power which Mens humana hath no need of any organ, zadd the Latines call animus, there is this diffe-Marsilius Ficinus in his ninth Book of the out. rence: Reason, is that faculty by which we Soul's immortality, laboureth to prove. Zanjudge and discourse; Anima, by which we chius doth not differ from Ficinus in words; live. Hereof it is said, Anima corpus animat, for (faith he) Ad facultatem intelligentem exid eft, vivificat; or, The foul is that which doth ercendam,non eget Mens organo ; tanquam meanimate the body, that is, giveth it life; for dio, per quod intelligat : quanquam eget objedeath is the separation of body and foul: and the same strength (saith Philo) which do in quod intuatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat. Hoc autem objectum sunt phantas-God the great Director hath in the World, mata, seu rerum à sensibus perceptarum simulathe same hath this Anima, or mind, or, soul in chra ad phantasiam prolata : To exercise the fa-Man. Animus, is that, by which we will and culty of understanding, the mind of man (faith make election; and to this Bafil agreeth, he) needeth no instrument, as a mean, by which which called this Mens, or divine understanding, Perspicacem anima partem, The perceiving it may understand: but it needeth an object, whereon to look, and whence to conceive the part of the mind, or, The light by which the act of understanding. This object are the phan-tasms, or the resemblances of things received foul discerneth: Dormientum mens, non anima, sopitur; & in furiosis mens extinguitur, afrom the sense, and carried to the phantasie. But nima manet : In men that fleep it is this (mens, in effect, his conclusion seemeth to carry a or) understanding, and not the mind or soul, which resteth, during which time it is but ha- contrary sense, when he maketh the Phanta-

fie, in representing the object to the under-) we are made capable of this print; but chiefflanding, to be a corporal Organum; neither can it be understood to be an Organum of any thing, but of the understanding. And he addeth, that the refemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his understanding and it felf is to the faculty of understanding, as Pre. 185. the eye is to the faculty of feeing: and as this

of featent, is an Organium, so that. Of this question, How and pinging is the mind in all her actions maketh use of the manit il body, and hath communion with the body, [win, id eff.] I refer the Reader to a most grave and learnvirtuiti, at ed Discourse in the last Reply of M. D. Bilson, besited:
late Bishop of Winchester, unto Henry Jacob.
wisis in Howsoever the Truth be determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in Jaures, alque respect of the mind it self, by which we live, mitan, nor in respect of our souls simply, by which mii, proq; we are immortal, that we are made after the infloritatis, Image of God. But most safely may we refor ratione, semble our selves to God in mente, and in refpect of that pure faculty, which is never feparate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all ; For Saint Bernard maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the Mind or Soul, and between the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God: whose words are these, Non proptered imago Dei est.

quia sui meminit Mens, seque intelligit & dili-

git (which also was the opinion of S. Augu-

stine;) sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere, ac

diligere eum à quo facta est, (that is) The Mind

(or Mens) was not therefore the Image of God, because it remembreth, understandeth, and

loveth it self; but because it can remember, un-

derstand, and love God, who created it. And

that this Image may be deformed and made

unprofitable, hear Basil; Homo ad Imaginem

& Similitudinem Dei factus est Peccatum verd

Imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, &

inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis con-

cupiscentia affectibus immersit: Man was made

after the Image and Similitude of God, but Sin

corrupt concupiscence. of Immortality, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it self, nor in all these joyned, by any of which, or by all

ly, in respect of the habit of Original righteoulness, most perfectly infused by God into the Mind and Soul of man in his first Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the feal of mind, as colours are to the fight; whence it fo Gods Image (though Reason may be said to followeth, that the imagination or phantafy be of her gift, which, joyned to the Soul, is a part of the Effential Constitution of our proper Species) but from the bountiful grace of the Lord of all goodness, who breathed life into Earth, and contrived within the Trunk of Dust and Clay, the inimitable hability of his own Piety and Righteousness.

So long therefore (for that refemblance which Dominion hath) do those that are powerful retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandments they exercise the Office or Magistracy to which they are called, and fincerely walk in the ways of God, which in the Scriptures is called, walking with God; and all other men fo long retain this Image, as they fear, love, and ferve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and do not bruise and deface his Seal by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obstinate fins. For the unjust mind cannot be after the Image of God, feeing God is Justice it self; The bloud-thirsty hath it not, for God is Charity and Mercy it felf; Falfhood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one foul, together with God: and 2 cor. 6. to be short, there is no likelihood between 14. pure light and black darkness, between beauty and deformity, or between righteouf ness and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common understanding, have made us capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this Image of Gods goodness, which the sensual souls of Beasts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude natural more inclinable to follow and imbrace the false and dure-less pleasures of this Stageplay World, then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of God's Wisdom, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed eyes to our fouls, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh, behold the hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and highest Heavens, and thence bring Knowmade ii unprofitable, by drawing our minds into ledg and Object to the Mind and Soul, to contemplate the ever-during Clory, and It is not therefore (as aforefaid) by reason term-less Joy, prepared for those which retain the Image and Similitude of their Creation to the Image and Similitude of their Creation to the Image and Similitude of t tour, preserving undefiled and unrent the which we refemble, or may be called the mage of God, is created in Righteoufines, garment of the new man, which, after the Ishadow of God, though by reason and under and Holiness, as faith S. Paul. Now whereas standing, with the other faculties of the Soul, it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by S.

5 Ambrofe Augustine, with whom S. Ambrofe joyneth, away leifure) the imprisoned immortal Soul, these natural gifts:) or, the Image of God is confidered, according to supernatural gifts, which is indeed the perfection and accomblotted out, and destroyed by Sin.

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6. III.

Of our base and frail Bodies: and that the care thereof should yield to the immortal Soul.

THE external man God formed out of the dust of the Earth, or (according to the fignification of the word, Adam) of Adathe flime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. Non ex qualibet humo, fed ex ghaphar adamath (id est') ex pinguissima & mollissima: Not that God made an Image or Arias Moni, moltiffina: Not that God made an image of denal f. Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth, or Duft, Cod formed and made flesh, blond, and bone, with all parts of man.

That, man was formed of Earth and Dust did Abraham acknowledg, when in humble fear he called unto God, to fave sodom: Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speak, I that am but dust and ashes: And, In these Houses of Gen. 18. 17. Clay, whose foundation is in the dust, do our fouls inhabit, according to Job. And though

our own eyes do every where behold the Job 4. 27. sudden and resistless assaults of Death, and Nature affureth us by never-failing experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times upon the Earth have neither certainty nor durability; that our Bodies are but the Anvils of pain and difeafes, and our Minds the Hives of unnumbred cares, forrows, and paffions: and that (when we are most glerified) we are but those painted posts, against which Envy and Fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappiness of our condition, and the dark ignorance trust to make at parting, is no other then a which covereth the eves of our understanding, that we onely prize, pamper, and exalt this Vaffal and Slave of death, and forget al- ing to fcorn, and deriding of God, his Laws together (or onely remember at our cast- and Precepts. Frustra sperant qui sic de miseri-

that by fin, the perfection of the Image is lost, which can neither dye with the Reprobate, and not the Image it felf: both opinions by nor perish with the mortal parts of virtuous this diffinction may be well reconciled (to men: feeing Gods justice in the one, and his wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be goodness in the other, is exercised for evertaken two wayes; for, either it is considered more, as the ever-living subjects of his reaccording to natural gifts, and confifteth ward and punishment. But when is it that we therein; namely, to have a reasonable and examine this great account? Never while we understanding nature, &c. and in this sense, have one vanity left us to spend: we plead the Image of God is more loft by fin, then the for Titles, till our breath fail us; dig for very reasonable or understanding nature &c. Riches, while our strength enableth us; exis loft, (or fin doth not abolish and take away ercise Malice, while we can revenge; and then when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleafure, and health, and that Nature namely, of divine Grace and heavenly Glory, it felf hateth the house of old age, we remember with Job, that we must go the way Job. 10 11 plishment of the natural Image; and this man- from whence we shall not return, and that our ner of fimilitude and Image of God is wholly bed is made ready for us in the dark; And then, I fay, looking over-late into the bottom of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked up from us all our lives,) we behold therein the fearful Images of our actions past, and withal this terrible Inscription: That God will bring every work into judgment, that man hath done under the Edling

But what examples have ever moved us? what perswasions reformed us? or what math, of red Earth, or exlimo terra, out of threatnings made us afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before us, we hear what is promifed and threatned: but the World's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds, and these betraying lights, (with which we onely see) do neither look up towards term-less joyes, nor down towards endless forrows, till we neither know, nor can look for any thing elfe at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently Marius Victor:

> Nil hostes nil dira fames, nil denique morbi Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc sumus; iisque periclis Tentati: nihilo meliores reddimur unquam; Sub vitiis nullo culparum fine manentes.

Difeases, famine, enemies, in us no change have wrought,

What er'ft we were, we are; still in the fame fnare caught:

No time can our corrupted manners mend; In Vice we dwell, in Sin that hath no end.

But let us not flatter our immortal Souls herein; for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him; to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which we rebellious prefumption, and (that which is the worst of all) even a contemptuous laugh-

cordia Dei sibi blandiuntur; They hope in vain, up the Ghost, or Spirit; (which was) that his faith Bernard, which in this fort flatter them- life and foul left his body dead. And that

CHAP. II.

§. IV.

of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his creation.

N this frame and carcassGod breathed the Soul: (that is) God gave a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soul spiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any fuch bodily inftruments as men use, but God | solved into the same first matter, whence they breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortality into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into which God breathed into Man, shall, accor-(faith Elihu in Job) hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life: In qua sententia (saith Rabanus) vitanda est paupertas lensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, velmanibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labiis suis inspirasse in faciem formati, ut vivere possit & spiraculum vita habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tua fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis quam propria, (id est, juxta consuetudinem, qua solent homines operari) loquutus eft: In which sentence (faith he) the beggarliness of carnal sense is to be avoided, lest Animam, que vivificat corpus, & animat; to man: and therefore (faith Gregory Nazi-Earth, out of which it was taken; according man called Microcosmos, or the little World. 11. to Eeclesusses: And dust shall return to the Dens igitur hominem factum, velut alterum Ang. Lan. fall return to God that gave it. Neither 1s this igno totum, in terris statuit; God therefore c. 1. word (Spirit) usually otherwise taken in the placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, Scriptures, then for the foul; as when Ste- as it were another World; the great and large a, 750, Poet cried unto God: Domine, fulcipe spiri- World in the small and little World: for out of 1936. Imm menm; Lord Jesus receive my spirit: and the Earth and Dult, was formed the slesh of in S. John, And Jefus bowed his head and gave man, and therefore heavy and lumpish: the

the immortal foul of man differeth from the fouls of beafts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, Let the Gen. 1. 10. waters bring forth in abundance every creeping 24. 26. thing, and let the earth bring forth the living thing according to his kind, the beaft of the Earth &c. But of man it is written, Let us make man in our own Image, &c. and further, that breath of life; and the man was a living the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life, Gen. 2.7. Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life; so shal they again be difwere taken but the life of breath everlasting, such as love and fear him. The Spirit of God ding to Ecclesiastes, return again to God that Ecd. 12.7.

6. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digression touching our mortality.

An, thus compounded and tormed by God, was an abstract or model, or brief Story in the Universal: in whom God concluded the Creation, and work of the World, and whom he made the last, and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally enduperhaps we foould think either that God with bo- ed with a divine understanding, by which he dily hands made mans body of slime, or breath- might contemplate, and serve his Creatour, ed with jaws or lips upon his face (being form- after whose Image he was formed, and endued that he might live, and have the Spirit of ed with the powers and faculties of Reason life: for the Prophet also when he saith; Thy and other abilities, that thereby also he rather then properly (that is) according to the custom which men use in working. Quantum off God created three forts of living natures, (to periculi his, qui Scripturas sensu corporeo le-gunt? In what danger are they that read the to Angels an intellectual, and to Beasts a sen-Scriptures in a carnal sense? By this breath sual nature, he vouchsafed unto Man, both was infused into man, both life and soul, and the intellectual of Angels, the sensitive of therefore this (Soul) the Philosophers call Beasts, and the proper rational belonging un-Which doth animate and give life to the body, lanzene) Homo est utriusque nature vinculum, 1.8.22.

The inspiration of the Almighty giveth under-Man is the bond and chain which tieth together 1.1.5.6. flanding, faith Job; and this spirit, which both Natures: and because in the little frame Gree Nor. God breathed into man, which is the reaso of man's body there is a representation of the with hominable foul of man, returneth again to God Universal, and (by allusion) a kind of parti-merculant or column that gave it, as the body returneth unto the cipation of all the pars there, therefore was creature. Earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit quendam mindum in brevi magnum atque ex-83.84.07.

CHAP. II.

and durable; of which Ovid:

The first Book of the first Part

quid. Met. Inde genus durum sumus, experiensque laborum, Et documenta damus qua simus origine nati:

From thence our Kind hard-hearted isenduring pain and care, Approving, that our bodies of a stony nature are.

His bloud, which disperseth it self by the branches of veins through all the body, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by Brooks and Rivers over all the earth; his breath to the Air, his natural heat to the inclosed warmth which the Earth hath in it felf, which firred up by the heat of the Sun, affifteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radical Moisture, Oyl, or Balfamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertility of the Earth; the hairs of mans body, which adorns, or overshadows it, to the grass. which covereth the upper face and skin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the leight, wandring, and unstable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eyes to the light of the Sun and Moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very fhort time, or with the Sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the stalks; the thoughts of our mind to the motion of Angels; and our pure understanding (formerly called Mens, and intellectual Natures, which are always prefent with God; and lastly, our immortal fouls Image and Similitude. And although, in refpect of God, there is no man just, or good, or righteous (for, In Angelis deprehensa est fulfitia, Behold, He found folly in his Angels, ments of new Leaves and Flowers. faith Job); yet, with such a kind of difference, as there is between the substance and Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus atas,

the shadow, there may be found a goodness in men: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called Man, the Image and Similitude of his own Righteousness. In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Universal (man be-

Arif. io. ing the measure of all things; Home off men-Met. 1. f. fara amnium rerum, faith Ariftotle and Pytha-goras) that the four Complexions resemble the four Elements, and the seven Ages of man the seven Planets; Whereof, our infan-

bones of his body we may compare to the cie is compared to the Moon, in which we hard Rocks and Stones, and therefore strong seem onely to live and grow, as Plants; the fecond Age to Mercurie, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third Age to Venus, the days of Love, Defire, and Vanity; the fourth to the sun, the strong, flourishing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to Mars, in which we feek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the fixth Age is ascribed to Jupiter, in which we begin to take accompt of our times, judge of our felves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the last and seventh, to Saturn, wherein our days are fad, and over-caft, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections past, the forrow onely abideth: Our attendants are ficknesses, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when Time hath made unsociable to others, we become a burthen to our selves: being of no other use, then to hold the riches we have from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as aforefaid) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we pass on unto with many fighs, grones, and fad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowfull business of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both fleeping and waking: neither have those beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promise of entertainments; but by what crooked path soever we walk, the same that which always looketh upwards) to those leadeth on directly to the house of death, whose doors lie open at all hours, and to all persons. For this Tide of mans life, after it (while they are righteous) are by God him- once turneth and declineth, ever runneth felf beautified with the title of his own with a perpetual Ebb and falling Stream, but never floweth again: our Leaf once fallen, springeth no more; neither doth the Sun or the Summer adorn us again, with the gar-

Ergo non homini, quod fuit antè, redit.

To which I give this sense.

The Plants and Trees made poor and old By Winter envious, The Spring-time bounteous Covers again from shame and cold: But never man repair'd again His youth and beauty loft, Though Art, and care, and coft, Do promise Nature's help in vain.

And of which,

CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53. soles occidere & redire possunt : Nobis cum femel occidit brevis lux, Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

The Sun may fet and rife: But we contrariwise Sleep after our fhort light One everlasting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or reft, în the course or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the Academicks, the same might also perpetually be maintainjuyce, wherein the life of Plants is preferved, increasing towards ripeness and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottenness and dissolution.

6. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himself.

"Hele be the mileries which our first Parents brought on all Mankind, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberal choice of all things, with one onely Prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God fet before him, a mortal and immortal Life, a nature celestial and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himfelf, to be his own Guide, his own Workman, and his own Painter, that he might frame or describe unto himself what he pleafed, and make election of his own form. tels, 15, God made man in the beginning (faith Siraci-des) and left him in the hands of his own counfel. Such was the liberality of God, and man's felicity: whereas beafts, and all other creatures reasonless, brought with them into the they first fell from the bodies of their Dams, the Nature, which they could not change; and the supernal Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or foon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as aforesaid) God gave unto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the fenfual of Beafts, the rational, of Man, and the intel-

forth fruit, agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the first man Adam, and our first Father, was anigmatically described by Asclepius Atheniensis (saith Mirandula) in the person and Fable of Proteus, who was faid, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated Metamorphoses among the Pythagoreans, and antient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into divers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from Reason to Brutality, from Virtue to Vice, from Meekness to Cruelty, and from Justice to Oppression. For by the lively Image of other creaed; but as there is a continuance of motion tures did those Antients represent the variain natural living things, and as the fap and ble passions, and affections of mortal men; as by Serpents were fignified Deceivers, by doth evermore ascend or descend; so is it Lyons, Oppressors, and cruel men; by Swine, with the life of man, which is alwayes either Men given over to lust and sensuality; by Wolves, ravening, and greedy men; which also S. Matthew resembleth to false Prophets, Manh. 7. which come to you in sheeps clothing, but in- 15. wardly they are ravening Wolves: by the images of stones and stocks, foolish and ignorant Men; by Vipers, ungrateful Men; of which S. John Baptist, O ye generation of Vipers, &c.

§. VII.

Of God's ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Universal created was exceeding good,

N this work of Man, God finished the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, Cui volnisse est fecisse; With whom, to will is to make, faith Beda. Nei- John 5. 17. ther did God so rest, that he left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themfelves: for my Father worketh to this day (faith Christ) and I work; but God rested (that is) he created no new fpecies or kinds 21, 24. of creatures, but (as aforefaid) gave unto man a power generative, and so to the rest of living creatures, to Plants and Flowers, their World (faith Lucilius), and that even when feeds in themselves; and commanded Man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their feveral kinds: all which being finished, God faw that his works were good; not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of Good, lectual of Angels; whereof which foever thereby to teach men, that from fo good he took pleasure to plant and cultive, the a God there was nothing made, but that same should futurely grow in him, and bring which was perfect good, and from whose fimple

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fimple purity and from fo excellent a cause | mans heart, was the Earth afterward cursed. there could proceed no impure or imperfect and all creatures of the first Age destroyed. effect. For man having a free will and liberal but the righteous man Noah and his Family, choice, purchased by disobedience his own with those creatures which the Ark containdeath and mortality; and for the cruelty of ed, referved by God to replenish the Earth.



CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradife.

That the feat of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marvel that men should erre.

Oncerning the first Habitation of man, | they were men; Et humanum est errare. And out all regard of the Worlds Geography, the way how to find out and judg, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respejudgments, understood one place for anogetteth a thousand Children, if the licenti- upon our salvation depended not. oulness thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those Writers which gave themfelves to follow and imitate others, were in all things fo observant Sectators of those Masters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it fafer to condemn their own understanding, then to examine theirs. led and persmaded. And it is true, that many those four Rivers Fifon, Gekon, Hiddekel, and of the Fathers were far wide from the under- | Perath, the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Know-

we read, that the Lord God planted a to the end that no man should be proud of Garden Eastward in Eden, and there he himself, GOD hath distributed unto men put the man whom he made, Gen. 2.6. Of this such a proportion of Knowledg, as the wisest feat and place of Paradife, all Ages have held may behold in themselves their own weakdispute; and the opinions and judgments ness: Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus; God have been in effect, as divers, among those never gave the knowledg of all things to any that have written upon this part of Genesis, one. Saint Paul confess d that he knew not, 2011. as upon any one place therein, feeming most whether he were taken up into the third " obscure: Somethere are, that have conceiv- Heaven in the slesh, or out of the slesh; ed the being of the terrestrial Paradise, with- and Christ himself acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of Man and without any respect of the East and the latter day; and therefore, seeing know-36 West, or any consideration of the place ledg is infinite, it is God (according to S. where Moses wrote, and from whence he | Jude) who is only wise. Sapientia ubi inve- Jula directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) nitur, (faith Job) But where is wisdom found ? 71.1. and where is the place of understanding? Man 11,15 knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not 4.1% found in the Land of the living. And therefore tive and precise. Others, by being them- seeing God found folly in his Angels, mens felves ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the judgments (which inhabit in houses of Clay) first Interpretation; or trusting to their own eannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men, excuther; and one Errour is fo fruitful, as it be- fable in particulars, especially in those where-

9. II.

A recital of strange Opinions touching Paradife.

Ow touching Paradife, first it is to be Ow touching Paradife, first it is to be enquired, Whether there were a Para-For (faith Vadianus in his Epistle of Paradise) dise, or no? or whether Moses description Magnos errores, magnorum virorum authori- were altogether mystical, and allegorical? tate perfual, transmittimus; We pass over ma- as Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius, with others, my großerrours, by the authority of great men have affirmed; and that under the names of flanding of this place. I speak it not, that I ledg, there were delivered unto us other my self dare presume to censure them; for I mysteries and significations; as, that by the reverence both their Learning and their Pie- four Rivers were meant the four Cardinal ty, and yet not bound to follow them any Virtues, Juflice, Temperance, Fortitude, and sold further, then they are guided by truth: for Prudehce.; or (by other) Oyle, Wine; Milks, 1,144 and and Honey. This Allegorical understanding | by God in one certain place, and peculiar of Paradise by Origen divulged, was again by Senensis;) whose frivolous imaginations sixtus himself doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Book, fol. 338. the last Edition.

CHAP. III.

S. Ambrose also leaned wholly to the Allegorical conftruction, and fet *Paradife* in the third Heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs who would & in nostro principali, which is, as I conceive either make Paradise a figure, or Sacrament it, in mente, or in our fouls: to the particu- onely, or else would have it seated out of lars whereof he alludeth in this fort. By the this fensible world, or raised into some high place or garden of Paradise, was meant the and remote Region of the Air. Strabus, and Soul or Mind; by Adam, Mens, or, Under- Rabanns, were both fick of this vanity, with in direct words alloweth both of a celestial | ly marvel at the learned men, who so grossly and terrestrial Paradise; the one into which and blindly wandred; seeing Moses and after S. Paul was wrapt; the other, into which A- him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this dam was put by God. Aug. Chrysamensis was place, by the Region in which it was planted, of opinion, that a Paradise had been; but by the Kingdoms and Provinces bordering that there was not now any mark thereof it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by on the earth: the same being not onely de- the points of the Compass upon which it lay, faced, but withall the places now not so in respect of Judea, or Canaan. much as existing. To which Luther seemeth

lum Adæ, & posteritatis futuræ suisse ; These words (faith he) in which God said, Bring forth it not out of the Fountain of the Ocean. fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and jubdue it, and rule over every creature, do clearly shew, that the Universal earth, set or filled with all forts of fruits (as then it was,) was the garden and seat of Adam, and of his future posterity. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the Acts, Cap. 17. Apostolus ex uno sanguine omne genus humanum ideo factum docet, ut habitarent super universam faciem terræ: tota igitur terra Paradifus ille erat; The Apostle

Garden; which place Goropius findeth near Franciscus Georgius received (faith Sixtus the River of Acesines, in the Confines of India.

Tertullian, Bonaventure, and Durandus, Bart. 16. make Paradise under the Equinoctial; and Postellus, quite contrary, under the Northpole: the Chaldeans also for the most part, standing; by Eve, the Sense; by the Serpent, Origen, and Philo: fo was our venerable Beda; Bed. in Delectation; by the Tree of good and evil, Sapience; and by the reft of the Trees, the virtues of the mind, or in the mind planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, upon the first of the Corinth. c.6. he is discovered all which, upon the first of the Corinth. c.6. he is discovered all which, upon the first of the Corinth. c.6. he is discovered all which, upon the first of the Corinth. c.6. he is discovered all which and the state of the Corinth corintal corinth corinth corintal corinth corintal corin

Noviomagus also upon Beda, De natura rerum, believeth that all the Earth was taken The Manichees also understood, that by for Paradise, and not any one place. For the Paradise was meant the whole Earth; to whole Earth (saith he) hath the same beauty which opinion, Vadianus inclineth, as I con- ascribed to Paradise. He addeth, that the Oceive his words, in two feveral places. First, cean was that Fountain from whence the upon this; Fill the earth, Gen. 10. Of which | four Rivers, Pifon, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrahe gives this judgment. Hoc ipso etiam quod tes, had their beginning; for he could not dixit, Replete terram, dominamini universis think it possible, that these Rivers, of Ganges, animantibus, subjicite terram, clarissime docet, Nilus, Tigris, and Euphrates, (whereof the one totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (ut tum ran through India, the other through Egypt, erat) fruitibus consitam, sedem & hortum il- and the other through Mesopotamia and Armenia) could rife out of one Fountain, vvere

§. III.

That there was a true local Paradife Eastward, in the Countrey of Eden.

O the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the earth, the words of Moses make it manifest, where it is written, And the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward Gen. : (faith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one in Eden, and there he put the Man whom he had blond all mankind, to dwell over all the face of made: and howfoever the vulgar translatithe earth: and therefore all the earth (faith he) on, called Jerom's translation, hath convertwas that Paradife. Which conjectures I will ed this place thus, Plantaverit Dominus Deus. answer in order. Goropius Becanus differeth Paradisum voluptatis à principio, The Lord God not much from this opinion, but yet he ac- planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginknowledgeth that Adam was first planted ning; putting the word (pleasure) for Eden

Pleasure, or, that a River went out of plearadile of Eden; and so doth the Chaldean Para-Region, in respect of the fertility of the Soil, Pleafure.

Fathers, as Bafil, Chryfoftom, Theodoret, Gregoplace marvelloufly planted by the hands of God I will answer hereafter. in Eden, toward the East.

me prodit, Paradifum à Deo consitum in regione | the Egyptians and Chaldeans.

and (from the beginning) for Eastward: it is terræ Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper autem esse proprium nomen, apparet ex quarto name of a Region. For, What sense hath this | capite Gen, ubi legimus, Cham habitaffe ad Oritranslation (faith our Hopkins, in his Treatise entalem plagam Heden; For Moses (faith he) of Paradise) that he planted a Garden in doth shew most clearly, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrey, fure to water the Garden? But the Seventy | which is called Heden: but that Heden is a pro-Interpreters call it Paradifum Edenis, The Pa- per name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Vultu Genesis, where we read, that Cham dwelt on the phrast truly take it for the proper name of a | East border of Heden. Pererius endeavoureth Place, and for a Noun appellative; which to qualifie this Translation; for this particle (faith he) ab initio, is referred to all the time of the many beautiful Rivers and goodly of the Creation, and not to the very first Woods, and that the Trees (as in the Indies) day; alledging this place of Christ, that aldo always keep their leaves, was called Eden, though the Devil was faid to be a Man-flayer John which fignifieth in the Hebrew, Pleasantness, from the beginning, yet that was meant but or delicacy; as the spaniards call the Coun- after the fixth day. But furely, as I think (retry, opposite to the Ille of Cuba, Florida: ferring my self to better judgment) the Deand this is the mistaking, which may end the vil was from the instant of his fall a Mandispute, as touching the double sense of the slaver in disposition, though he had not word, That as Florida was a Country, fo cal- | whereon to practife till mans Creation. And led for the flourishing beauty thereof; fo for conclusion, S. Hierom (if that be his tranwas Eden a Region, called Pleasure, or Deli- flation) adviseth himself better in the end of cacy, for its pleasure or delicacy: and as the third Chapter of Genesis, converting the Florida fignifieth Flourishing; fo Eden figni- word (Eden) by (ante) and not (a principio) fieth Pleasure: and yet both are the proper as, God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of names of Countries; for Eden being the pro- Eden; Collocavit Dens ante Paradifum volupper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the | tatis, Cherubin; and Pererius himself acknow-Hebrew) and Paradise being the choise seat ledgeth, that this is the true sense of this of all that Region, Paradise was truely the place, precisely taken, according to the He-Garden of Eden, and truely the Garden of brew, Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin; He set on the East-side of the Garden Go. 14 Now, for Eastward, to translate it, from the of Heden, a Cherubin. Becamus affirmeth, that beginning, it is also contrary to the transla- the Hebrew word (Be) signifieth (with) as tion of the Seventy; to the ancient Greek | well as (in) and so the Text beareth this fense: That God planted a Garden with pleary; and to the Rabines, as Ramban, Rabbi | fure (that is to fay) full of pleasure. But Be-Solomon, R. Abraham, and Chimchi; and of canus followeth this construction, onely to the Latines, Severims, Damascenus, &c., who the end to find Paradise upon the River of plainly take Eden for the proper name of a Asecines; for there he hath heard of the In-Region, and fet the word (Eastward) for ab dian Fig-tree in great abundance, which he initio; for Damascene's own words are these, supposeth to be the Tree of knowledg of Paradifus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad 0- good and evil and would therefore draw Parientem mirabiliter consitus; Paradise is a radise to the Fig-Tree: which Conceit of his

Now, because Paradise was seated by Mo-And after all these Fathers, Guilhelmus Pa- Jes toward the East, thence came the custom risions, a great learned man, and sixtus se- of praying toward the East, and not by iminensis, of latter times, do both understand tation of the Chaldeans: and therefore all these words of Eden and of the East, con- our Churches are built East and West, as to trary to the vulgar Translation; Parisiensis, the point where the Sun riseth in March, as indifferent to both, and Sixtus Senensis, which is directly over Paradise (faith Damadirectly against the vulgar. of which these scenus:) affirming, that we always pray toare their own words: After this I will be- wards the East, as looking towards Paradife, gin to speak of Paradise terrestrial, which God whence we were cast out; and yet the Templanted from the beginning, or Eastmard, &c. ple of Solomon had their Priests and Sacrist-Post hac incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, ces, which turned themselves in their service quem plantaffe Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem and divine ceremonies, always towards the &c. And then senenfis; Moles enim clariffi- West, thereby to avoid the superstition of

But

But because East and West are but in re- | most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and towards the East, may remember thereby to befeech God, that as by Adams fall we have Paradise celestial, and the Kingdom of Heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Alleno other mystery in adding the word (East) to Eden by Moses, then to shew, that the Retures alwayes called the people of those Na-

Eurus ad Auroram, Nabathaaq; regna recessit, Persidaque, & radiis juga subdita matutinis.

The East wind with Aurora hath a biding Among th' Arabian and the Persian Hills, Whom Phabus first falutes at his first rising.

And if it be objected, that Jeremy the

Peter Comeftor giveth best satisfaction: for he Trees, under the Rules of Allegory. useth the word From the beginning, that is, from the first part of the World, (à principio) cipio idem est quod ad Orientem.

But to return to the proof of this place, and that this story of Mankind was not Al-Tree pleasant to the fight, and good for meat, Adam else-where as in the World at large,

spect of places; (for although Paradise were (withal) good for meat: which proveth that East from Judea, yet it was West from Persia Paradise was a terrestrial Garden, garnished and the ferving of God is every where in the with Fruits, delighting both the eye and world; the matter is not great, which way tafte. And to make it more plain, and to per is. we turn our faces, fo our hearts stand right, take away all opinion of Allegorical conother then this, that we who dwell West struction, he affirmeth that it was watered from Paradife, and pray turning our felves and beautified with a River; expreffing also the Region, out of which this River sprang, which he calleth Heden; and that Heden is lost the Paradise on earth; so by Christs death also a Country neer unto Charon in Mesopo- Each. 17. tamia, Ezekiel witnesseth.

But to all these Cabalists, which draw the gories, Epiphanius answereth in these words; Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam gion of Eden, in which Paradife was, lay East- fons; si non est fons, non est flumen; si non est ward from Judea and Canaan: for the Scrip- flumen, non funt quatuor principia, non Pifon, non Gehon, non Trigis, nec Euphrates; non est tions, the Sons of the East which inhabited ficus non folia, non comedit Eva de arbore, non Arabia, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Persia: est Adam, non sunt homines, sed veritas jam fabula est. & omnia ad Allegorias revocantur; If Paradise be not sensible, then there was no fountain, and then no river; if no river, then no fuch four heads or branches, and then not any such river, as Pison, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates; no such fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves; Eve then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any Adam, or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called back Prophet, threatning the destruction of Jeru- into Allegories. Words to the same effect hath falem, doth often make mention of Northern S. Hierome upon Daniel: Contitescant corum Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines inverithere named, in respect of those Nations that tate sequentes, ipsam conantur evertere veritafollowed Nabuckodonozer, and of whom the tem. nt Paradisum & sumina, & arbores pugreatest part of his Army was compounded; tent Allegorie Legibus se debere subruere: Let not that Babylon it felf stood North from Je- the dotage of them be filent, who following sharusalem, though inclining from the East to- dows and images in the Truth, endeavour to Subvert the Truth it self, and think that they Now to the difference of this Translation, onght to bring Paradise, and the Rivers, and the

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Story, is the place made more maidest, (aith he) à prima orbis parte; and af nisest. For, God gave Adam free liberty to terward he affirmeth, that à principio, and ad eat of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree Orientem, have the same signification: From of knowledg excepted) which Trees Most. the beginning and East-mard is all one; à prin- in the ninth Verse saith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beasts to Adam to be named, which he had formerly made; and legorical, it followeth in the Text of the 2. these beasts were neither in the third heaven; Chap, and 9. Verfe, in these words: For out | nor neer the circle of the Moon, nor beasts of the ground made the Lord God to grow every in imagination: for if all these things were Enigmatical or mystical, the same might also Oc. fo as first it appeared that God created | be faid of the creation of all things. And Eand then put him into the Garden: and the Kings, wieth this speech: All the Trees of Eden, Ezek 31.9. zechiel, speaking of the glory of the Assyrian end why, is express d: that he might dress it which were in the Garden of God, envied him; and keep it; Paradije being a Garden or Or- which proveth both Eden', and Paradije chard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the therein seated, to be terrestrial: for the Pro-

Moses wrote plainly, and in a simple style, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of Paradise, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpole, to take away all scruple from the incredulity of suture ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecy) to be apt to fabulous inventions; and that if he had not described both the Region and the Rivers, and how it stood from Canaan, many of the unbelieving Israelites, and others after them, would have misconstrued this Story of Man-kind. And, is it likely, there would have been so often mention made of Paradise in the Scriptures, if the same had been an Utopia? For we find that the Valley, wherein sodome and Gomorrah stood, Gen. 13.10 (fometimes called Pentapolis, of the five principal Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their unnatural sin purchafed) compared to the Paradise of the Lord, and like to the Land of Egypt toward Zoar: In like manner was Ifrael resembled to the Paradise of God, before the Babylonians wasted it: which proveth plainly, that Paradife it felf, exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a feat and foil of far exceeding excellency.

Besides, whence had Homer his invention of Alcinous Gardens as Justin Martyr noteth, but out of Moses his description of Paradise? Gen. 2. And whence are their praises of the Elizian fields, but out of the Story of Paradise? To which also appertain those Verses of

ovid. Met. the Golden Age in Ovid:

Ver erat æternum; placidique tepentibus auris, Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.

The joyfull Spring did ever laft, And Zephyrus did breed Sweet flowers by his gentle blaft, Without the help of Seed.

And it is manifest, that Orpheus, Linus, Pindarus, Hesiodus, and Homer, and, after him, Ovid, one out of another, and all these together with Pythagoras and Plato, and their Sectators, did greatly enrich their Inventions, by venting the stoln Treasures of Divine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poetical conversions, as if they had been conceived out of their own speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if we find what Region Heden, or Eden was; if we prove the River that ran out of it, and that Branches; together with the kingdoms of Egypt: and these two Rivers so far distant, as

phets made no imaginary comparisons. But | Havila, and Cush; and that all these are Eastward from Canaan, or the Defarts of the Amorites, where Moses wrote; I then conceive that there is no man that will doubt, but that fuch a place there was. And yet I do not exclude the Allegorical sense of the Scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Chrift, as in all the old Testament throughout : the Story being directly true not withstanding. And to this purpose (faith Saint Augustine) Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententiæ: una est corum, qui tantummodò corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt : alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantum (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum accipiunt; (that is) There are three opinions of Paradife: the one of those men, which will have it altogether corporal: a second of those, which conceive it altogether spiritual, and to be a sigure of the Church: the third of those, which take it in both senses; which third Opinion, S. Augustine approveth, and of which Suidas giveth this allowable judgment : Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat : sic & hujus sanctissimum nemus sensibile simul & intelligibile & duplici specie est An a præditum; (that is) As man was created at one com M time, both sensible, and intelligible; so was this Suidain holy Grove, or Garden, to be taken both ways, verben and endued with a double form.

§. IV.

Why it should be needfull to intreat diligently of the place of Paradise.

But it may be objected, that it is needless, and a kind of curiosity to enquire so diligently after this place of Paradise, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no use. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Story be necessary, then by the place proved, the same is also made more apparent. For if we should conceive that Paradise were not on the Earth, but lifted up as high as the Moon; or that it were beyond all the Ocean, and in no part of the known World; from whence, Adam was faid to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into Judea, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would give any credit unto it. For what could feem more ridiculous than the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this feat of Paradife so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that Pishon should be Ganges, which watereth the East the same afterwards was divided into four India; and Gehon, Nilus, which enricheth (except all the World were Paradife) these embrace the whole Earth, and is so set beyond freams can no way be comprifed therein?

GHAP. III.

death of our Saviour, were faid to have been Moon doth embrace the Moon. To the end in some such Countrey, of which no man ever therefore that these ridiculous Expositions heard tell, and that his Miracles had been and Opinions do not bring question unto known: I assure my self, that the Christian doubts or disputes, it is necessary to discover Religion would have taken but a flender the true place of Paradife, which God in his root in the minds of men: for times and wifdom appointed in the very Navel of this

to the judgment of some Writers upon this place of Genesis (though otherwise for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I fay that there is no Fable among the Grecians or Egyptians more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the World fo fet by it felf, and separated, as to hang in the Air under to conceive, that from thence the four Ri-Comestor's own words. Est autem locus amanissimus, longo terra & maris tractu a nostra ad lunarem globum attingat, &c. (that is) It is a most pleasant place severed from our habitable Zone, by a long trast of Land and Sea, elevated So, that it reacheth to the globe of the Moon.

And Moses Barcephas upon this place inted by writeth in this manner : Deinde hoc quoque responsum volumus, Paradisum multo sublimiore positum esse regione, at que hac nostra extet terra, esque fieriut illine per præcipitium delabantur fluori tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possis; edque impetu impulsi pressique Sub Oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rursus prosiliant ebulliantque in hoc a nobis culto orbe: which have this sense: Furthermore (faith he) deformed; or rather annihilated this place, in we give this for an answer, that Paradisc is set such sort, as no man can find any mark or in a tegion far raised above this part which we memory thereof (of which opinion there inhabit; mereby it comes to pass, that from were others also, ascribing to the Floud the thence these Rivers fall down with such a head-cause of those high Mountains, which are long violence, as words cannot express; and found on all the Earth over, with many owin that force so impilsed and press, they are ther strange effects:) for mine own opinion, carried under the deep Ocean, and do again I think neither the one nor the other to be rife and boil up in this our habitable World: true. For although I cannot deny, but that and to this he addeth the opinion of Ephram, the face of Paradile was after the Floud wiwhich is this: Epbram diett, Paradisum anthire thered, and grown old, in respect of the first terram, atque ultra Oceanum ita positium esse, it beauty (for both the ages of men, and the totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet Re- nature of all things Time hath changed:) yet

the Ocean Sea, as it environeth the whole Orbe Secondly, if the birth and works, and of the Earth on every fide, as the Orbe of the performed in the Air, or no place certainly Truth it felf, or make the fame subject to places are approved witnesses of worldly our World, and (as Melanthon saies) in parte Terræ meliore, in the best part thereof, that Thirdly, if we should relie, or give place from thence, as from a Center, the Universal might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we shall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the Worlds inhabitation: for near unto this did the Sons of Noah also disperse themselves after the Floud, into all other remote Regions and Countreys. And if it be a generous defire in men, to know from whence their own the circle of the Moon? or who so doltish forefathers have come, and out of what Regions and Nations; it cannot be displeasing to vers of Ganges, Nilus, Euphrates, and Tygris, understand the place of our first Ancestor, fhould fall down, and run under all the Oce- from whence all the streams and branches of an, and rife up again in this our habitable Mankind have followed and been deduced. world, and in those places where they are If then it do appear by the former, that such now found? Which left any man think that I a place there was as Paradife, and that the enforce, or ftrain to the worst, these are Peter knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine feveral Opinions before remembred, by the habitabili Zona sceretus, aded elevatus, ut usque Truth it self; and to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common Reason; and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightfull Garden.

5. V.

That the Floud hath not utterly defaced the marks of Paradise, nor caused Hills in the

And first, whereas it is supposed by Ang. Achssamensis, that the Floud hath altered, gione, non aliter atque Luna orbis Lunam ein- if there had been no fign of any such place, git; (which is) That Paradife doth compas or or if the foil and feat had not remained, then

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feribed it fo particularly, and the Prophets and when there were no Indraughts, Bays, or long after Moses, would not have made so often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it self were not then to be found, but that the Floud, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the Land of Eden, yet the place is still the fame, and the Rivers still remain the fame Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, Tygris, and Euphrates, we are fure to find in what longitude Paradife lay; and learning out one of these Rivers, which afterward doth divide it felf into four branches, we are fure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it felf. For it years old at the erection of them; and Jo-Gen. 2.10. is written, that out of Eden went a River to Seph himself to have lived some fourty or fifwater the Garden, and from thence it was ty years after Christ: of whom, although divided, and became into four heads; Now, whether the word in the Latine Translation wrote, yet that which he avouched of his (Inde) from thence, be referred to Eden it own time, cannot (without great derogatifelf, or to Paradise; yet the division, and branching of those Rivers, must be in the it may be possible, that some foundation or North, or South fide of the very Garden (if ruine thereof might then be seen. Now, that the Rivers run as they do, North and South) such pillars were raised by Seth, all Antiquity and therefore thele Rivers yet remaining, hath avowed. It is also written in Berofus and Eden manifeltly known, there could be (to whom, although I give little credit, yet I no fuch defacing by the Floud, as is fup- cannot condemn him in all) that the City of posed.Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, Enoch, built by Cain about the mountains that the place could be so altered, as future of Libanus was not defaced by length of ages knew it not, so is there no probability time: yea, the ruines thereof, Annius (who that either these Rivers were turned out of commented upon that invented fragment) their courses, or new Rivers created by the saith, were to be seen in his days, who lived Floud which were not, or that the Floud in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella of Ca-(as aforelaid) by a violent motion, when it stile. And if these his words be not true, began to decrease, was the cause of high then was he exceeding impudent : for, speak-Hills, or deep Valleys. For what descent of ing of this City of Enoch, he concludeth in Gen. 8. 1. to pass upon the Earth, and the waters ceased. So that the City of Joppa was built before the outragious winds, and beat down, and level than the time denying it. the swelling and mountainous billows of the Sea: for any Ebbs and Flouds there could not the cause of mountains, but that there

would not Moses, who wrote of Paradise | be none, when the waters were equal, and about 850 years after the Floud, have de- of one height over all the face of the Earth, Gulfs to receive a Floud, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round form of the Earth and Waters, as aforefaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reafon, that the Waters rather stood in a quiet calm, than that they moved with any raging or overbearing violence. And for a more direct proof that the Floud made no fuch destroying alteration, Josephus avoweth that one of those pillars erected by seth, the third from Adam, was to be seen in his days; which pillars were fet up above 1426 years before the Floud, counting seth to be an hundred there be no cause to believe all that he on) be called in question. And therefore waters could there be in a Spherical and this fort: Cujus maxima & ingentis molis round body, wherein there is nor high nor fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis low? feeing that all violent force of waters regionis, Civitas Cain, ut nostri mercatores, is either by the strength of wind, by descent of percerini referent; The foundation of which from a higher to a lower, or by the Ebb or luge mass is now to be seen, and the place is Floud of the Sea. But that there was any wind called by the people of that Region, the City of (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it ap- | Cain, as both our strangers and Merchants repeareth not rather the contrary is probable: port. It is also avowed by Pomponins Mela for it is written, Therefore God made a wind (to whom I give more credit in these things) as it appeareth not, that, untill the waters Floud, over which Cepha was King: whole fank, there was any wind at all, but that God name, with his brother Phineus, together afterward, out of his goodness, caused the with the grounds and principles of their Rewind to blow, to drie up the abundant slime ligion, was found graven upon certain Altars and mud of the Earth, and make the Land of stone. And it is not impossible, that the more firm, and to cleanse the Air of thick ruines of this other City, called Enoch by Anvapours, and unwholfome mifts: and this we niw, might be feen, though founded in the know by experience, that all downright first age: but it could not be of the first City rains do evermore diffever the violence of of the World, built by Cain; the place rather

And to prove directly that the Floud was

were mountains from the Creation, it is writ- 1 of the Manichees, of Novionagus, Vadianus, fifteen Cubits the highest Mountains. And Mafins Damascenus, speaking of the Floud, writeth inthis manner: Est supra Minyadam ex-celsus Mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos, sermo est, Diluvii tempore liberatos. And upon Minyada there is an high Mountain in Armenia (called Baris) unto which it is faid, that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they faved themfelves thereon. Now, although it is contrary avouch, but by report) yet it is a testimony, that fuch Mountains were before the Floud, it is generally received, that the Ark refted: rity, either divine or humane.

which succeeded him: both which I take the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the for my warrant, and to guide me in this Dif- World for the Garden. covery.

That Paradise was not the whole Earth, as some have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountain of those four Rivers.

ten, that the waters of the Floud overflowed by Goropius, Becamis, and all those that understood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Gen 1. 28. Universality will appear altogether impro- 26. per. The places which Vadianus alledgeth, Ering forth fruit and multiply, Fill the Earth, and Jubdue it, Rule over every Creature, &cc. with this of the Acts, And bath made of one blond all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of to Gods Word, that any more were faved the Earth, do no way prove fuch a generathan eight persons (which Massius doth not lity: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his which were afterward, and ever fince, known use. Now, although all men were of one and by the same names; and on which Mountains | the same sountain of bloud originally; and Adam's Posterity inhabited in process of but untruly, as I shall prove hereafter. And time over all the face of the Earth: yet it again it appeareth, that the Mount sion disproveth in nothing the particular Gar-(though by another name) was known be- den, affigned to Adam, to drefs and cultive, fere the Floud; on which the Thalmudists in which he lived in so blessed an estate be- Gen. 1. 8 report, that many Giant's faved themselves fore his transgression. For if there had been also; but, as Annius saith, without all autho- no other choice, but that Adam had been left to the Universal's Moses would not then have Lastly, it appeareth that the Floud did said, Eastward in Eden, seeing the World Gen 3. 24. not so turn upside down the face of the earth, hath not East nor West but respectively, as thereby it was made past knowledge, af- And to what end had the Angel of God ter the waters were decreased, by this, that been set to keep the East-side, and entrance when Noah sent out the Dove the second time, into Paradise after Adam's expulsion, if the she returned with an Olive leaf in her mouth, Universal had been Paradise's for then must which she had pluckt, and which (until the Adam have been chased also out of the Trees were discovered) she found not: for World. For if all the Earth were Paradise, otherwise she might have found them floting that place can receive no better construction the water; a manifest proof, that the Trees on than this, That Adam was driven out of were not torn up by the roots, nor fwam up on the waters, for it is written: folium, olivae radije into Paradije, except we should beraptum, or decerptum, a leaf pluckt, (which lieve with Metrodorus, that there were inis) to take from a Tree, or to tear off. By finite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all this it is apparent, (there being nothing writ- one, as to affirm, That in so large a field, as the ten to the contrary) that the Floud made Universal, there should grow but one Thisle. no fuch alteration, as was supposed, but that | Noviomagus upon Beda, seemeth to be led by the place of Paradise might be seen to suc- this, that it was impossible for those three ceeding Ages, especially unto Moses, by Rivers, Ganges, Nilus, and Euphrates (which whom it pleased God to teach the truth of water three portions of the World so far the Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets | distant) to rise out of one Fountain, except

And it is true, that those four Rivers, being so understood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appear, that Pifon wasfallly taken for Ganges, and Gehon fallly for Nilns, although Ganges be a River by Havila in India, and Nilus run through Ethiopia. The Seventy Write Chus for Ethiopia, and thereby the errors of the Mani-His concert of Ang. Chylamenlis being chees, and the miltakings of Novionagus, Goanswered, who onely giveth his opinion ropius, and Vadianus, with others, are made for reason, I will in a few words examine that manifest. Yet was their conjecture far more

probable.

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ny years after the Floud, yet Adam's thinbones must have contained a thousand fanceds no argument to difprove it.

9. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the Moon: and of others which make it higher than the Middle Region of the Air.

THirdly, whereas Beda faith, and as the School-men affirm, Paradife to be a Place altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus) and Barcephas conceived, that Paradise was far in the East, but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe of the Moon (which opinion, though the School-men charge Beda withall, yet Pererius lays it off from Beda, upon Strabus, and his Master Rabanus:) and whereas Rupertus, in his Geographie of Paradife, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated next or nearest Heaven; It may seem, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of Plato, and Plato out of Socrates: but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for Heaven it felf, into which the Souls of the blefled were carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for fear of the Areopagites (in this, and many other divine apprehensions) set down what they believed in plain terms, especially Plato: though socrates in the end fuffered death for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the De-Jul. Mart. vil himself do him that right, as by an Oracle. adm. ad to pronounce him the wifest man. Justine Gent. Aug. Martyr affirmeth, that Plato had read the Scriptures; and S. Augustine gave this judgment of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it feemeth to me, that both Tertullian and Eusebius conceive, that Socrates, by that place aforefaid, meant the celestial Paradise,

probable, than that of Ephrem, Cyrillus, and | ing above all Clouds of Rain, or other in-Athanasus, That Paradise was seated far be- convenience, the people (by reason of their yond the Ocean Sea, and that Adam waded fo many years) are called Macrobici (that is) through it, and at last came toward the Long-livid. A further Argument is used, for Countrey in which he was created, and was proof of the height of this place, because buried at Mount Calvary in Hierusalem. And therein was Enoch preserved from the viocertainly, though all those of the first Age lence of the Floud: approved by Isidore, and were of great stature, and so continued ma- Peter Lombard: in which place also Tertullian conceived, that the bleffed Souls were preserved till the last Judgment; which Irethome, and much more, if he had foorded the naus and Justine Martyr also believed. But Ocean; but this opinion is fo ridiculous, as it this opinion was of all Catholique Divines reproved, and in the Florentine Council damned; of which Saint Angustine more modestly gave this judgment: Sicut certum eft, Enoch & Eliam, nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc funt, an in Paradifo an alibi, incertumest; (that is) As it is certain that Enoch and Elias do now live; so where they live, in Paradise, or ellewhere, it is uncertain. But Barcephas gives a third cause, though of all other the weakeft. For (faith he) it was necessary that Paradise should be set at such a distance and height, because the four Rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had fufficient force to have thrust themfelves under the great Ocean, and afterward have forced their paffage through the Earth, and have risen again in the far distant Regions of India, Egypt, and Armenia.

These strange fancies and dreams have been answered by divers learned men long fince, and lately by Hopkins, and Pererius, writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: (for to use long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Answerer, not much inferiour to that of the Inventer.)

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so near the Moon, it had been too near the Sun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have been too joynct a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Air in that Region is so violently removed, and carried about with fuch fwiftness, as nothing in that place can confift or have abiding. Fourthly, because the space between the Earth and the Moon (according to Ptolemie and Alfraganus) is feventeen times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes in a groß account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that Paradise, being raifed to this height, must have the compass and not this of Eden. Solinus, I grant, re- of the whole Earth for a Basis and soundaporteth, that there is a place exceeding de- tion. But had it been so raised, it could lightfull, and healthfull, upon the top of hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or Mount Atho (called Acrothonos) which be- eyes of men, feeing it would deprive us of

the Sun's light, all the fore-part of the day, But this I dare avow of all those Schoolbeing feated in the East, as they suppose, men, that though they were exceeding witty, Now, to fortifie the former opinions, Tofta- yet they better teach all their Followers tus addeth this, that those people which to shift, then to resolve, by their distinctidwell neer those fals of waters, are deaf from ons. Wherefore not to stay long in answertheir infancy, like those that dwell neer the ing this opinion of Toftatus, I confess that it lus, and yet the people dwelling neer them standing) there is found on the heads of the those things either in Basil or Ambrose.

1 (18. 15. it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith Saint | feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance Paul) but all shall be changed: which change in of ayr to mount her self by. Enoch and Elias, was easie to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Floud all perished on the earth faving eight persons; and therefore

in the terrestrial Paradise they could not be. For Tostatus his own opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but believed that Paradise was raised above the middle Region of the Ayr, and twenty cubits

Catadupe, or over-fals of Nilus. But this I is written, that the Mountains of Olympus, hold as feigned. For I have seen in the In- Atho, and Atlas, over-reach and surmount dies, far greater water-fals, then those of Ni- all winds and clouds, and that (notwithare not deaf at all. Toftatus (the better to Hills both springs and fruits; and the Pagan ftrengthen himself) citeth Basil and Ambrose Priests, sacrificing on these mountain-tops, together: to which Pererius, Sed ego hac apud do not find the afhes (remaining of their fa-Bafilium & Ambrofium in eorum scriptis, que crifices) blown thence, nor thence wash'd off nunc extant, nulquam me legere memini; But by rains, when they return: yet experience Ido not remember (faith he) that I ever read hath resolved us, that these reports are sabulous; and Pliny himfelf (who was not sparing But for the bodies of Enoch and Elias, in the report of wonders) avoweth the con-God hath disposed of them according to his trary. But were it granted, yet the height wildom. Their taking up might be into the of these Mountains is far under the supposed celestial Paradise, for ought we know. For place of Paradise; and on these self-Hills the although flesh and bloud, subject to corrup- ayr is so thin (saith S. Augustine, whom heretion, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, in I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to bear and the feed must rot in the ground before up the body of a bird, having therein no

9. VIII.

Of their opinion that seat Paradise under the Æquinoctial: and of the pleasant habitation under those Climats.

Hose which come neerer unto Reason, find Paradise under the Equinoctial above all Mountains, that the Floud did not line, as Tertullian, Bonaventure, and Durantherefore reach it (which scotus and other dus: judging, that there-under might be latter School-men also believed; for, say found most pleasure, and the greatest fertilithey, there were no finners in Paradife, and ty of foil: but against it Thomas Aquinas obtherefore no cause to over-whelm it:) this jecteth the distemperate heat, which he supposed is also contrary to the express letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without ad- the Sun. But this is (non causa pro causa,) mitting of any distinction, teacheth us, that | for although Paradise could not be under the the waters over-flowed all the mountains under | Line, because Eden is far from it, in which heaven. And were it otherwise, then might | Paradise was; and because there is no part of we aswell give credit to Massus Damascenus, Euphrates, Tygris, or Ganges under it (Ganand the Thalmudists, who affirm, that there ges being one of the four rivers, as they supwere of the Gyants that faved themselves on pose) yet this conceit of distemper (being the Mountain Baris, and on Sion. But to help but an old opinion) is found to be very unthis, Scotus being (as the rest of the School- true, though for the conjecture not to be men are) full of distinction, saith; That the condemned, considering the age when those waters frood at Paradife, as they did in the Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: Red Sea, and at Jordan; and as the Floud that whereas it appeared, that every Counwas not natural, so was Paradise saved by mi- try, as it lay by degrees neerer the Troracle. And Thomas Aquinas qualifieth this pick, and fo toward the Equinoctial, did fo high conceit with this supposition, That it much the more exceed in heat; it was therewas not believed, that Paradise was so fore a reasonable conjecture, that those feated, as Beda and others feem to affirm in Countries which were fituated directly unwords, but by Hyperbole and comparatively, der it, were of a diftemper uninhabitable: for the delicacy and beauty fo refembled. but it feemeth that Tertullian conceived bet-

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ter, and fo did Avicenne, for they both Nature being liberal to all without labour, thought them habitable enough; and though necessity imposing no industry or travel. (perchance) in those days it might be thought | idleness bringeth forth no other fruits then a fantastical opinion (as all are which go against the vulgar) yet we now find, that if that, to conclude this part, Tertullian and there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beauty, and delight that Paradise had, the same must be found within that supposed misliked this opinion, and followed a worfe; uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neerest to the Line it self. For were gross in this particular. hereof Experience hath informed Reafon, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeed, it hath fo pleafed God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that fuch inconveniences which we contemplate a far off, are found by tryal and the witness of mens travails, to be so qualified. as there is no portion of the earth made in vain, or as a fruitless lump to fashion out the 1950 45.1. reft. For God kimfelf (faith Esay) that formed it followeth that now we discover and find the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he out the feat thereof, for init was Paradise by created it not in vain, he formed it to be in- God planted. The difficulty of which fearch habited. Now we find that these hottest Regions of the world, scated under the Equi- have often changed names with their Manotifial line, or neer it, are so refreshed with a sters; so are most of these places, by Moses daily gale of Easternly wind (which the spa- remembred, forgotten by those names of all niards call the Erize) that doth evermore Historians and Geographers, as well antient blow strongest in the heat of the day, as the as modern. down-right beams of the Sun cannot fo much master it, that there is any inconvenience or lonians, Medes and Persians (Cyrus only and distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, a few other excepted) sought to extinguish the nights are so cold, fresh, and equal, by the Hebrews. The Grecians hated both their reason of the entire interposition of the earth, Nation and their Religion; and the Romans as (for those places which my felf have feen, despised, once to remember them in any of neer the Line and under it) I know no other their Stories. And as those three Monarchies part of the World of better, or equal temper: fucceeded each other: fo did they transrence of foils we find also in all other parts inthralled. of the world. But (for the greatest part) those Regions have so many goodly Rivers, tes and Tygris, the better to find the way Fountains, and little Brooks, aboundance of which leadeth to the Country of Eden, we high Cedars, and other stately trees, casting are to take for guides these two Consideshade; so many sorts of delicate fruits, ever rations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from bearing, and at all times beautified with Canaan and Judaa; and, that it was of allobloffom and fruit both green and ripe, as it ther the most beautiful and fertile. First then may of all other parts be best compared to in respect of situation, the next Country to the Paradise of Eden: the boughs and bran- Judea Eastward was Arabia Petraa; but in ches are never unclothed and left naked, this Region was Moses himself when he wrote: their sap creepeth not under ground into the and the next unto it Eastward also was Araroot, fearing the injury of the frost: neither | bia the Defart, both which in respect of the

vain thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So those of his opinion, were not deceived in the nature of the place: but Aquinas, who and (to fay the truth) all the School-men

G. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Colosyria, there is a Country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proved, out of Efa. 37. and Ezek. 27.

Hese opinions answered, and the region of Eden not found in any of those imaginary worlds, nor under Torrida Zona; resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations

Besides, we find that the Asyrians, Baby-Only there are some tracts, which by acci- form the names of all those principal Places dent of high Mountains are barr'd from this and Cities in the East: And after them, the ayr and fresh wind, and some few sandy parts Turk hath sought (what he could) to extinwithout trees, which are not therefore fo guish in all things, the antient memory of well inhabited as the rest; and such diffe- those people, which he hath subjected and

Now befides those notable marks, Euphradoth Pomona any time despise her withered infertility could not be Eden; neither have Husband Vertumnus, in his winter quarters any of the Arabians any such Rivers, as are and (ld age. Therefore are these Countries express d to run out of it: So as it followeth called Terra vitiofa, Vicious Countries: for of necessity, that Eden must be Eastward,

But because Eden is by Moses hamed by it felf, and by the fertility, and the rivers only described, we must seek it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour-Nations better described. In the Prophet Isay, I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in these words, spoken in the person of senacherib by Rabsakeh: Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have destroyed, as Gosan, and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar? and in Exechiel, where he prophecieth against the Tyrians: They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Afbur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants, &c.

But to avoid confusion, we must underfrand that there were two Edens, one of which the Prophet Amos remembreth, where co.1.v.1 he divideth Syria into three Provinces, whereof the first he maketh Syria Damascene, or Decapolitan: the fecond part is that Vallev called Avenis, otherwise Convallis, or the tract of Chamath, where Afgria is joyned to Arabia the Defart, and where Ptolemie placeth the City of Averia: and the third is Calo-Syria, otherwise Vallis cava, or the holand Anti-Libanus, take all the length of it on both fides; and border it: for cale in Greek is Cava in Latine. But this is not that Eden, which we feek: neither doth this Province lie East from Canaan, but North, and so joyn-Beroaldus, in that he confoundeth this Eden, with the other Eden of Paradife, though, to gris, and from the City of Terredon, (built or give Beroaldus his right, I conceive that he enlarged by Nebuchodonozor, now called Baling there two Regions, both called Eden: body of Emphrates, as far as it bended Westand that he altogether mif-understood two ward, and afterward by a branch thereof, of the four Rivers (to wit) Pijon and Gehon, which reached within three days journey of as shall appear hereafter. Now to find our Eden, (which as Moses teacheth us) lay Eastward from the Defatts, where he wrote, af- Hieropolis) and thence to Alexandretta, as ter he had passed the Red-Sea; we must confider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet Isaiah and Ezechiel joyneth with it, For (faith Ifaiah) Gofan, Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar. Also Ezechiel joyneth Haran with Eden, who together with those of sheba,

and beyond both Arabia Petrea, and Deferta. traded with the City of Tyre, which was then (faith Ezechiel) The Mart of the people for mamy Ifles. And it hath ever been the cuftom. that the Persians conveyed their Merchandise to Babylon, and to those Cities upon Euphrates, and Tygris, and from thence transported them into Syria, now Soria, and to the Port of the Mediterrane Sea: as in ancient times to the City of Tyre, afterward to Tripoly, and now to Aleppo, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of Alexandretta, in the Bay of Isicus, now Lajazzo. Ezechiel in the description of the magnificence of Tyre, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the onely Mart-town of that part of the World, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities every Country yielded; and having counted the several People and Countreys, he addeth the particular Trade, which each of them exercised: They were thy Merchants (saith the Prophet) in Verse 14, all forts of things, in rayments of blue silk, and of broydered works, fine Linnen, Coral, and Pearl: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of Sheba and Raamah, and what kinds they traded, he hath these words: The knowen by the name of Domus Edenis, or Merchants of Sheba, and Raamah were the Merchants, they occupied in thy Fairs, with the low Valley, because the mountains of Libanus chief of all spices, and with all pretious Stones, and Gold. Now, these be indeed the riches which Persia and Arabia Fælix yield: and because sheba and Raamah are those parts of Arabia, which border the Sea, called the Persian Gulf, therefore did those Nations both eth unto it, as it could not be unknown to vent such Spice, sweet Gumms, and Pearls, as the Hebrews. Yet, because there is a little their own Countries yielded: and (withall) City therein called Paradife, the Jews be- having trade with their Neighbors of India, lieved this Celo-Syria to be the same which had from them also all forts of Spices, & plen-Moses describeth. For the same cause doth ty of Gold. The better to convey these com-Hopkins in his Treatise of Paradise reprehend | modities tothat great Mart of Tyre, the Shebans, or Arabians entred by the mouth of Tyled the way to Hopkins, and to all other later fara) thence fent up all these rich Merchan-Writers, faving, That he failed in distinguish dizes by Boat to Babylon, from whence by the Aleppo, and then over Land they past to Tyre, as they did afterward to Tripoly, (formerly aforesaid. Now, the Merchants of Canneh, which Exechiel joyneth with Eden, inhabited far up the River, and received this trade from Arabia and India, besides those proper commodities which themselves had, and which they received out of Persia, which bordered them. Saint Hierome understand-Assur, and Chilmad, were the Merchants that eth by Canneh, seleucia, which is seated upon

Euphrates.

Euphrates, where it breaketh into four heads, | and therfore they are by the Prophet Ezechiel and which took that name from Seleucus, who made thereof a magnificent City. Hierosolymitanus thinks it to be Ctesiphon: but ctesiphon is seated down low upon Tygris, and Canneh cannot be on that fide. I mean, on the East-side of Tygris; for then were it leth it in his Commentaries upon Genesis; the out of the Valley of Shinar. Plinie placeth name by time and mixture of Languages bethe Schenita upon Euphrates, where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the bound of Arabia the Defart, and where the River of Euphrates reflecteth from the Defart of Palmirena: for these people of Canneh (afterward schenita) inhabited both borders of Euphrates, stretching themselves, from their own City of canneh in Shinar, far as the City of Thapfacus, where Ptolemy appointed the Foords of Euphrates: which al-To agreeth with the description of the Sche-Strabo.1.16 nite by Strabo, whose words are these: Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam, 🔗 Babyloniam which travel from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites. There-Gen. 11. fore those that take Canneh for Charran, do much mistake it. For Charran, to which Abraham came from Ur in Chaldea (called by God) standeth also in Mesopotamia; not uppon Euphrates it self, but upon the River of Chaboras, which falleth into Euphrates: and the Merchants of Charran are distinctly named with those of Canneh in Ezechiel (as) chants of Sheba, Asher, and Chilmad, were thy (which is the mid-way against Nineveh) the Merchants. Wherefore Charran, which is eleventh day. fometimes called Charre, and Haran, and A-

mia, to the schenita, who also inhabited on

both fides of Euphrates, and were in after-

ages accounted of these Arabians which in-

habit Batanea, and the North part of the

Defarts, stretching themselves toward the

inhabited folitude of Palmirena, which li-

So as these of Canneb lay in the very high-

way from Babylon to Tyre, and were neigh-

coupled together, They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, &c. But S. Hierome made a good interpretation of Canneh, or Chalne, by Seleucia: for Seleucia was antiently called Chalanne (witness Appian) and so Rabanus Maurus caling changed from Chalne, or Canneh, to Chalanne: of which name there are two other Cithe border of spria, after it leaveth to be ties, standing in Triangle with selencia, and almost the next unto it (as) Thelbe-Canne, and Mann-Canne, the one a little to the West of Seleucia, and the other opposite unto it; where these Rivers of Tygris and Euphrates are ready to joyn. Therefore, which of these the ancient Canne was (being all three with-Westward along the banks of Emphrates, as in the bound of the Valley Shinar) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain feat thereof, that so many other Cities did retain a part of the name in fo many ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that these additions euntibus, iter est per Schenitas; The Merchants of Thelbe and Man to the word Canne, were but to make difference between the East and the West, or the greater and the less Canne, or between Canne the old and the new: which additions to distinguish Cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Now of the other City joyned with Eden, as Haran, or Charran, S. Hierome on the Judges Judges speaketh thereof in these words: Cumque reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quæ est in medio itinere contra Ninevem, undecimo They of Haran and Canneh, and Eden, the Mer- die; When they returned, they came to Charran

This City is by the Martyr stephen, named Atti ran, is but the same Charran of Mesopotamia; | Charran (speaking to the High-Priest:) 10 and when it is written Aran, then it is taken Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken : the God for the Region of Mesopotamia; or Aranslu- of glory appeared to our Father Abraham, while viorum, the Greek word (Mesopotamia) im- he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in porting, A countrey between Rivers: for Charran. But the feat of this City is not Mesos in Greek, is medius in Latine, and Po- doubted of: for it is not only remembred in tamos, fluvius. And when it is written Haran many Scriptures, but withall exceeding faor Aran, it is then taken for the City it felf, mous for the death and overthrow of Crassius to which Abraham came from Vr (as afore- the Romane, who for his unfatiable greedifaid.) For Strabo in the description of Ara- ness, was called Gurges avaritie; the Gulf of bia, giveth that tract of Land from the bor- avarice. Whereof Lucan: ders of Calofyria, to the edge of Mesopota-

Asyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras. With Roman bloud th'Assyrian Carre he defil'd.

But this City Canne, or Chalne, is made manifest by Moses himself, where it is written 600,10 of Nimrod: And the beginning of his King- 16. doms was Babel, & Erech, and Acad, and Chain, eth between Syria, and Arabia the Defart. in the Land of Sinaar or Shinar: where Moles sheweth the first composition of the Babylonian Empire, and what Cities and People bours (indifferent) to Charran, and to Eden: were subject unto Nimrod; all which lay in

the faid Valley of Shinar, or near it; and | Frankincenfe is gathered which people have this Valley of Shinar is that Tract afterwards an interchange or trade with Elana, lying on

nion, and also named by Moses to be in Shiof Senacherib against Jerusalem (with other Nations that Senacherib vaunted that his Faceffary to describe those other Countreys, which Ezechiel joyneth therewith, in the fense: Reges Shebe & Sabe. places before remembred, as, those of Sheba tenth: Moreover the Sons of Ham were Cush, and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His brother Raamah or Regma took that part adjoyning to Shinar, toward the Sea fide and Perlian gulf (called afterwards Raama and sheba, by the Father and his Sons, which possessed it.) For (saith Exechiel) the Merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy fairs with the chief of all spices, and all precious Stones, and Gold. So as Sheba was that Tract of Countrey, which parteth Arabia Deserta from drabia Felix, and which joyneth to the ed; and this place of Telaffar lay most conve-Sea where Tygris and Euphrates fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This and Arabia, and also to convey it over into

called Babylonia and Chaldea, into which the East-side of the Fersian gulf. By this it lania, sinar, idem sunt (faith Comester.) Three by Executed, and said to have been the Mernames of one Country: which Region of Ba- chants of Tyre, for Gold, Spices, and precious bylonia, took name of the Tower Babel; and Stones: of which they had not onely plenty the Tower of the confusion of Tongues. And of their own, but were also furnished from that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proved in the that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according eleventh Chapter of Geness, in these words: 10 Strabo) for exchange of their Aroma-And as they went from the East, they found a tiques, and other proper commodities. For, Plain in the Land of Shinar, and there they as Strabo reporteth out of Eratofthenes, In abode: in which Plain Babylon was built (as Persica ora initio Insula est, in qua multi & orcfaid.)
Now Shinar being Babylonia, and Canneh, pretiof uniones gignantur: in alise were, clarify the series of in the first beginning of Nimrod's greatness, bo) affirmeth, that, In the beginning of the and before he had subdued any strange, or Persian gulf, there is an Island, in which there far-off Nations, being one part of his Domi- are many precious Pearls bred: and in other, very clear and shining Stones. Now, the difnar, it proveth that Canneh joyneth to Ba- ference between sheba the Son of Raamah, bylonia; which also Ezechiel coupleth with and Seba the Son of Cush, is in this, That Eden, and (further) affirmeth that those of seba is written with the Hebrew (Samech;) Eden were also the Merchants which traded and Sheba with (Schin:) but whatsoever with the Tyrians: and Isaab in the threats the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countreys and Habitations are diverse. For sheba is that which bordereth thers had destroyed) nameth the children of the Persian Sea, and Saba (whence the Queen Eden which were at Telassar. But before I of saba) neighboured the Red-Sea; and so conclude where Eden it self lyeth, it is ne that place of the 72 Palm expounded Reges Arabum & Sabæ, hath in the Hebrew this

The shebans, Ezechiel nameth together and Raamah. It is written in Geness the with the Edenites, because they inhabited upon the Out-let of the same River, upon &c. And the sons of Cush were seba, and which the Edenites were seated: and so those thavila and sabtah, and Raamah, &c. And of Sheba, towards the Sea-coast, and upon it, the Sons of Raamah were Sheba, &c. and past up the Countrey, by Tygris and Emphraanon after; Culb begat Nimrod: so as Sheba tes, being joyned in one mainstream, and so was the grand-child of Cush, and Nimrod the through the Region of Eden, which Tygris Son of Culb, whose elder brother was Sebab: boundeth, thereby the better to convey though fome there are that conceive to the their merchandife toward Tyre. And as the contrary, that Nimrod was the elder in va- Cities of Charran, and Channeh, border Eden lour and understanding, though not in time on the West and North-west: so doth sheba on the South, and Chilmad on the North-east: Chilmad being a Region of the higher Media, as appeareth in the Chaldean Paraphrast; which Countrey, by the Geographers is called Coromitena, (L) placed by exchange for (R) which change the Hebrews also of-

ten use.

Thus much of those Countries which border Eden, and who altogether traded with the Tyrians: of which, the chief were the Edenites, inhabiting Telaffar: for these Senacherib vaunted, that his Fathers had destroy-Part, and the confining Countrey, strabo Syria, and to Tyrus. Now, to make these calleth Catabria, where the best Myrrhe and things the more plain; we must remember,

CHAP. III.

parts of the Babylonian Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monar-

chies were utterly dif-joyned. For it appeareth both in Esay the 37. and in the second of Kings, by the threats of Rabfache, the while the Army of Assyria lay before Jerusalem, that the Cities of Gosan, Haran, Reseph, and the Edenites at Telassar, had refifted the Afgrians: though by them Eley 37. v. Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my and Mescopotamia took the name of Babylonia. (in a fort) mastered and recovered. Have the Fathers have destroyed as Gosan, and Haran, Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar? But it appeared manifestly after senacherib's death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the 2Kingst 9 others subjection: for Efar-Haddon held 35.20.12. Afgria; and Merodach Baladan, Babylonia. And after that the Army of senackerib, commanded by Rabfache which lay before Jeru-Esy39. falem (Hezekias then reigning) while Sena-

cherib was in Egypt, was by the Angel of God kias, both to congratulate the recovery of his grow in Eden, an Eastern Region in the borders destroyed; the King of Babel sent to Hezehealth, and his victory obtained over the of Arabia and Mejopotamia. Afgrians. After which overthrow, Senacherib himself was slain by his own sons in the Temple of his Idols, Efar-Haddon succeeding him in Afgria. To the Babylonian Ambassa-Efty 39.1. dours fent by Merodach, Hezekias shewed all his treasures as well proper as consecrate, which invited the Kings of Babylon afterward to undertake their conquest and subversion. So as, the suspition of war encreasing between Babylon and Asyria, the Edenites which inhabited the borders of shinar towards the North, and towards Aßyria, were Junius, fignifying as much as a Bulwork against the Asyrians. This place Hierofolymithis Telassar is the same, which Am. Marcellinue in the History of Julian (whom he folupon a freep and unassaultable Rock, in so the left hand; and Cannels, (which he call- it hath Mofal or Mofel, from which (as in that

that before the death of senacherib, many eth Thelbe-Canne) on the right hand; not far from whence, is also found the City of Mann-Canne, upon Tygris; and all these feated together, as Esay and Exechiel have forted them. But the understanding of these places is the more difficult, because Asyria (which the Chaldeans call Atturia,) and Mefopotamia, were so often confounded; the one taken for the other by interchanging of Colmon Dominion. Asyria & Mesopotamia in Babylonia nomen transierunt (faith Niger,) Asyria ons by the Prophets named, in what part of the World Eden is seated, as, by Charran or Haran in McCopotamia: also by Canneh and Resept, according to the opinion of Vatablus, who in these words translateth this place: Plantaverat autem f EHOV AH Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente; The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden Eastward: that is (saith he in his Annotations) Jusserat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabia & Mesopotamia; He commanded Trees to

of divers other testimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradile.

Nd for a more particular pointing out of this Eden, it seemes by the two Epiftles of the Nestorian Christians, that inhabit Mesopotamia: which Epistles in the year 1552. they fent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and Andreas Maemployed to bear off the incursions of the sins hath published them, translated out of Afgrians; and their Garrison-place was at Syriae into Latine. By these Epistles (I say) Telassar: and the very word (Telassar) saith it seemes we may have some farther light for the proof of that, which we have faid about the Region of Eden in those parts. For in tanus takes for Resem, others for selencia: but them both, there is mention of the Island of Eden in the River Tygris, or at least, Tygris in both these Epistles is called the River of lowed in the enterprize of Persia) calleth Eden. This Island, as Massins in his Preface to Thislutha in stead of Telassar, who describe the these Epistles saith, is commonly called Gothe exceeding strength thereof in his 24, zoria (as it were, The Island, by an eminen-Book: It is scatted in an Island of Emptrates cy.) It hath (faith he) ten miles in circuit, and was fometimes walled round about, which much as the Emperour Julian durst not at name of the Illand Eden may (doubtles) retempt it; and therefore it was a conveni- main to this day; though in the reft of the ent place for a Garrison against the Asyrians, Region so called, this name be swallowed being alio a patiage out of Mesopotamia into up with the same of those flourishing King-Babylonia, and in which the Edenites of the doms of Melopotamia, Afgria, Babylonia, and Country adjoyning were lodged to defend | Chaldea. This Illand of Eden hath up the Rithe same. This place Ptolemy calleth Teridata, ver, and not far beyond it, the City of Hahaving Resepb (which he calleth Resepba) on San-Cepba, otherwise Fortis Petra: belowit, by Marius Niger is remembred among the on of other Languages, received new and Cities higher up Tygris, in these words, Juxta differing names. For the South part of Christians that dwelt there (the Seat of cns, otherwise by Plutarch and Atheneus call-whose Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, ed Istri, who lived in Egypt in the Reign of City, which Ptolemy and Tacitus call Ninus, River of Tygris.

den, and that the name of Eden in those parts to come) cannot be unknown. Now that is not yet quite worn out, though the Regi- Hiddekel and Perath, were Tygris and Euphra-

which followeth it shall appear out of Mass- on hath been subject to the same change us) it is not above twelve miles distant. Neithat all other Kingdoms of the world have ther is it to trouble us, That Mofal or Mofel, been, and hath by conquest and corruptiautem Tygrim, Civitates sunt Dorbeta prope Eden, which stretcheth over Enphrates, was Taurum montem, que nune Mosel dicitur; after the Floud called shiner, and then, of magna sanè, &c. (that is) By Tygris are these the Tower of Babel, Babylonia; and the Cities, Dorbeta neer unto mount Taurus (which North part of Eden is that Tract of Mesopotais now called Mofel) which is a great one, &c. mia, Afgria, and Armenia, which imbraceth This opinion of Niger, displacing Mosel, and both the banks of Tigris between Mount making it to be Darbeta (Hay) needs not Taurus, and Sciencia. And of this Region of here to trouble us: seeing for this matter, Eden that antient Ethicus maketh mention, the testimony of Masins, informed by the (not that latter Æthicus, Disciple of Galliniavowing that this Mofal (or Mozal) is in the Philadelphus; but another of a far higher Confines of Mesopotamia and Asseria, scated and remote time) the same being made Laupon Tyeris, and in the neighbour-hood of tine out of the Greek by Saint Hierom. And Nineve; and that it is the famous Seleucia though by corruption of the antient Copie Parthorum. The Nestorian Christians in their it be written, in Athicus, Adonis for Edenis: former Epistle, call it Attur in these words: yet Adonis being a River of Phanicia, can-Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis que funt cir- not be understood to be the Region named cum Civitatem Mosel (hoc est) Attur, in vici-nia Nineves; Of all the Cities and Townes try, and not a River, and joyneth it with which are about the City of Mosal (that is) At- Mesopotamia and Æthiopia, calling the land tur in the neighbour-hood of Nineve. As also of Chus Æthiopia, after the Vulgar, and Sep-Niger acknowledgeth Ctefiphon a City there- tuagint. And lastly, the River which waterabout to be called Affir, (which is the same eth the Regions (saith Æthieus) salleth in-as Attur, after the Dialect of those Nations, to the Gulf of Persia. which River he called which change shinto T.) Neither is it much | Armodius for Tygris; Tygris being but a that he should mistake Ctessphon, (which is name imposed for the swiftness thereof. And not sar off seleucia) for seleucia, to be Assur. out of Armenia, both Tygris and Euphrates By this then we may come somewhat near have their original: for out of Eden came a the end of our purpose. For the Isle of Eden, River, or Rivers, to water the Garden, both which lieth in the brest of Tygris, is but | which Rivers (to wit) Tygris and Euphrates, twelve miles from Mosal, and that antient come out of Armenia, and both of them traverse Mesopotamia, Regions first of all known and the Scriptures Nineve; Philostratus, and | by the name of Eden, for their beauty and Simeon Sethi, Mofula, and John Lean, Mofal, | fertility. And it is very probable, that Eden others Mosse, (though it be not the same contained also some part of Armenia; and with Mosal) is set but a little higher upon the excellent fertility thereof in divers places the same River of Tygris, near Mosal: so that is not unworthy the name of Eden. For in we are like to find this Isle of Eden herea- some part thereof (saith strabo) the leaves bout. For the same Andreas Massus, which are alway green, and therefore therein a perplaceth it above Mosal, makes it to be be- petual Spring. Also Stephanus, de Urbibus, low Hasan-Cepha, which is upon the same mentioneth the City of Adana upon Euphrates: and the name of Eden was in use in A-The only difficulty is this, that fome per- mos's time, though he spake not of Eden in haps may think, that the words of the Ne- the East, but of Eden in Calo-Syria. But to florians in both their Epistles, speak not of a- the end I may not burthen the Readers pany îsle in Tygris, called the Isle of Eden, but tience with too long a Discourse, it may sufof an Ile in Tiggris, a River of Eden. But this fice to know, that Enphrates and Tygris (once fense of their words in my opinion seemeth joyned together, and afterward separate) the more unprobable. And yet, if this were are two of those four heads, into which these the meaning here, we have a testimony from Rivers which are said to water the Garden the Learned of those parts, that not only of Paradise, were divided: whose courses be-Emphrates, but also Tygris was a River of E- ing known, Eden (out of which they are faid

CHAP. III

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Hiddekel, Tygrim omnes exponunt; And all Tygris. And in a second Epistle at the same men understand Hiddekelby Tyeris (faith Va- time fent, they used these words: Neq. superfunt tablus.) And because that which I have said apud nos Metropolite, quorum est ordinare Caof the Isle of Eden shall not be subject to the tholicum: sed foli panci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbela, censure of self-invention, Thave here-under Episcopus almasti. Episcopus Adurbeigansen è vefet down the words out of the two general figio convenimus in Insulam, que est intra Ty-Epistles of the Nestorians, as Massus (ad ver- grim slumen, Eden, secimusq, compactum inter bum) hath converted them into Latine. The nos, &c. (which is) Neither are there remaining occasion of those Letters and Supplications among us any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it to the Pope, were, That the Nestorian Christi- belongs to ordain a Patriarch, but only a few Bians, which inhabit Mesopotamia, Afgria, Per- Sops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salfia, Babylonia, and have to this day (at least massus, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan: but lo, in Queen Marys time they had) fifteen Chur- we assembled speedily in the Islandof Eden, which ches in one City called seleucia Parthorum, is in Tygris, and agreed between our felves, &c. or Mosel upon the River of Tygris; having no fufficient authority to choose themselves eth with other places; which being well a Patriarch (which cannot be done without conceived, the Nefforian Epiftles, and the four or three Metropolitan Bishops at the state of the Church may be in those parts leaft) fent to the Bilhop of Rome, in the year (faith he) the better understood. And after of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to he hath distinguished the four forts of Christians and the said of Christians (Article State obtain allowance unto such an Election, as stians in those parts of the World, and in the themselves had made: having three hundred South part of Africa, which he calleth Nestoyear before that, upon the like defect, fent rians, Jacobites, Maronita, and Cophii, he goone Marius thither to be confirmed; and eth on in these words: Mox, and it illins in this negotiation they made known to the morte, concurrisse aichant immultuario in illam Bishop of Rome the state of the Christian quam mode dixi Tygris Insulam, que duodecim Church in those parts: for, upon the death circiter passium millibus supra Mosal posta, deof their Patriarch (who of a covetous defire to enrich himself, had forborn to institute Metropolitan Bishops, when the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to confult of the Church-government. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one House and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stock and Kindred, who aspired to the same dignity which his Predecessors had held; the rest of the profesiors resuled to allow him. Upon which occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches affembled themselves. The words of the general Epiftle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the said Epistle; Verum nos non acceptavimus, neq; proclamavimus ipsum; sed subità convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis que sunt circum civitatem Mosel (hoc est, Attur)in vicini à Nineves, ex Babylonià, ex Charrà, ex Arnis Eden, Sc. i.e. But we did neither accept of toute l' Afie 3 Geserta or Gestre is in the middle belå, ex Infulå quæ eft in medio Tygris, flumithis man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly of Tygris, the soyle the most fertile of all Asia. me affembled our selves out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which den liveth; and of that Eden which lyeth npon Nineve; and out of Babylon, Carrha, Ar- where Moses wrote, and that Eden which bella; and out of the Island which beth in the bordereth Carran according to Exechiel, and

tes, it is agreed by all: for the Severty and | middle of Tygris, a River of Eden, or rather all others convert Perath by Euphrates: 6 out of the Isle of Eden, which lyeth in the River

Now this Island of Eden, Masins describcem fere millia passium suo ambitu continet, muris undiq; cincta, & à paucis aliis quam Christianis hominibus habitata: which is. Now hearing of the death of the Patriarck, (as those that came to Rome reported) they ran tumultuously together into that Island of Tygris or Eden before spoken of, which Island is situated about twelve miles above Mosal, containing very neer ten miles in compaß, and every where invironed with a wall, inhabited by few other men then Christians. And afterward, he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest he addeth the Isle of Eden by the name of Geserta, Insula Iggris; five Geserta. Furthermore, describing the City of Hosan-Cepha, or Fortis Petra, he placeth it supra prædict am Tygris Insulam, rupi aspera impositam; Above the aforesaid Island of Tygris, being seated on a steep Rock. Of this Island of Geferta, Andrew Thevet maketh mention in his tenth Book of his general Cosmography, in these words: Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la Riviere du Tygre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de

By this we see that the antient name of Eare about Mofel (or Attur) neighbouring Eastward from Arabia Petrea, and the Defart that Eden which is feated according to the stead of (Trees:) And thirdly, The man effection of the said Prophet, and joyned and his wife hid themselves from the presence with those Nations of Reseph, Ganneh, and Charran, and the rest which traded with the Tyrians, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of Affyria, and Babylonia, where the Edenites in Thelassar were garrifoned to refift the Affrians, whose difplantation Senacherib vaunted of (as above written;) and lastly, the same Eden, which embraceth Tygris, and looketh on Euphrates, two of the known Rivers of those four, which are by all men ascribed to Paradise.

6. XI.

Of the difficulty in the Text, which feemeth to make the four Rivers to rife from one fiream.

DUt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, That a River went out of Eden, he, hath these words: Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: Que verba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & ejusdem explicatione, sita reddanturs | where it is noted, that following the River Et fluvins erat egrediens ex Edene (hoc est) fluvii procedebant ex Edene regione ad riganin quatuor capita: which is, And a River to Assyria) were up Tygris. went out of the place of pleasure to mater Paraof Eden, and not to the Garden it felf.

of God; In medio ligni Paradifi; In the middle of the tree of the Garden, for (Trees.) And of this opinion is David Kimchi, and Vatablus, who upon this place of Genesis say, that the Hebrews do often put the Singular for the Plural, as illud, for unumquodq; illorum; and he giveth an instance in this question it self, as, A River (for Rivers) went out of Eden.

And this answer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, be given to the objection, That Moses speaketh but of one River, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the four heads, to be four notable passages into samous Countries. And so we may take the word (River) Verse the tenth for one River, (to wit) Enand not Rivers in the plural: which scruple phrates, as this name comprehendeth all the Matthew Beroaldus hath thus answered in his | branches thereof. For this River (after he Chronologie: The Latine Translation, saith is past the place, where we suppose Paradise to have been) divides it felf, and ere long vieldeth four notable paffages into feveral Countries, though not all the way down stream (for this is no where in the Text) downward, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part dum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat of the way to one of the Countries (to wit,

To this end the Text speaking of Hiddedise, and thence was divided into four heads: kel, as it riseth from the River of Eden, doth Which words (faith Beroaldus) do better a- not fay, it compasseth or washeth the whole gree with the narration and explication of Region of Assyria (as it had used this phrase the place, if they be thus translated; And a of Pison and Gehon) but that it runneth to-River was going forth of Eden (that is) Rivers | wards Afgria. The first branch Pifon, is Nawent forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden har-malcha (by interpretation) Basilius, or to water the Orchard; and from thence it was flumen regium, which runneth into Tygris undivided, and they became four heads. The Ty- der Apamia; whence rifeth the name of Pasigurine differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for Tygris, as it were Pifo-Tygris. This leadeth to it converts it thus, Et fluvius egrediebatur de the Land of Havila or Sustana. The second deliciis; And a River went out of pleasure, in branch Gehon, is that which in Historians is stead of Eden; and the Latine addeth the Nabarfares or Narragas; for Nahar-ragas: word locus, or place, Et fluvius egrediebatur both which names fignific flumen derivatum de loco voluptatis; And a River went out of (a River derived,) also Acracanus, quasi Rathe place of pleasure: and so the word (place) nosus, by reason of the Froggie Fens which may rightly be referred to Eden, which was it maketh: this Gehon leadeth to the first (of all other) a Region most delightful and seat of Chus, about the borders of Chaldea fertile; and so also the word (inde) and thence, and Arabia, and it is lost at length in the was divided, hath reference to the Country | Lakes of Chaldea. The third branch Hiddekel, may be expounded the upper stream of And for the word (River) for Rivers, it is Pison, or Basilius, which runneth into Hiddekel, usual among the Hebrems: for it is written: properly io called (that is, into Tygris) above Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herb | Selencia, where it sheweth a pallage up Tythat feedeth Seed, the fruitful Tree, &c. Here gris into Affria: where, because at length it the Hebrew meeth the Singular for the Plural, is called Hiddekelor Tygris, having before no Herb and Tree, for Herbs and Trees; and a known proper name, the Text in this place gain, We cat of the fruit of the Tree, in calleth it Hiddekel from the beginning. The

be spoken of the beginning of their division Meats and Wine, and Honey, ordering them from the first stream. Caput aque (faith Ulpinascatur, fons; si ex slumine, vel ex lacu, pri- the East-India, Strabo and Niger add a fourth for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake; parate and divided, then where that branch of the River.

6. XII.

Of the strange fertility and happiness of the Babylonian Soyl, as it is certain that Eden

TT may also be demanded, whether this Region of *Eden*, by us described, be of fuch fertility and beauty, as Eden the feat of Paradise was: which, if it be denied, then to any part of the Earth, nor the same virhad before the Floud; and therefore this Region of Eden may be now no fuch flouit self; for the Isle of Eden is but twelve between Tygris and Euphrates, of so fruitmiles, or thereabout, from Nineveh, and so full and fat a foil, that they are faid to drive

fourth Perath, or Euphrates, fo called per ex- from Mofal. Ex Euphrate exiens in Tygrim, cellentiam, being the body of the River Eu- alterum flumen, juxta quod Orbs Nini sita phrates, which runneth through Eabylon and erat. Hac Regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, Otris. But be it a River or Rivers, that come optima eft, &c. Where Euphrates runneth out out of Eden, feeing that Tygris and Euphrainto Tygris, not far from the place where Niter are noted in the Text, there can be no
nus is feated. This Region, of all that we have doubt, but that Paradise was not far from seen, is most excellent: and he addeth afterthese Rivers: for that Ferath in Moses is ward; Cereris autem fruin procreando aded Euphrates, there can be no question; and ferax est, ut nunquam non fere ducenta red-(indeed) as plain it is that Hiddekel is Tygris. dat, &c. (that is) It is fo fruitfull in bringing For Hiddekel goeth (faith Moses) Eastward forth Corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold: towards Affir, as we find, that Tygris is the The leaves of Wheat and Barley, being almost River of Affria proprie dieta, whole chief four fingers broad. As for the beight of Millet City was Nineveh, as in Genesis the tenth it is and Sesame, they are even in length like unto written: That out of that Land (to wit) Trees; which although I know to be true, yet I Babylonia, Nimrod went into Asim; and build-forbear to speak bereof, well knowing, that ed Nineveh, which was the chief City of those things which are reported of this finitful-And as for the kind of speech here used in never were in the Countrey of Babylon. They the Text, speaking of four heads; though the have commonly in all the Countrey Palm-Trees heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountains, yet here are they to be understood, to bearing finit, out of which they make both

To this Palm-Tree, fo much admired in mainitia, &c. If the beginning of the mater be excellency, which is, that it yieldeth bread; out of a Fountain, then is the Fountain taken Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & aceand if from a main River any branch be se- Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vineger. But Antodoth first bound it self with new banks, there not inseriour to any of those four, which is, is that part of the River, where the branch that from this self-same Tree, there is drawn forfaketh the main stream, called the head a kind of fine Flax, of which people make they prepare the cordage for their Ships. And that this is true, Athanasius in the life of Antonius the Eremite, confesseth, saying: That he received a garment made thereof from the Eremite himself, which he brought with him out this Region. So therefore those Trees which the East Indies so highly esteem and so much admire (as indeed the Earth yielded no plant comparable to this) those Trees (I fay) are in this upper Babylon, or Region of Eden, as common as any Trees of must we also consider, that there was no the Field. Sunt etiam (faith Strabo) passim per ty and pleasure, that it had before the Curse: There are of Palms over all the whole Region, neither can we accibe the same fruitfulness growing of their own accord. Of this place, Quintus Curtius makeththis report : Euntitue to any Plant thereon growing, that they bus à parte læva Arabia (odorum fertilitate & Euphratem jacens, tam ubere & pingui solo, rishing Countrey, asit was when it was first ut d pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas created in his perfection. Yet this I find written of it: First, in Herodotus, who was an hand of Arabia (famous for plenty of sweet 0eye-witnes, and speaketh of the very place dours) there lieth a Champain Countrey placed

their Cattel from pasture, lest they should perish | world: the Scriptures making it so plain, by satiety. Bis in anno segetes Babylonii fecant; The Babylonians cut their Corn twice a pear (faith Niger.) And as Countreys gene- Reason, and Experience bearing witness. rally are more fruitfull to the Southward, There is no errour which hath not some slipthan in the Northern parts: fo we may pery and bad foundation, or fome appearjudge the excellency of this by that report ance of probability, resembling truth, which which Strabo maketh of the South parts of when men (who study to be singular) find America, which is the North border of Eden, out (straining Reason according to their or a part thereof. His words be these in the fancies) they then publish to the world mat-Latine: Tota enim hac regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemque semper virentibus; This Region aboundeth with pleasant minds, to find some partakers or sectators, fruits, and Trees always green: which wit- the better by their help to nurse and chenefleth a perpetual Spring, not found elfewhere but in the *Indies* onely, by reason of tions have begotten. the Sun's neighourhood, the life and stirrer up of Nature in a perpetual activity. In brief, of Pison) seemeth to have grown out of the fo great is the fertility of the ground, that not-diffinguishing of that Region in India, the people are constrained twice to mow called Havilah, from Havilah which adjoyndown their Corn-fields, and a third time to eth to Babylonia, afterward known by the eat them up with Sheep: which husbandry name of Susiana. For Havilab upon Tygris, the Spaniards wanting in the Valley of took name from Havilah the Son of Culb; fruitless. Besides, those fields are altoge- Moses setteth down the generations of Noah, ther without weeds (faith Pling) who adden the sons after the Floud. For the Sons deth this fingularity to that foil, That the of Culb were Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, and Ra-Gun, 10.77 ling down of the feeds again) yieldeth them and Havilah, &c. of which latter (to wie) a harvest of Corn without any further la- of ophir and Havilah the Sons of Jodan, that 1 nd. bour: his words are these, Obertatis tante Island of Ophir, (whence Solomon had Gold)

6. XIII.

Fter the discovery of Eden, and the te-A stimonies of the sertility thereof, it resteth to prove that Pison and Gehon are branout: for Euphrates, or Tygris, or both, be chosen than Ganges: for the River Indus on that River or Rivers of Eden, which water this fide India, for beauty, for nearness, and Paradife; which River or Rivers, Moses wit- for ability, giveth no way place to Ganges, neffeth afterward divided into four heads, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any whereof the one is called Pilon; the other reasonable man conceive, that Ganges can be Gehon, &c. Could there be a stranger fancy of the four heads, seeing Indus cometh bein the world; than when we find both these tween it and Tygris? and between Tygris (namely) Tygris and Euphrates in Afgria and and Indus is all that large Empire of Perfua, Melopotamia, to feek the other two in India confifting of many Kingdoms. And again, farand Egypt, making the one Ganges, and the ther towards the East, and beyond Indus, are Other Milus? Two Rivers as far distant as all those ample Dominions of India intra any of fame known or discovered in the Gangem, which lie between those two proud."

that these Rivers were divided into four branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, ter of contention and jangling; not doubting, but in the variable deformity of mens rish such weak Babes, as their own inven-

But this militaking (and first for the River Mexico, for the first fourty years, could and Havilah in India; from Havilah the Son not make our kind of Wheat bear feed, but of Jostan; the one remembred by Moses in it grew up as high as the Trees, and was the description of Paradise, the other where fecond year, the very stubble (or rather fal- amab; and the Sons of Jost an were Ophir, HILLIE funt, ut sequenti anno sponte restibilis stat and Havilah adjoyning, had their names. Now, because Ganges is a great and a famous Gen. 10. River of the East India, and Havilah a Coun-19 try of the same, and is situated upon Ganges, hence it came that Ganges was taken for Pi-Of the River Pison, and the Land of Havilah. Son, which River is said by Moses, to water the Land of Havilah. Or perhaps, it was fup- Gen. 111 posed, that those four Rivers named by Moses, must of necessity be four of the greatest in the World; whence (supposing that ches of Tygris and Euphrates: For, that the Ganges was the next great and famous Riknowledge and certainty of these two Ri- ver after Tygris and Emphrates) they chose vers should trouble so many wise men, it is out this River to make one of the four. And strange to me; seeing necessity it self (Tygris | yet certainly there is another River, whom and Emphrates being known) findeth them in these respects they should rather have

Kingdom of Mogor. So as if Indus be not accounted for any of the four, because it is Son of Jostan, who inhabited with his broremoved from Tygris by all the breadth of Persia, then how much less Ganges, which falleth into the Ocean, little less than fourty degrees to the Eastward of Indus? Surely, whosoever readeth the Story of Alexander, shall find that there is no River in Asia, that can exceed Indus. For Hydaspis was of that breadth and depth, as Alexander thereon in great Gallies transported himself, and the greatest part of his Army, and in sailing down that branch of Indus, found it so large and deep, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be swallowed up therein: Hydaspis (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of Indus, comparable to it, and as great as it, having befides this, the Rivers of Coas, of Suaftus, Acesines, Adris (otherwise Hirotis,) Hispalis, and Zaradus, all which make but one Indus, and by it are swallowed up with all their children and companions, which being all | before. incorporated and made one stream, it cross-

eth the Ocean Sea. But because Pison, which compasseth Ha-Gen. 2.15. vilab, as also Gehon, which watereth Cufb, which the other two heads do proceed; the other be Ganges, or Nilus: For Nilus rifeth in the uttermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the Mediterran Sea: and the River Ganges rifeth out of the Mountain Imaus, or (as others will have it) Cauher own India, and Nilus through Ethiopia and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or divided into sour heads or branches, according to Moses.

Therefore the River Pison, which inrichfelf with Tygris, was therefore called Pifi-Tygris or Pifo-Tygris, of Pifon and Tygris, Gen. 2. v. which River watereth that Havilah, which rath: Josephus, Phorah; Eusebius, Zozimus:

Rivers of Indus and Ganges, now called the | Havilab the fon of Cufb gave name unto, and not Havilah of India, so called of Havilah the ther Opkir in the East. And this Havilah of the Cushites had also Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx stone. This Bdellium is a Tree of the bigness of an Olive, whereof Arabia hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain Gum fweet to fmell to, but bitter in tafte, called also Bdellium. The Hebrews take the Loadstone for Bdellium. Beroaldus affirmeth, that Bdela in Hebrew fignifieth Pearl: fo doth Eugubinus; and Hierom calls it Oleaster: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearl, Havilah or Susiana hath plenty of both. Now this Country of Susiana or Havilah, stretcheth it felf towards the North as far as the Altars of Hercules, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as far as the Persian Gulfe, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the shebans (which traded with the City of Tyre according to Ezekiel) their great plenty of Gold; which strabo also witnesseth, as was shewed

. The Greeks had a conceit, that Pifon was sunh. Danubius: the Rabbins take it for Nilus. 1804. Aben-Ezra (saith Hopkins) out of Rabbi Saaeth athwart Asia, and then at Cambaia visitdia, translateth Pison into Nilus: But Nilus findeth the same impossibility that Ganges must somewhere be joyned with the rest in doth: and Danubius hath the Sea of Helleone body, or at least be found to proceed foont, and all Asia the less between it and out of the same Country of Eden, out of Tyeris. Now Pison, which runneth through Havilah or Susiana, doth to this day retain out of doubt they cannot either the one or some signe of this name; for where it and Tygris embraceth each other under the City of Apamia, there do they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called Pifo-Tygris. And it is strange unto me, that from fo great antiquity there should be found recasus, which divides the Northern Scythia | maining any resembling sound of the first from India. and runneth from North to South name: for Babylon it felf, which dwelleth so many into the Indian Ocean. And as for Perath and | near these Rivers, is by some writers known Hiddekel (that is, Euphrates and Tygris) the by the name of Bandas, as, by Postellus: by one of them is begotten in Armenia, near | Castaldus, of Balduch: by Barins, of Bagdadi, Them. Georgiana or Iberia, the other is not far off in the same Armenia, by the Georgian Moun-yet all those that have lately seen it, call it specified the same Armenia, by the Georgian Moun-yet all those that have lately seen it, call it specified the same Armenia, by the Georgian Moun-yet all those that have lately seen it, call it specified the same Armenia, by the Georgian Moun-yet all those that have lately seen it, call it specified the same Armenia, by the Georgian Moun-yet all those that have lately seen it. tains; so as Ganges, who only travaileth in Bagdet. To this River of Pison Ptolemy indeed with many others give the name of Baand Egypt, never faw the land of Eden, or silins or Regins, and Gekon they term Maharjoyned themselves in one channel, either fares, and Marsias, and Baarsares. So is Euwith themselves, or with either of the other; | phrates, near the Spring and Fountain, by Strabo and Pliny called Pixirates: by Junius, Puck-perah, out of the Hebrew (that is) The profusion, or coming forth of Euphrates: where it breaketh through the Mountain eth Havilah, is the same which by joyning it Taurus, it takes the name of Omyra. Plutarch calls it Medus and Zaranda: the Hebrens Parath (faith Ar. Montanus:) Pagninus, Pe-

Ammianus, Chalymicus: Giftilianus and Co- did the Uraelites and Amalekites polles all limities, term it Cobar: which Exechiel call- the interjacent Countries: for Saul Imore

CHAP. III.

as Diglito and Diglath, Seilax and Sollax : of the Hebrews it was called Hiddekel: now of the inhabitants, Teail.

But Mercer upon Genesis conceiveth rightreason why these two Rivers, joyned in one (below Apamia,) lose their names and are called Pist-Tigris, and the memory of Euphrates extinguished, is, because the best part of Euphrates running through the channel of Gehon, finketh into the Lakes of Chaldea, not far from Ur, the City of Abraham, and fall not entirely into the Persian Sea, as Tygris, accompanied with Pifon, doth.

This errour, That Pison was Ganges, was first broached by Tolephus, (whose fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authority to be sufficient in matter of defeription, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in Pison so far out of his way thither, so I feription, whereupon depended no other and of Havilah, the Son of Cush did that Region take name, which Pison compasseth; and the Land (called Cufb) which Gekon watereth, took name of Cuff himself. For as the division he findeth in Strabo, out of Homer. Sons of Jostan, Ophir, and Havilah, seated Babylonia, where Nimrod built Babel: for Havilah, or Chavilah, was first Chusea, of Cush; then chusa, Susa, and Sustana.

Frem this Havilah unto the Defarts of Sur,

eth Chebar; but this is but a branch of Eu- the Amalekites from Havilab to Sur: which phrates. The Afgrians know it by the name Sur, the Chaldean Paraphrast converteth Haof Armalchar, or Nahor Malcha: but now gra, and Hagra bordereth the Red-Sea. But 15am. 15. this was not meant from sur upon the Red-7. The same confusion of names hath Tygris, Sca, to Havilab in the East India, for Sant was no fuch Travailer or Conquerour, and therefore Havilah must be found nearer home, where the Sons of Ismael inhabited, and which Country saul wasted: for Amaly of these Rivers: for Euphrates and Tygris lek and the Amalekites possess d that neck of (faith he) ftream into four branches; two Country, between the Persian Sea, and the of which keep their antient names, and the Red Sea; Havilah being the extream of the other two are called Pijon and Gehon. The one, towards the East, and Sin of the other, towards Egypt and the West, leaving that great body of Arabia felix towards the South, and they spread themselves with the Midianites and Edumeans, from the Eastpart, or backfide of the Holy Land, to the banks of Euphrates, comprising the best part of Arabia Petraa, and Deferta.

S. XIV.

Of the River Gehon, and the Land of Culh, and of the ill translating of Ethiopia for Cush, 2 Chron. 21. 16.

the examination thereof. For, Epiphanius, fay did Cuff (being by the Seventy translated Augustine, and Hierom, take this for currant; Ethiopia) force Gebon into Africa. For Custo whereof it followed, that as Pison was trans- being taken for Ethiopia by the Greeks, whom ported into the Eaft India to find out Havi- the Latines followed, Gehon confequently lab: fo was Gebon drawn into Africa to com- was effeemed for Nilus. But Ethiopians are, pals Æthiopia. But if Havilab, whereof Mo- as much as black or burnt faces, whose proper see more fer speaketh in the description of Paradife, be Country called Thebaider, lyeth to the South-of this found to be a Region, adjoyning to Babylon on the one fide and confidentials in Solution ward of all Egypt. And although there be Sed, 10. on the one fide, and Culb (which is falfly in many other Regions of Elbiopians, and far terpreted Athiopia) faltned to it on the o- South in Africa; yet those of Thebaides are ther fide, we shall not need then to work those so often remembred in the Egyptian wonders (that is) to impose upon menthe stories, and out of which Nation they had transportation of Rivers, from one end of the many times their Kings of Egypt: all which World to the other, which (among other Ethiopians are very near, or elfe directly unuses) were made to transport men. Now it der the Equinodial line, which is very far was in the Vally of shinar, where Cush the from that Land inhabited by the Chuster, Son of Ham first fate down with his Sons 8ke- who are neither black of colour; nor in any bab, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, Nimrod, &c. fort neighbouring Torrida Zona. But this translation of the Septuagint, Penerius doth qualifie in this manner: There are (saith he) two Ethiopia's, the East, and West: and this themselves as near rogether as they could in Chus Ethiopia in Africa, Perevius will make India, fo did the Sons of Cuff in Shinar, or Chush and the land of the Chustes (which is Arabia Petraa, and part of Arabia the Happy, with the Region of Madian) to be the East Ethiopia.

Now, if it be granted, that Chufb, and the

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Land of the Chushites be that Tract from Sur | Book, and eighth Chapter, citeth Homer for to Havilah, according to the Scriptures: Habitavit Ishmael ab Havilah usque Sur, qua reficit Agyptum introcuntibus Affrios, Ismael lus to the South of Egypt, and is the South dwelt from Havilah unto Sur, that is, towards border thereof; now a part of the Em-Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria. The same pire of the Abissims under Prester John; fufficeth to prove that Gehon cannot be Nilus, but a River that watereth cush, and not Æthiopia. But this place of Scripture, Habitavit call Senega and Gambra: for thereabouts Imael,Sec. hath this sense: Imael dwelt from are these Athiopians called Perors, Dararites, Havilah, which is the way of Affria, or the with divers other names, which Pliny num-Countrey bordering Affyria; and Sur, which lieth toward Egypt, which is as much to say, as, The issues of Issues (whereof there were Agrips and Juba; which Regions indeed (1). as, The mucs of Appmaer Whitelet the twelve Princes) whom God had promifed to mean that of Niger, and that of Treffer John, make a great people, inhabited all those Regions between the border of Egypt and Afyria. And that they were (according to the elites, &c. they are extended directly North Word of God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when Zearah the Chusite, which others call Tharantha, brought an Armie of ten hundred thousand against Asa King of Juda. Which Armie came not out of against the Æthiopians: for in that (to make Æthiopia beyond Egypt; for that had been a Chus, Æthiopia) he transporteth Madian by strange progress for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mighty a King as the King of Egypt, between Palestina and Æthiopia. But these were the Chusites, Amalekites, Madianites, Ismaelites, and Arabians. For it is written, that after Asa (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an on of the Greek Copie, than otherwise. And Armie, he in following his Victory took some of the Cities of King Zearah round about, as Gerar. Now, that Gerar is a City of the Æthiopians, it cannot be suspected : for these drink the mater of Nilus? Quid tibi vis in via be the words of the Scripture disproving it: Exod. 17.8. And Abraham departed thence, toward the South Countrey, and dwelt between Kadesh and Sojourned in Gerar : Now Sur is that part upon which Moses and the Ifraelites first set their feet after they passed the Red-Sea, where brew, but Sichor; which signifieth black and the Amalekites in Rephidim fet on them, suppofing that they had been weary, and unable Exod. 10. to relift. Again, in the Story of Isaac it is written: Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech, and the Philistines unto Gerar: and I am

The first Book of the first Part

an Authour of these two Æthiopia's. But the East Æthiopia is that which compasseth Nieth it self with the River Niger, which we and the Troglodites) lie due East and West. But as for Cufb, and the Region of the Imafrom that Æthiopia, which is beyond Egypt. Now, that Josephus was exceeding gross herein, it appeareth by that fiction which he hath of Moses when he served Phar aoh, in the Wars miracle over the Red-Sea, and beyond all Egypt, and setteth it in Æthiopia, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the World's Plantation. Again, that Gehon was improperly translated Nilus, Pererius confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruptiwhereas the septuagint have converted this place of the Prophet Hieremie; And what hast thou now to do in the way of Egypt, to Egypti, ut bibas aquam Gehon? To this saith Pererius, profecto Hebraice ibi non est vox C. 1. 11 Gehon, sed Sichor, que significat Nigrum & turbidum: Truly (faith Pererius) the word Gehon in this place, is not found in the Hetroubled water. fure Abimelech and the Philistines were no Æthiopians. And lastly, Moses himself, where he describeth the bounds of Canaan, hath these words: Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou comest to Gerar: for sy-North, and Gerar by Gaza towards the South. But indeed, howsoever Pererius doth, with an honest excuse, salve this Translation of Chus for Æthiopia; yet it appeareth plainly, that the septuagint and Josephus did altogether mif-understand this place. And first, for

Furthermore, this is a manifest and unanswerable argument, that Chus was ill taken for Æthiopia. Moses married the daughter of Jethro, Prince and Priest of Madian, Exelus whom both the Greek and Latine call a Ma- &3-1. diante, and not Æthiopissan, as (with Jo- 1. sephus) the Geneva converts it, though it help it a little with a marginal Note. Now it is without dispute, that Zipporah was of don was the frontier of Canaan towards the the Countrey of Madian, which is that part of Arabia Petraa, bordering the Red-Sea; for it is written in the fecond of Exodus, that Moses fled from Pharaoh into the Land of Midian, and fate down by a Well, &c. And again, in the third of Exodus; When Moses kept the vest Sheep of Jethro, his father-in-law, Prieft of Homer's East and West Athiopia, they are Madian, &. Indeed, these four Nations are both found ellewhere: For Pling in his fifth every where mixt in the Scriptures, because

Madianites, the Ismaelites, the Amalekites, and the Chustes, which were all, in one general word, Arabians; and in the Scriptures fometimes called by one of these names, and fometimes by another; as in Gen. 37. v. 25. 27, and 28. that Toleph was fold to the Ilmaelites; and in the same Chapter, v. 36. it is written, that the Midianites fold Joseph to Potiphar, Pharaoh's Steward. The Genevians, in a marginal Note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) fay, that Moses wrote according to their opinon, who took the Madianites and Ismaelites to be all one. But Moses wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth; and these were all Arabians: and so in this very place it appeareth by their Merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought foleph: for 29 Chapter, it is faid: That Potiphar bought Joseph of the Ismaelites, which the Chaldean Paraphrast in the same place calleth Arabians. Now to make this the more manifest, it is Vos. 10 written, Judg. 6. That when Ifrael had fown, then came up the Madianites, and the Amalekites, and they of the East, and came upon them: they of the East were Arabians of the Delart; so as where before in the buying of Joseph, the Madianites and the Ismaelites were confused, here the Madianites and Amalekites of the Story of Gedeon, the Madianites onely are named, as comprehending both Nations; (a. 7. and in the eighth Chapter, v. 24. cic. (c. 8. v. 14. tions are called Ifmaelites, and neither Madiand in the eighth Chapter, v. 24. these Naanites, nor Amalekites. As when Gedeon deof Gold, it is written: For they had golden 60 16.11. Ear-rings, because they were Ismaelites. And rided them: for they had lived there all these Ijmaelites were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of War. Manus ejus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra cum;

they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the do. Toward the South-east are the Madianites, and Chusites: and beyond them towards the Defarts of Arabia, the Amalekites, and all are one Nation, and all Arabians.

Lastly, the ill Translation of Æthiopia for Chus, is among other places, made most apparent in the fecond of Chronicles, in these words: So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and the Arabians, 2chro. 21. which confine the Æthiopians; fo Hierome reads it : the Geneva Translation hath it, which were besides the Æthiopians. Now,how far it is off between the Philistines and the Negro's or the Æthiopians, every man that looketh in a Map may judge. For the Philistines and Arabians do mixe and joyn with the Land of the Chustes, and are distant from Æthiopia about two and thirty, or three and thirty degrees; and therefore not their their Camels were loaden with Spicerie, and next neighbours; but all Egypt, and the De-Balm, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of fart of Sur and Pharan are between them. Arabia fælix: from whence chiefly, and So as this place of the second of Chronicles. from the East India, all the World is served should have been translated in these words: with Myrrhe and Frankincense; and their So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the Spices they received from the East side of spirits of the Philistines, and the Arabians, the Arabian Gulf, as aforesaid. And in the which confine and border upon the Chusites, who indeed are their next neighbours. * Nulla superest dubitatio quin Æthiopia in sa- Steuch. cris literis sit Arabia propinqua; There remain- Gen. c. 2. eth no doubt (faith steuchius) but Æthiopia in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey which joyneth to Arabia.

Now, may we think, is it probable, or posfible, that Moses could be ignorant of Nilus? No, he knew it, no living man fo well, and therefore would never have named Gehon for Nilus, or Nilus for Gehon. Surely, if Moses are made one Nation. For in the profecution | had meant Nilus, when he named Gehon, he would have called the River (into which he was cast upon Reeds, and preserved by God, working compassion in the Daughter of Pharaoh) a River of Egypt, wherein he was born Exod. 1. and bred, and wrought fo many miracles. fired that every man would give him the Besides, the River of Nilso is often named golden Ear-rings, which they had taken af-in the Scriptures, but never by the name of in the Scriptures, but never by the name of ter the victory against Zeba and Zalmunna, Gebon. And if Moses had told the Israelites, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700. shekels that Nilus had been a River of Paradife, they might justly have thought, that he had dedays of their lives, and found no fuch Paradisc at all, nor any memory, or speech His hand (faith God, of Ifmael) shall be against dist of Hesperides, where (faith Plins) there Plins 15. thereof, except we shall believe the Paraall men, and every mans hand against him. Of was nothing found in his time, but wilde 5.16.53, these some state of the sound of the sou these Imaclites come the Mahometan Arabi- Olives in stead of golden Apples. But Nilus v. 18. ans, though some Writers think Mahomet to is twice called Sichor, once in Haiah, and once be of the schenita. And these Ismaelites, in the Prophet Jeremie; and yet in those which inhabit chiefly in Cedar, and the Deplaces it is not faid to be a River of Æthiopia, farts of Sur and Pharan (faith Josephus) use but of Egopt. For in a word, the Ifraelites

poyson upon their Arrows, as the Indians had never any communion or affairs with

the

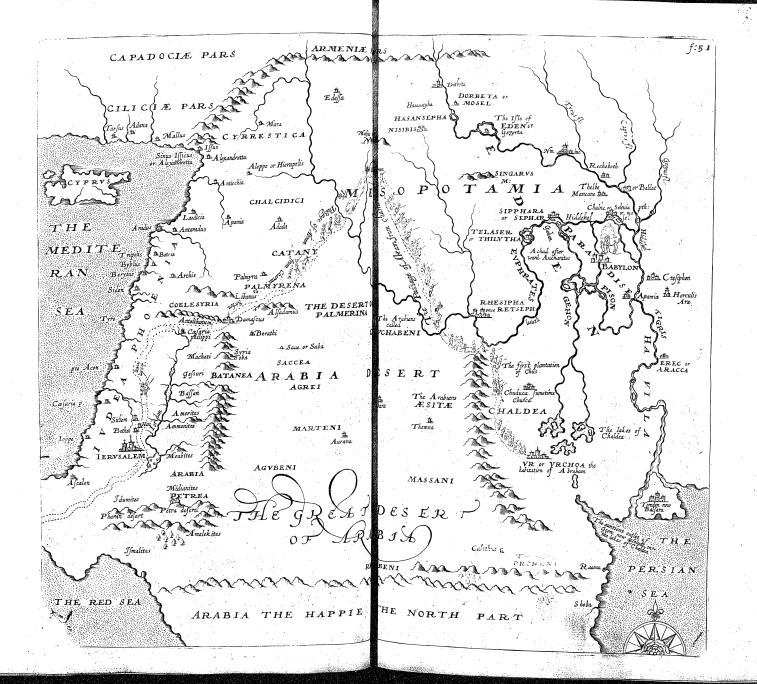
Reguli, were diffinguished in names, according to the Fathers or Heads of those Nations; but in one general name were all Arabians. On the North fide of Canaan, they were afflicted with the Calc-Syrians, with the Magogians, Tubalites, and others their adherents. And thirdly, within themselves, the Nations which remained of the ancient Canaanites, held the strongest Cities upon the Sea-coast, as Tyre, Sidon, Acon, Gaza, and Jebusites.

That which now remaineth of most difficulty, is, that it doth not appear that any part of Gehon watereth that part of Arabia the stony, which the chustes inhabited in the times of the Kings of Ifrael: and in this Defart it was, that Matt. Beroaldus loft himfelf in feeking out Paradife: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two Rivers, and call them Gehon and Pison; to the end that the one might water chus, and the other Havilah; for I find none such In rerum Natura, as he hath described : by which Rivers he also includeth within Paradife,

even Arabia the Defart.

And as he well proved that Pison was not Ganges, nor Gehon Nilus; fo where to find them elsewhere, it seemeth he knew not. Certainly, this River of Gehon, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at Gaza, and whose Springs he findeth far East in Aramiles, as shall appear hereafter. But questionless, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all confidered of the habitations the state of Israel stood, and when it floucalled Havilah, (now Susiana:) Raamah, and

the Æthiopians, nor any intelligence or trade Lelf in the best of the Valley, where he built beyond Egypt, to the South; but the enemies Babel, whereof that Region had afterwards which they had on the South, and East parts, the name of Babylonia. Chus himself and his were these Nations of the Chustes, Philistines, brother Mizraim first kept upon Gehon, Imaelites, Amalekites, and Madianites: who which falleth into the Lakes of Chaldea; and being often governed by many little kings or in process of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more Westerly towards the Red or Arabian Sea: from whence Mizraim past over into Egypt, in which Tract the Chastes remained for many years after. Now, because there could be no fuch River found in Arabia the stony, which they might entitle Gehon, they translated Chus, Æthiopia; and Gehon, Nilus. And if we do examine this mistaking by example, we ihall the better perceive it as it was. For let many others; yea, Jernfalem it felf was us suppose, that Brute, or whosoever else that with-held from Israel, from the days of sirst peopled this Island, had arrived upon the Moses, even unto the time of David, by the River of Thames, and called the Island after his name Britannia, it might be faid that Thames or Tems was a River that watered Britannia: and when afterwards, in process of time, the same Brute had also discovered and conquered scotland, which he also entituled by the same name of Britannia, afterages might conclude that Scotland was no part thereof, becuse the River of Tems is not found therein. Or let us suppose that Europa, the Daughter of the King of Tyre in Phani- Hundl cia, gave the name to Europe, according to and to Herodotus, and that the first discoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of the River in Thrace, which then watered as much of Europe, as he first discovered; Shall we in like fort resolve that France, Spain, and Italy,&c. are no pars of Europe, because that River is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it said by Moses in his description of Gehon, that it watered the whole Land of Chus; but not the whole Land which the bia, is but imaginary; for the Current by Chultes should, or might in suture time con-Gaza, is but a small stream, rising between quer, people, and inhabit; seeing in after-ages it and the Red-Sea, whose head from Gaza they became Lords of many Nations, and it self is little more than twenty English they might (perchance) have been Masters in time, (as the Saracens, which came of them, were) of a great part of the World. For, though the Babylonian Empire which of the Chustres, as they were planted when took beginning in Nimrod the Son of Chus, confifted at the first but of four Cities, (to rished, being then their near neighbours, and wit) Babel, Erech, Acad, and Chalne; yet we never looked back to the first seats and plan- find, that his Successours within a few years tation of chis. For after the Floud, chis after, commanded all the whole World in efand his children never rested, till they found sect: and the same of Babel consumed the the Valley of Shinar, in which, and near memory of Chusea. For of this Tower of Conwhich himself, with his Sons, first inhabited. fusion did all that Land take the name of Havilab took the River-side of Tygris chiefly | Babylonia: and the greatness of that Emon the East, which after his own name he pire founded by Nimred a younger Son, obscured the name and Nation of his Father sheba farther down the River, in the en- | cush in those parts, until they crept farther trance of Arabia-falix. Nimrod feated him- off, and in places not yet entituled, and far-



Chustres retained their names, which also they of the Region of Eden, afterward called fastned to the Soil and Territory, by them- Aram fluviorum, or Mesopotamia, which takfelves afterwards inhabited and held. And eth into it also a portion of Shinar and Arwe may not think, that Chus, or any of his, menia: this Region standing in the most excould in hast creep through those desart Re- cellent temper of all other (to wit) 35. degions, which the length of 130. years after the Floud had (as it were) fortified with North-pole: in which Climate, the most ex-Thickets, and permitted every Bush and cellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Grain of all Bryar, Reed and Tree, to joyn themselves forts, are to this day found in aboundance. (as it were) into one main body and Forrest. For if we look with judgment and reafon into the Worlds Plantation, we shall find, that every Family feated themselves as near together as possibly they could; and though wherein soever the Earth, Nature, and the Sun necessity enforced them, after they grew full can most vaunt that they have excelled; yet times refort and fuccour one another by River, the fields being then (without all doubt) Rivers, which watered Paradise: for thither thence had they again their increase. The former habitation: The second Father of the other. Mankind, Noah, began from thence his difperfion.

Now as Nimrod the youngest, yet strongest, made his choyce of Babel (as aforesaid) which both Tygris and Euphrates cleanfed and enriched; fo did Havilah place himself felves to the Rivers fides: for Ninive, Char- of fo grant a Lord. ran, Reseph, Canneh, Ur in Chaldea, and the ten remembred.

s. XV.

A conclusion, by way of repetition of something Spoken of before.

Out now to conclude this Dispute; It ap-B peareth to me by the testimonies of the

ther from the Babylonian Empire, where the habitable World, feated in the lower part And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this faid soil and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palm-trees, without the care and labour of man. For of people, to spread themselves, and creep shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all out of Shinar, or Babylonia; yet did they it their works: This Tree alone giveth unto with this advice, as that they might at all man whatsoever his life beggeth at Nature's hand. And though it may be faid, that these Trees are found both in the East and West impassible. So Nimrod, who out of wit and Indies, which Countries are also blessed with ftrength usurped dominion over the rest, a perpetual Spring and Summer; yet, lay fate down in the very confluence of all those down by those pleasures and benefits, the fearful and dangerous Thunders and Lightit was, to which the greatest troups of Noah's | nings, the horrible and frequent Earthchildren repaired; and from the same place quakes, the dangerous diseases, the multiwhence Mankind had his beginning, from tude of venimous Beafts and Worms, with other inconveniences; and then there will first Father of men, Adam, had therein his be found no comparison between one and

What other excellencies this Garden of Paradise had, before God (for man's ingratitude and cruelty) curfed the Earth, we cannot judg; but I may fafely think, that by how much Adam exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workupon Piso-Tygris; Ramah and his Son Sheba manship of God, by so much did that chosen farther down upon the same River, on the and particular Garden exceed all parts of Sea coast of Arabia: Chush himself upon Ge- the Universal World, in which God had hon, the fairest branch of Euphrates. And planted (that is)made to grow the Trees, of when they began to spread themselves far- Life, and of Knowledg; Plants only proper ther off, yet they alwaies fastened them- and becomming the Paradise, and Garden

The fum of all this is; That whereas the other first-peopled Cities, were all founded eys of men in this Scripture have been dimupon these navigable Rivers, or their bran- fighted (some of them finding Paradise beches; by which the one might give fuccour | youd our known World: fome, above the and affistance to the other, as is already of | middle region of the ayr: some, elevated near the Moon: others, as far South as the Line, or as far North as the Pole &c.) I hope that the Reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the avr. and in mens fancies vainly imagined. For it was Eaftward in Eden (faith Mofes;) Eaftward, in respect of Judea, that God planted this Garden; which Eden we find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in Scripture, that Paradife was a place created some part) remaineth to this day. A River by God, and a part of this our Earth and went out of Eden to water this Garden, and

CHAP. IV.

thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same better.

from thence divided it self into four bran- | quarter of the World; but Nilus is begotten ches; and we find that both Tygris and Eu- in the Mountains of the Moon, almost as far phrates swimming through Eden do joyn in off as the Cape of good hope, and falleth into one, and afterward taking waies apart, do the Mediterrane Sea: and Euphrates diwater Chus and Havilah, according to Moses, stilleth out of the Mountains of Armenia, and the true feats of Chus and his Sons being then falleth into the Gulf of Persia: the one riseth in the Vally of Shinar, in which Nimrod built in the South, and travaileth North; the o-Babel. That Pison was Ganges, the Scripture, ther riseth in the North, and runneth South, reason, and experience teach the contrary: threescore and three degrees the one from for that which was never joyned, cannot be the other. In this leaf following, I have addivided; Ganges, which inhabiteth India, ded a Chorographical description of this cannot be a branch of the Rivers of Eden, terrestrial Paradise, that the Reader may That Gekon was Nilus, the same distance thereby the better conceive the precemaketh the same impossibility; and this Riding Discourse; and this is the reward I ver is a greater stranger to Tygris and Eu- look for, that my labour may but receive phrates, then Ganges is: for although there an allowance suspended, until such time as are between Tygris and Ganges above four this description of mine be reproved by a

CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

6. I.

That the Tree of Life was a material Tree; and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden Fruit, is made subject to death.

most religious and learned Writers: altile as nothing can fix them, and fo flippery as nothing can fasten them, have in this aldoctrine.

it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged have been translated and glorified. Law of God imposed on his creatures; Man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach?

Or eating the forbidden fruit of the tree | thereby a long, beautiful, and ungrieved of Knowledg, was Adam driven out of life: after which (according to the opinion Paradise, In exilium vita temporalis, Into of most Divines) he should have been tranthe banishment of temporal life, faith Beda. Ilated, as Enoch was. And, as before the That these Trees of Life and Knowledg were | Floud, the days of men had the long meamaterial Trees (though Figures of the Law | fure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and of the Gospel) it is not doubted by the and soon after the Floud, of two hundred years and upwards, even to five hundred: though the wits of men, which are fo vola- fo if Adam had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandment, the lives of men on earth might have continued double, treble, fo delivered to the World, an imaginary or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men have con-The Tree of Life (say the Hebrews) hath a Plural construction, and is to be under-others were of belief, that (but for Adams flood, Lignum vitarum, The Tree of lives, be- fall and transgression) Adam and his Postecause the fruit thereof had a property, to rity had been immortal. But such is the infipreserve both the growing, sensitive, and ra- | nite Wisdom of God, as he foresaw that the tional life of man; and not only (but for earth could not have contained Mankind; Adam's transgression) had prolonged his or else, that millions of Souls must have been own daies, but also given a dureful continu- ungenerated, and have had no being, if the ance to all his posterity; and that, so long, as first number wherewith the Earth was replesom sope a body compounded of Elements could last. nished, had abode thereon for ever: And And although it is hard to think, that therefore that of Chrylofton must be underflesh and bloud could be immortal, but that stood of immortality of bodies, which should

in which respect many have conceived, that | Muburgenfis, and others, whose very words cometh to eat of the Tree of life which is in the Paradise of God. But to this place Saint Authe one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestrial Paradise, so there was a celestial. For although Agar and Sarah were Figures of the Old and New Teflament; yet to think that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of Abraham, were meer foolishness. And so in this place, the sense of the Scripture is manifest; For God brought out of the Earth every Tree fair to the light, and sweet to the taste; the Tree also of Life in the midst of the Garden: which Earth by God's commandment produced, the Tree of Life was one, and that the fruit faid to be the meat and drink of the gods.

5. II.

Of Becanus his opinion, that the Tree of Knowledg was Ficus Indica.

fumed farther, especially Goropius Becanus, But as he had an inventive brain, fo there per root, this cord maketh it felf a Tree exnever lived any man, that believed better ceeding hastily. From the utmost boughs thereof, and of himself. Surely, howsoever of these young Trees, there fall again the like or their young a rees, there im again the machine praife due to others at leaft if the invention be at that price at which he fetteth it.

Trees of the bigness of the neather part of Trees of the bigness of the neather part of the praife due to others at each price at which he fetteth it. For Mofer Bar-Cephas, fastened on this conjecture above fix hundred years before Be- make any thing, casting such a shade, and canus was born: and Bar Cephas himself re-making such a kind of Grove, as no other

the same was not material, but a meer Goropius uleth, both concerning the Tree, Allegorie : taking their strength out of solo- and the reasons wherewith he would induce mon, where Wildom is compared to the Tree other men to that belief. For Moses Bar-Ce-of Life, and from other places, where also phas in his Treatise of Paradise (the first Part Christ is called the Tree of Life; as out of and sol. 48) faith, That the Tree of Knowthe Apocalyps, I will give to him that over- ledge was Fiews Indica, The Indian Fig-Tree; of which the greatest plenty (faith Becanus) are found upon the banks of Acesines, one of gustine's answer may suffice, (which is) That | the Rivers which salleth into Indus, where Alexander built his Fleet of Gallies, in or near the Kingdom of Porus.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigness of Pin. I.t. a great Peaze, or (as Pliny reporteth) former Plin. what bigger; and that it is a Tree, se femper serens, Always planting it self; that it spreadeth it self so far abroad, as that a troup of Horse-men may hide themselves under it. Strabo faith, that it hath branches bending downwards, and leaves no less than a shield. Aristobulus affirmeth, that fifty Horse-men Lib. t. sheweth, that among the Trees, which the may shadow themselves under one of these 42.4. Trees. Onesieritus raiseth this number to four hundred. This Tree (faith Theophrastus) thereof was also to be eaten. The report of exceeded all other in bignels, which also this Tree was also brought to the ancient Pliny and Onescritus confirm: to the trunk Poets: for as from the indigested matter or of which, these Authours give such a magni-Chior, Hefiod, Homer, Ovid, and others, steal tude, as I shame to repeat. But it may be, the invention of the created World; so from they all speak by an ill-understood report. the Garden of Paradise they took the Plat- For this Indian Fig-tree is not so rare a Plant form of the Orchard of Alcinous, and ano- as Becams conceiveth, who, because he found ther of the Helperides: and from the Tree of it no where elfe, would needs draw the Gar-Life, their Nettar and Ambrosia; for Nettar, den of Paradise to the Tree, and set it by the according to Suidas, fignifieth making young; River Acesines. But many parts of the world and Ambrossa, immortality; and therefore have them, and I my self have seen twenty thousand of them in one Valley, not far from Paria in America. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot up some twenty or thirty foot in length (some more, some less, according to the foil) they foread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or frem : for Now, for the Tree of Knowledge of from the utmost end of the head-branches, there issued and evil, some men have prewho giveth himself the honor to have found and within a few moneths reacheth the hangeth downward like a cord or finew, out the kind of this Tree, which none of ground; which it no fooner toucheth, but the Writers of former times could ever it taketh root, and then being filled both gueß at, whereat Goropius much marvelled. from the top-boughs, and from his own proferreth the invention to an antiquity more Tree in the world can do. Now, one of these remote, citing for his Authour Philoxenus Trees confidered, with all his young ones,

CHAP. IV.

thousand Hors-men, if they please; for they cover whole Valleys of ground where these Trees grow near the Sea-bank, as they do by thousands in the inner parts of Trinidado. The cords which fall down over the banks cere, Aliam arborem inveniri posse, que cum illa into the Sea, shooting alway downward to find root under water, are, in those Seas of nate, if he compare these things which we have the Indies where Oysters breed, intangled reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient in their beds, so as by pulling up one of these cords out of the Sea, I have feen five hundred Oysters hanging in a heap thereon; whereof the report came, That Oysters grew on Trees in India. But that they bear any fuch huge leaves, or any fuch delicate fruit, I could never find, and yet I have travelled a dozen miles together under them. But to return to Goropius Becanus: This Tree (faith he) was good for meat, and pleafing to the fight, as the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil is described to be.

trunk (as the former Authours report, and Adam and Eve hid themselves from the prefence of God; for no other Tree (faith he) cis obedientie bonum; Being forbidden, not for that this Tree hath no extraordinary magni- goodness of pure and simple Obedience. tude, as touching the trunk or stem: for among ten thousand of them, it is hard to find any one bigger than the rest, and these are all but of a mean fize. Secondly, the words of Moses translated, In medio lignit are by all the Interpreters understood in the plural number (that is) In the midst of the Trees. But his third argument (or rather the argument of Moses Bar-Cephas) word for word, Gen. 3. 7. is, That when Adam and Eve found themfelves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the Tree it felf was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew near it: because Adam being poffeft with shame, did not run up and down the Garden to feek out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it felf; and these leaves of all other were most commodious, by reason of their largeness; which Pliny avoweth in these words; Latitudo foliorum pel-

of which Targets Virgil toucheth: Virg. An. Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis 1. 1. 494 Penthefilaa furens.

> The Amazons with Crescent-formed shield Penthesilea leads into the field.

Here Becams desireth to be believed, or rather threatneth us all that read him, to tue, and unperceived Knowledge among

may (indeed) shroud four hundred or four | give credit to this his borrowed discovery, using this confident (or rather cholerick) speech : Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hac à nobis, de ficu hac, ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Moisis narratione comparet, ut audeat dimagis quadret? Who will be so impudently obsti-Writers delivered, with the narration of Moses, as to dare to avow, That any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith? But for my self, because I neither find this Tree, forting in body, in largeness of leaves, nor in fruit to this report; I rather incline to the opinion of Philo. That the Earth never brought forth any of these Trees, neither before nor after. But I leave every man to his own belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kind; onely thereby, and by the easie Com-Secondly, This Tree having so huge a mandment by God given to Adam, to fors Becanus believeth) it was in this Tree that trial of his obedience: Probibita non propter aliud quam ad commendandum puræ ac simplicould contain them. But first it is certain, any other respect, than thereby to commend the

§. III.

of Becanus his not-unwitty allegorizing of the Story of bis Ficus Indica.

OUt in this I must do Becanus right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it felf to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I have gathered in these few words. As this Tree (faith he) fo did Man grow straight and upright towards God, until such time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandment of his Creatour; and then like unto the boughs of this Tree, he began to bend downward, and stooped toward the Earth, which all the rest of Adam's Posterity after him have done, rooting themselves therethe effigiem Amazonia habet; The breadth of the in, and fastning themselves to this corrupt leaves bath the shape of an Amazonian shield. world. The exceeding umbragiousness of which also Theophraft confirmeth; the form this Tree, he compareth to the dark and shadowed life of man, through which the Sun of justice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased christ to climb the Tree of the Cross for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among fo many large leaves, may be compared (faith he) to the little virfo large vanities, which obscure and shadow | conceive, that Adam being made (according it over. And as this fruit is exceeding fweet, to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanship and delicate to the tafte and palate: so are of Gods own hand, in greater perfection

9. IV.

Of the names of the tree of Knowledg of good and evil: with some other notes touching the story of Adam's fin.

what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it felf, Moses Bar-Cephas, an antient Syrian-Doctor (translated by Massus) giveth this judgment: That the fruit of this Tree had no fuch virtue or quality, as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledg created in Adam, as if he had been ignorant before; but as Junius also noteth: Arbor scientia boni &

the delights and pleasures of the World most than ever any man was produced by genepleafing, while they dure. But as all those ration, being (as it were) the created Plant, things which are most mellistuous, are soon-out of whose seed all men living have grown est changed into choler and bitterness: fo up; and having received immortality from the breath or spirit of God; he could not to the bitterest sorrows and repentances. (for these respects) be ignorant, that the dif-That the leaves are so exceeding large, the obeying of Gods commandment was the fruit (for fuch leaves) exceeding little; in fearfullest Evil, and the observation of his this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the Precepts the happiest Good. But as men in many cares and great labours of worldly perfect health do (notwithstanding) conmen, their follicitude, their outward shews, ceive, that sickness is grievous, and yet in no and publick oftentation, their apparent pride such degree of torment, as by the suffering and large vanities; and if we feek for the and experience in themselves they afterfruit, which ought to be their virtuous and wards witness: so was it with Adam, who pious actions, we finde it of the bigness of could not be ignorant of the punishments, the finallest peaze; glory, to all the world due to neglect and disobedience; and yet apparent; goodness, to all the World in- felt by the proof thereof in himfelf another wifible. And furthermore, as the leaves, bo- terrour than he had fore-thought, or could dy and boughs of this Tree, by so much ex- imagine. For looking into the glass of his ceed all other Plants, as the greatest men of own guilty soul, he beheld therein the horpower and worldly ability surpass the mean- rour of Gods Judgments; so as he then knew, eft: 60 is the little fruit of such Men, and (the feelingly knew) and had trial of the late fuch Trees, rather fitting and becoming the good, which could not be prized, and of the unworthieft Shrub, and humbleft Eryar, or new purchased evil, which could not be exthe porest and basest Man, then such a flou- press d. He then saw himself naked both in rishing statelyness, and magnitude. Lastly, Body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods whereas Adam, after he had disobeyed God, grace and former felicity: and therefore and beheld his own nakedness and shame, was this Tree called the Tree of Knowledg, fought for leaves to cover himself withal; and not because the fruit thereof had any this may serve to put us in mind of his and such operation by any self quality or effect: our fins, as often as we put on our garments, for the same phrase is used in many places of to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal the Scriptures, and names are given to Signs bodies: to pamper and maintain which, we and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and use so many uncharitable and cruel practices things done. In such fort, as this Tree was called the Tree of Knowledg, because of the event, as is aforesaid: so was the Well Num. 20. of contention therefore called Efek, and the 13. Well of hatred Sitnath, because the Heards Gen. 16. ness, between Jacob and Laban; not that 48.

men of Isaac and Gerar contended for them: 20, 21. and the heap of Stones called the heap of mit- cap. 31. Ow. as touching the sense of this Tree of Knowledg of good and evil, and of God Bethel; and Hagar, the Well in the 14the Stones bare witness, but for a memory Cap. 18. of the Covenant. So Jacob called the house cap. 16. Defart, Viventis, & videntis. But Adam being both betrayed and ma-

stered by his affection, ambitious of a farther knowledg then he had perceived in himself, and looking but slightly (asall his iffue do) into the miseries and sorrows incident; and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtain by tasting the wenth. The Tree of Knowledge of good and evil has the another the Experience of good and the state of the experience of good and the experience of go evil by the event. For thus much we may of Sathan, who laboured to poyson mankind

Снар. V.

56 in the very root, which he moistened with obedience? even a desire to know what was

himself perished for ever.

But what means did the Devil find out, or Woman; so as by Adams hearkning to the of labour, forrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comfort and companien, but not for a counsellor. But because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife, &c. (said God himself) Cursed is the earth for thy sake, tempted; even by the most ugly and unentred and perswaded.

the liquor of the same ambition, by which most unsitting for her knowledg; an affection which hath ever fince remained in all the posterity of her Sex. Thirdly, what was it that what instruments did his own subtilty pre- moved the man to yield to her persuasions? fent him, as fitteft and apteft to work this even the same cause which hath moved all mischief by? even the unquiet vanity of the men since to the like consent; namely, an unwillingness to grieve her and make her voice of his wife, contrary to the express and, lest she should pine and be overcome commandement of the living God, Mankind with forrow. But if Adam in the state of by that her incantation became the subject perfection, and solomon the Son of David, Gods chosen servant, and himself a man endued with the greatest wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the perswasion and for the love they bare to a woman it is not so wonderful as lamentable, that other in forrow shalt thou eat of it all thy life. It is men in succeeding ages have been allured to alfo to be noted, by whom the woman was fo many inconvenient and wicked practices by the perswasions of their wives, or other beworthy of all beafts into whom the Devil loved darlings, who cover over and fladow many malicious purpofes with a counterfeit Secondly, what was the motive of her dif- paffion of diffimulate forrow and unquietness.

Снар. V.

Of divers memorable things, between the Fall of Adam, and the Floud of Noah.

§. I.

Of the cause and the revenge of Cains sin: and of his going out from God.

For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the Noah and his Family: for it is written, The Gen. 6 v. Earth also was corrupt before God: of which in the same place, Moses giveth a reason: for faith he, The Earth was filled with cruelty : and anon after, God himself made the cause known unto Noah, faying; An end of all flesh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth. Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of men onely, but in all forts of Injustice and Oppression. After

THe same Pride and Ambition which | this Murther of Abel, Cain went out from the began in Angels, and afterward pof- presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of fels d Adam, Cain also inherited: for Nod, towards the East-fide of Eden: in which Cain (envious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) llew him, mak-fence of the Lord, is not to be understood ing himself the first Manslayer, and his Bro- after the literal sense, God being wholly in ther the first Martyr: the revenge of which all parts of the World: Totus in callo eff, tounnatural murther, although it pleased God tus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed uto mitigate, when Cain cried out that his trumque simul; God (saith S. Augustine) is the punishment was greater then he could bear. wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by the enterchanged times, but all at once; And that Sons of Adam, as it were, urged and provo- this is true, David witnesseth: If I be in Hear span ked God) he destroyed all Mankind, but ven (faith David) thou art there; if in Hell, thou art there also. But what is meant thereby? Exitt à facie Dei (faith Chrysoftom) Cain went out from the presence of the Lord; (that went is) he was left of God, disfavoured and berea- Has ved of his protection.

§. I I.

of Cains dwelling in the Land of Nod: and of his City Enoch.

His word Nod or Naid, S. Hierom and Hith. many others understand to signific

wandring, or uncertain habitation : vexation | following : Thus he cast out man, &c. and at the or agitation, faith Junius; but the Seventy East-side of the Garden of Eden he set the Chernproper name of a Countrey, and so doth Jofephus. But it feemeth to me, that Cain was and for the word (Vagabond) which Cain by the name of his first-born, Enoch; which bond) is taken for a man without protectitheweth that he feared to wander, and ra- on, and cast out from the savour of God. ther fought to fortifyhimfelf against revenge. tain Estate, Common-weal, or Prince of their possetion of his Father Adam; for thus it is main any print or footsteps to Posterity.

Written, Genes. 3. Therefore the Lord God sent

In * Pliny, P. Mela, 3traho, Valerius: Flace Sub 111:

Val. Pluc.

convert it otherwise, and take Ned for the bims: which sheweth that the entry into Paradise was from the East, by which entrance Adam was cast out, and therefore inhabiting rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his co- on that fide of Paradife which was Eastward, gitations, than any thing else; and that his according to the Text. Cain also in the same thoughts and confcience had no quiet or reft, Region fought his dwelling place. Now, if in regard of the Murther committed, justly the word Nod, or Naid, do fignific profugue, fearing (by his own words) the like viothat is, a Fugitive, we can give no longer lence: And whofoever findeth me (faith Cain) time to this uncertain habitation of Cain, final flay me. Now, that Nod or Naid was a then till he built the City of Enoch, the first Region wherein Cain inhabited, appeareth of the World, which he enclosed, either for by the word (drelt) for dwelling lignifieth his own defence, or (as Josephus writeth) to an Abiding: and we call those people Wan-oppress others thereby. So as, for mine own derers and Vagabonds that have no dwel- opinion, I am refolved with the Septuagint, ling place. And to make this dwelling and that Nod was the proper name of a Region; what part of the earth this his habitation was ufeth of himfelf, it feemethby the perclofe of which he affirmeth towards the East-side of the same Verse, that (Vagabond) is therein Eden. Secondly, it is faid by Mofes, that af understood for such an one as travelleth in ter Cain departed from the presence or fa-fear of revengement: For whosever findeth vour of God, he built a City, and called it me (faith Cain) shall flay me; or else (Vaga-

And because these Henochians, so called Cyrillus faith, that Cain and Abel were figures of the City of Henoch, were the first society of Chrift, and of the Jews; and that as Cain and civil affembly of all other, it is likely after that he had slain Abel unjustly, had that the same of these People (either for thence-forth no certain abiding in the cruelty, strength, or other actions) lived in World: fo the Jems, after they had crucified memory of Noah and his Sons: fo that after the Son of God, became Runnagates: and it the Floud (as there were of all forts of nais true that the Jews had never fince any cer- tures, fome vertuoully, fome impiously difposed, and every active mind setting before own upon the Earth. Now, this Land of Nod, it whom to follow or imitate) those People, Junius taketh to be in Arabia Deserta, a Re- which delighted in cruelty and oppression, gion of the Nomades; but Arabia the Defart took on them their names whole natures is not Eastward, or on the East part of Eden, they most liked and allowed; of whom neither are these Nomades any particular these Henochians were not the least. Per-People or Nation. For all these, in what chance the place it self, where Henseh stood part of the World foever, which in old time before the Floud, and whereof Monuments lived by Pastorage, and fed (as we call it in might remain (as the pillars or foundation of fundation of fund Treland) upon white meat, without tilling of the ground are called without tilling of Joppe did) gave occasion to the Planters of liquid in the ground are called without tilling of Joppe did).

the ground, are called by the Greeks No- that place, to call themselves by the same order must mades, and by the Latines, Paftores vagi, as name: for of thole Henochians there were winner whim the Northern Tartarians, the Getulians, and many Nations in the borders of Pontins; and Jandenses Numidians in Africa, the ancient Britains, and Colchis in Iberia, Segdiana, and Balfria; of the signing the Northern Irifi. Yea, such were the Infame name many mountains, as those which continued the such as the such a habitants of taly it felf, till fuch time as talus are otherwise call'd Coraxio. And seeing that months of talks are otherwise call'd Coraxio. (who gave them that name) taught them the it is hard tofind out the truth of these things, tails no. bulbandry of Tillage, used at this day. But which the most aged Time hath covered proring the Region Eastward from Eden is that part over, or defaced, we may (according to the orienter. of Affria, called by Prolemy, Calena; which counfel of Plato) exceedingly rejoyee; and Sance at allo might be desired them. also might be derived of Carena, the Countries of the cou trey of Cain. And that Cain inhabited in and almost worn-out Antiquity; of the el-2911. those parts, it may be gathered by the first dest Peoples names and nations, there re- Mal. I.

him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the cws, Lucan, Stephanus, we find those Henochei, t. Earth whence he was taken: and in the Verse described, though diversly written: as in Lucan, 1.1. Pliny,

in Flaccus, Heniochi; in Lucan, Eniochi: All (according to their fabulous inventions of which inhabit upon the Sea Euxinus, but yet all things else) out of the word (Heniochi) none of these are on the East side of Eden, or which signifieth Cart or Coach-men, make Eden For Moses, in all places where he descrias sometimes he useth the word East or South without borrowing or addition; at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward, or the Land of shinar; but in this of Cain, he ad- fuch an open Boat, which could hardly carry deth the word (towards) as, in the land of Nod, taken, as inclining tome one point or two,ei- Waggoners. ther to the North or to the South of the East. But, as we may conjecture that these Na-

tions took name of Henoch the City of Cain; or of the Region wherein it stood, when the fame was re-peopled after the Floud: fo it is probable that these Henochii of Colchis, and other parts adjoyning, were not the first of that name after the Sons of Noah began to fill the World again: because, had this Henoch the City of Cain stood in any of these parts, it had then been feated North, and not East or Eastward from Eden. But as Pliny fifth Chapter of Genesis: against which, for findeth their habitation towards Pontus. fo afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he track fible for Cain (having no other assistance them or trace them out to their original. For than his Son Henceh) to perform such a he calleth these of Colchis (now, Mengrelia) Sanni Heniochi; Ptolemy, Zani; beyond which an hundred & fifty mile Eastward, he findeth another Nation of them about Iberia and Albania; and beyond these he again discovereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest | Parent of an impious Race) Moses useth no took beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the mountains of Paro-panisus; and these Henochii are due East from the Region of Eden, and Eastward from the very may every man borrow of his own weakest Garden it felf.

Annias the Frier, who fets Henoch in Phani-

Pliny, sometimes Henochii; in Mela, Enochii; | na, of the same name. Onely the Grecians note of the leaf of the leaf that of the leaf of the l beth any Region, was so exceeding precise, and Telehius, who attended them in the interprize of Jason into Colchis. And though I do 12 not deny, but that Jajon, with other Greeks, smile ranged the coasts of Asia the less, in an open Southward, or towards the East or South. In Boat or kind of small Gally, * of whom I shall ! "Indeed to the south of small Gally, and the same of the the place of Genesis the eleventh, he writeth speak in his own time: yet no man doubteth Book the word (East) simply and directly. And as but that the tale of the golden Fleece was for distill they went from the East, they found a Plain in the most part Poetical; and withall, that in 12.56 their own Rowers, being fifty four, there was towards the East-side of Eden; which may be no place, and less use, of Coach-horses or

6. III.

of Moses his omitting fundry things concerning Cain's Generation.

DUt of the remembrance and testimonies D of the name of the City of Henoch in prophane Story, thus much may fuffice: Now it followeth to answer some few Objections against certain particulars in the fourth and the first, it is demanded, How it was pos-Work as the building of a City, feeing there is thereto required to many hands, and fo great a mass of all forts of materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to confider, That of Cain (because he was the ample declaration; and fo it best agreeth with his divine Reason, seeing that he conbetween them and the great River of Oxno, taineth the whole Story of the first Race, which bordereth Badria on the North fide; which lasted, by the least account, 1656. years, in five fhort Chapters: Yet thus much reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow And although we cannot be assured that on the first generations of mens lives so long these Henochii took name from the memory | a measure as 800. and 900. years, that in such of the City of Enoch directly; yet because a space Cain had not want of leisure and they inhabited due East from Paradise, and means to build many such Cities as Henoch. afterwards spread themselves Westward (as be the capacity answering to what other of all Noah's Sons did that came into Shinar) the the World foever: for in what Age of Cain's conjecture is far more probable than that of life he built it, the Scriptures are filent : as of whose times, and the times of his islues, Mocia, quite contrary to Moses word: Phænicia ses had the least care. And as it is said of from all parts of Eden, being directly West. | Cain, that he built a City: so it was said of And besides these several Nations of the Noah, that his three Sons peopled all the Henochii, Stephanus findeth a Region called World; but in both, the process of time Henochia, and the same also in the East, with required is to be understood: which advice, divers mountains about Battria and Sogdia- feeing Moses useth where the space less re-

quirethit, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, we may easily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference between the birth of Abel, and the oblation of Cain, he spake it in this fort, Fuit autem post dies multos, or à fine dierum (that is) in process of time, it came to pass that Cain brought an oblation. And therefore it is in like fort to be understood of Cain, that many vears foregone, and when his people were increased, he built the City of Enoch or He-

And where it is written, as of Cain, that he built Enoch, fo of Solomon, that he built the Temple of Jerusalem; yet it is well known of solomon, that he imployed in that freech is common with our selves to say, the be made: and he built, when he commandwe find that Moses had no regard to the ages, in a word the building of Enoch, without addition of any circumstance: for of Cain, Moses 24.17. writeth in this manner: Cain also knew bis Heavens, the other the Earth. wife, who conceived and bare Henoch, and he built a city, and called the name of the city af-

ter the name of his son Henoch. And to Henochwas born Irad, and Irad begat Mehujael, and Mehujael begat Methusael, and Methusael Lamech.

Now, of seth, Moles writeth far otherwife, and in this manner. And Seth lived an bundred and five years, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat Enoch 807. years, and begat sons and Daughters: so as all the days of Seth were 912. years, and he dyed: as for the years and times of the wicked, they were not numbred in Libro viventium. faith Cyril. But in Seth was the Church of God established; from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and work Moses walked in, and finished it with care, paffing over the reprobate Generation, (as aforesaid.) Of the Line of Adam by Cain, Moses remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning Adam for one; and of the Line of Adam by Seth ten, counting Adam also therein, as followeth.

I. ADAM.

2 Cain. 3 Henoch.

4 Irad. 5 Mehujael. Methusael. 7 Lamech, who by Adab had

8 Jubal, and Tubal; and by Silla, Tutal-Cain and Noema.

I. ADAM.

2 Seth. Henoch. 3 Enosh. 8 Methusalem. 4 Cainan. 9 Lamech. Mahaleel. 6 Fared. 10 Noah.

These be the Generations of Adam by Cain, which the Scriptures mention: but Josephus giveth unto Lamech threescore and seventeen Sons and daughters, by his two Wives, Ada and Sylla: and to these three Sons of Lamech, Moses ascribeth the invention of Pastorage, of Musick, and the working in Metal; for it seemeth that Jubal first gathered together, and made familiar those beafts which formerly were untamed, and Work 150000. labourers: for this phrase or | brought them into Herds and Droves: Tubal Gm.4.16, invented Musick, and Tubal-Cain the work- 21, 12. King invaded, when he caused an invasion to ing in Brass and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanical, the ed such a building. And therefore seeing that third given to idleness and pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees, of birth,or death of any of Cain's iffues, it is not | Shepherds, Handy-crafts-men, and Musicito be marvelled at why he also passeth over ans. And in the issues of Seth began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecie, and Aftronomy: the Children of the one beheld the

9. IV.

Of the diversities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

Second scruple hath been made, How it came to pass that the Patriarchs begat their children at so divers Ages, as Cainan or Cenan at seventy years, Mahaleel and Enoch at threescore and five years, whereas Jared begat not any of his untill he was 162. years old: Methusalem begat at 187. Lamech at 182. and Noah at 500. years. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, because it cannot be conjectured, that either Tared Methusalem, or Lamech abstained from Marriage out of the Religion of Abstinence, feeing that Enoch, who was translated by God for his fingular Sanctitie, begat children before he was threescore and ten years

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that Moses did not number the Generations before the Floud precifely, according to the first-begotten and eldest Sons of the Patriarchs, but he drew down the Line of Noah from Seth, and afterward from Noah to Abraham, by their true Ancestours, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that Henoch was not the eldest of Jared, nor Lamech the first-born of Me-

thusalem.

CHAP. V.

were onely named, and furviving, and which first Son of Kenan, and then reckon that Methusalem begat Lamech in the 187. year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where Lamech is taken for the eldest. But Moses rejecteth all the other Sons of Methusalem but Lamech onely, because he was the Father of Noah, as aforesaid. Of this Saint Augustine hath somewhat else in his twentieth, and one and twentieth Chapters, De Civitate Dei.

But as Moses counted the Generations of the first Age, and so to Abraham, and the children of the promise after him; so doth St. Matthew recite the Genealogy of Christ, not by the eldest Sons, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-born, who have hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the Evangelist Mai. 1. 2. nameth Isaac, and not Ismael, though Ismael the younger, and not Esan the elder; neither is Christ derived from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, Reuben, Simeon, or Levi, but from Juda a fourth Brother, and so from David a younger Son of Jessai; and lastly, we find, that the Kingdom it felf of Juda man, created in highest perfection, should was not given to the Heir in Nature, but to 1 Kings 2. the Heir of Grace, namely Solomon.

§. V.

Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and some of late memory.

the same measure as in after-Ages, seeing that foon after the Floud, men lived not a third and to this day, not the tenth.

They that have hereon resolved that those years were but Lunary years (to wit) of a moneth or thereabouts, or Egyptian years, are eafily confuted. For whereas seth begat Enosh in the year of his life an hundred and five, if those years be taken but for mereths, then had Seth lived but eight years and one cleanfed matter, shall wax old as a garment;

thusalem, nor Noah of Lamech; neither is moneth when he begat Enosh; and if the there any thing known to the contrary, but time of Enosh have the same allowance when that Noah might have had many Sons before he begat Kenan, then could Enosh at that shem, Ham, and Japhet, though these three time have been but six years and sourty eight weeks old; and so it may be gathered of by God were reserved to be the Fathers of the rest, excepting only Adam, who was cremankind after the Floud; and therefore ated perfect in his kind, as were the trees in when we find Mahaleel to be begotten by Ke-their kind, bearing Fruit and Seed. But this nan at three core and ten years, who was the were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at fix, feven, or eight years, agreeth with the short lives of the Pigmies, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from Adam, the workmanship of Gods hands, and begotten and born in the strong youth of the World, had length of daies, and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary years, then there would follow this extremity, that those which lived longest, and upwards of nine hundred years, had by that account but the time of fourscore and ten and odd years; which were not only less by far then the Patriarchs lived after the Floud, but fhort of many mens lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourscore, and some an hundred years. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, Gen. 25. That Abrawere first in time: so doth he take Jacob ham died in a good Age, an old man, and of great years: all which (if the former accompt were of Lunary years) makes but feventeen and an half of our years.

And if we feek for a cause of this long life in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the first also beget children of equal strength or little differing: for of the first and purest seed there must of necessity spring up the fairest and fruitfullest plants. Secondly, the Earth it self was then much less corrupt; which yielded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any fuch mixture of harmful quality, as fince that time the curse He third Objection is, that the great of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, difference of years between those of brought on it and mankind: Neither had the first Age, whereof some of them had well | the waters of the Floud infused such an imneer seen a thousand years, makes it disputa- purity, as thereby the natural and powerful ble, whether the account of times were of operation of all Plants, Herbs, and Fruitsupon the Earth received a qualification and harmful change. And as all things under part of that time; and in succeeding Ages, the Sun have one time of strength, and another of weakness, a youth and beauty, and then age and deformity: so Time it self (under the deathful shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worn out that lively virtue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants; yea the Heavens themselves, being of a most pure and plan and then much more the power generative ducing many examples to the contrary. In

how far doth our education and simplicity fifty of an hundred and ten: two of an hunof living differ from that old time? The ten- dred and five and twenty: four of an hunder bringing up of Children, first fed and dred and thirty: as many that were an hunnourished with the Milk of a strange Dugges | dred and five and thirty, or an hundred and an unnatural curiofity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to find out Nurses, three men of an hundred and fourty: and which necessity only ought to commend unto them: The hasty Marriages in tender years, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her and replant | Escans, gave them long account of many her branches, while her felf hath not yet a- years: fo did it to the Secretaries of Egyptiof strong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking

— 0 Prodiga rerum

Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta paratu; Et quasitorum terra pelagoque ciborum Ambitiosa fames, & lauta gloria mensa. Discite quam parvo liceat producere vitam: Et quantum natura petat.

Non auro myrrháque bibunt : scd gurgite puro Vitaredit : satis est populis fluvinsque Ceresque.

O wastfull Riot never well content With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and fent;

Vain-glory of a Table fumptuous, Learn with how little life may be pre-

In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to caroufe.

But with the Brook the peoples thirst is ferved;

Who fed with Bread and Water are not fterved.

time of man's life is an hundred years, because the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty years, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. Epigenes findeth in his Philosophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty years, and Berofus to an hundred and seventeen years. These opinions Pliny repeateth and reproveth, pro-

in inferiour Creatures, who by the ordinance the last taxation, number, and review of the of God receive operative Virtue from the eighth Region of Halp, there were found in the Roll (faith Pliny) four and fifty per-Plin. 1. But besides the old Age of the World, sons of an hundred years of age: seven and "". feven and thirty years old: and last of all, this fearch was made in the times of Vefpatian the Father, and the Son. The simple diet and temperate life of the

ny root sufficient to maintain her own top; an Ceremonies, to the Persian Magicians, and fuch half-ripe feeds (for the most part) and Indian Brachmans. The Greeks affirm 10f. and. in their growing up wither in the bud, and out of Homer, that Neftor lived three Ages, 113 c.g., and Timber growing up wither in the bud, and out of Homer, that Neftor lived three Ages, 113 c.g., and Timber growing hand were wax old even in their Infancy. But above all and Tirestas six, sybilla three hundred years, c, 48. things, the exceeding luxuriousness of this Endymion of the less Asia, little less: Asia gluttonous age, wherein we press Nature | Majanissa of Numidia lived very long, and with over-weighty burthens, and finding her Dando of Illyria. Among the Kings of Arftrength defective, we take the work out of cadia many lived three hundred years (latch her hands, and commit it to the artificial help | Ephorus.) Hellanicus affirmeth of the Epeians, that some of them lived full two hun-Sawces; of which Lucan hath these elegant | dred years; and so doth Diodorus Siculus of the Egyptians: and that these reports are not fabulous, Josephus bringeth many witnesses with himself; as Marethon, Berosus, Mochus, Estius, Hieronymus, Egyptius Hecataus, Ephorus, and others. And Anthony Fume, an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the year 1570. there was an Indian presented to solyman, General of the Turks Army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I my felf knew the old Countess of Desmond of Inchiquin in Munster, who lived in the year 1589, and many years since, who was married in Edward the Fourth's time, and held her joynture from all the Earls of Desmond since then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Munster can witness: Strozzius Sicogna, out of Torquemada, Maffeus, and the like Authours, telleth of some that have not onely farr exceeded the term prescribed by Epigenes; but been repaired from the withered estate of decrepit age to fresh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference be-The Egyptians affirm, that the longest tween the ability of men in those days wherein Galen the Physician lived, it may casily prove unto us, what Reeds we are in respect of those Cedars of the first Age. For Galen did ordinarily let Bloud fix pound weight, whereas we (for the most part) stop at fix ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the natural causes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) strong

Sal Cal bifl. c. 3. Macrob. Satur lib. use of diet, pleasure, and rest: for those the other is ascribed to Zoroaster, Mercurius, which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long upright; on Ayr we feed alwaies and in every instant, and on meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppress and overcharge Nature, maketh her to fink unawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Ayr, and a temperate use of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

9. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledg by Tradition: and that Enoch writ before the Floud.

Fourth scruple hath been made, How A the certain knowledg of the Creation came to Moses, seeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any fuch had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the Universal Floud.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder Ages, we shall find, that knowledg was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar fort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of sie and ordinary way might come to Israel, the ignorant and irreligious: fo as whatfoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in Nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wife men to a posterity equally Zealous; Ex animo in animum fine literis, medio intercedente verbo: From mind to mind without Letters, by way of Tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by Efdras, Origen, and Hilarius (as Mirandula conceiveth) that Moses did not only upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but Authors,) he delivered by mouth to Joshua. and Joshua to the Elders: for, to teach these mysteries, which he called secretiora, to the rude multitude, were no other quam dare Sanclum canibus, & inter porcos spargere Margaritas; then to give holy things to Dogs, and to cast Pearls before Swine. In succeeding times this understanding and wisdom began to be written in Ciphers and Characters, and | before he wrote the Scriptures) make more Letters bearing the form of Beasts, Birds, and manifest. other creatures; and to be taught only to Kings and Priests. Of the first the Cabala of that Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, Beda, Proce Bush

Parents, a pure and thin ayr, and temperate | the Jews was an imitation: the invention of Cadmus, and others; but fallely.

This Cabala importeth a Law, received by Cabalage tradition and unwritten. Cabala in Hebrew Theologie is Receptio in Latine, and a Receiving in En-nonress. glish. And this custome was also held by the lata. P.M. Druids and Bards of our antient Brittains, 110 M. and of latter times by the Irish Chroniclers called Rimers. If then fuch as would feem wifeft in the use of reason, will not acknowledg, that the story of the Creation or beginning of all things, was written by inspiration, the Holy-Ghost guiding the hand of Moses; yet it is manifest, that the knowledg thereof might by Tradition (then used) be delivered unto him by a more certain prefumption, then any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preserved and left to their fuccessors: which their wise men (as they terme them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that Adam instructed seth, and seth his children and fucceflors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that Methusalem lived together with Adam himself two hundred fourty and three years, and Noah with Methusalem no less then five hundred years: and before Noah died, Abraham was fifty and eight years old: from whence this knowledg by an eaand fo to Mofes.

But besides this Tradition, it is questionless, that the use of Letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by those Prophecies written on Pillars of Stone and Brick by Enoch: of which Josephus affirmeth, Josephus that one of them remained even in his time (meaning belike fome ruin or foundation thereof) which Pillars by others are ascribed to Seth. But of these Prophecies of Enoch, St. Jude testifieth; and some part of his Books suits (which contained the course of the Stars, 1.14 withal, feretiorem & veram legis enarratio- their names and motions) were afterward nem; a more secret and true explanation of found in Arabia felix, in the Dominion of the Law; which (faith he, out of the same the Queen of Saha (faith Origen) of which original Tertullian affirmeth, that he had feen, and Hand read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that Moses came to the knowledg of the Creation, and ftory of the first Age, seeing he might receive it both by Tradition and Letter, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange Miracles (performed

Now for the Books of Enoch, howfoever Hamiltonia fuch as ferved in their Temples, and to their fome men make mention of them, fure lam

pius, Gazeus (with others) cite them in their

CHAP. V.

writings: although Medina, for an argument to prove them unwritten Traditions, Geof dif. alledgeth that Pope Gelasius among other the Apocryphal Scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not these of Enoch; but that whatsoever was remembred out of them, the same was delivered by Tradition from the Jews. the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in Armario Judaico (saith Tertullian) who yet afly, that so exquisite knowledg therein (as else, makes it manifest, that Henoch was not these men had) was suddenly invented and dissolved as the rest. For to all the rest of found out, but left by seth to Enoch, and by the Patriarchs, Moses useth these words, And Enoch to Nonh, as hath been faid before. And he dyed; but of Henoch he fpake otherwise, therefore if Letters and Arts were known faying only, He was milling, or, he was not lived with Methylalem, who lived with Adam, to the Hebrews) quia Deus eum transsituit; and Abrakam lived with Noah; it is not strange And he was not found, for the Lord took him (Ifay) to conceive how Moses came to the away. In the same place it is expressly added, knowledg of the first Age, be it by Letters, that he saw not death. or by cabala and Tradition, had the un-

9. VII.

Of the men of renown before the Floud.

? Ow let us consider the relation of Associa who nameth feven descents of Cains children: and of Adam by Seth, ten; Seth But I rather think with *Percrius*, that fuch a being given by God in flead of Abel: And of Book there was, and that the same was cor- seth was Enelly begotten, in whose time men rupted after the death of the Apostles, and began to profes Religion, and to offer sacrimany things added thereunto by Hereticks, fice in publick. For although Adam instruwho took occasion upon the antiquity there- ceed his Children in the knowledg of God of, and out of that place of Michael contend-their Creator, as appeared by the Sacrifice ing with the Devil about the body of Moses, offered by Cain and Abel; yet it seemeth to frame and add thereunto many inventions that after the death of Enolb, men began of their own. One of the greatest arguments publickly to call on the Name of the Lord, against these Books, is, that neither Philo nor that is, they served and praised God by Com-Josephus (the most diligent searchers of Anmunion and in publick manner, or calling tiquity) make mention thereof. But against upon the Name of the Lord; and thereby is I will fet this opinion of St. Augustine, were the Sons of God, or the Godly, diftinscrifffe quidem nonnulla divina Enoch, illum guished from the wicked. From the birth of feptimum ab Adam, negare non possimus: That Enosh the Son of Seth, to the time of Henoch Enoch the seventh from Adam, did write di- the Son of Jared, there is nothing rememvers divine things, we cannot deny. Now his bred by Moses, but their owne births, the writings which came afterwards to light, birth of their Sons, the length of their lives, writings which came antiquity, and and deaths. But of Henoch it is written: That Gen. 5. 24. of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten he walked with God, and he was no more seen: of Angels, and others; and by so much the for God took him away. By that, that he more, because no such Book was found a- walked before God, was meant, that he was a mongst those Canonical Scriptures, kept by just and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the same phrase Moses useth of Noah; Noah was a just and V.1. firmeth, that this Book might be preserved upright man in his time, and Noah walked by Noah. Surely, that Enoch wrote the Pro- with God. The Seventy convert it, Enoch pheties remembred by Jude, no man can de- placuit Deo; Enoch pleased God. And alny 5 how they were delivered to posterity, though Aben-Ezra, and others, understand I know not; whether by the Jews Cabala, or this place, (tulit eum Dens) scilicet, mortuus by what other means, the same is but mans est; God took bim away, (that is) ke dyed, conjecture. And (certainly) by the know- which (indeed) agreeth both with the phrase ledg ascribed to Noah of the motions of the of the Scripture, and with our manner of Heavens, and of the natures and conjuncti- speech to this day, to say, God took him aons of the Stars; and afterwards to some of way when he died; yet the difference which his Sons, to Zoroaster, and then to Abraham, Moses maketh between the piety of Henoch, it is very probable that Noah had feen and and the rest of the Patriarchs, and by omitmight preserve this book. For it is not like- ting the word (death) which he useth to all from the time of seth to Enoch, and that Noah feen. Et non inveniebatur (laith the Apostle

doubted Word of God need of any other were not with the same kind of changing which St. Paul promifeth, when he faith, that, when the end shall come, we shall not all die, 51.

CHAP. VI.

God.

learned Divines.

After Enoch, Moses passeth over to Methufalen and Lamech, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: saving that Lamech prophefied of his Son Noah, Gen. 5. 29. faying, This same shall comfort us concerning our work, and forrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord bath curfed. Of Noah, Moses writeth more amply than of any of the rest of Adams children by seth, being the last Gen. 6. 9. of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preserved, because he was an upright man in his time, and feared

policy of those strong and mighty men, so

able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whose stories, if they had been preserved, and what else was then performed in that newness of the world, there could nothing of more delight have been left to Posterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their strength of body and natural wits, had the experience added of 800. and 900. years) how much of necessity must the fame adde of wisdom and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all | cules | hath written a large Difcourfe, intially in respect of this old age of the world, to prove, that there were never any such Aphor. 1. begin to die; according to Hippocrates: Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus praceps; (which is) Life is flort, art is long, time is headlong. And many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of Moses; These Gen. 6. 4. were mighty men, which in old time were men for strength of body, and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their own abilities as they forgat altogether the piety of seth, and the ways wherein Henoch walked: for all the ima-Sons of God (or of the godly)were corrupted and mif-led by their Idolatrous Wives, the Daughters of Cain, or of those other men, loving themselves and the world onely.

That these sons of God were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of women, accompanied them, and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed; namely, Last antius, and Ensebius, mif-led by Josephus : of whom I can not doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this miftaking many Writers have taken greatad-

but all feall be changed, I leave it to the vantage, and have troubled themselves with large answers, and very needless: the question being uncapable of dispute, especially fince S. Chrysoftom and S. Augustine have anfwered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appear in Scripture; and on the contrary, to think that Angels, who (as Christ witnesseth) behold the face of God, (that is) always attend his commandments, should after a separation from the rest which fell with Lucifer, forfake the glorious presence of their Creatour, and become Incubi, or Succubi, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madness to imagine. But of the war, peace, government, and

6. VIII.

That the Giants, by Moses so called, were indeed men of large bodies: as also, divers in

F these Giants which Moses calleth mighty men, Goropius Becanus an Antuerpian (who thought his own wit more Gigantical than the bodies of Nimrod, or Herwhatfoever can be told of aftertimes, especi- tuled, Gigantomachia; and strained his brains when we no fooner begin to know, but we men: his reasons (whosoever defires to lose time) he may find them in the Treatifes before named. It is true, that Cyrillus reproves the Grecian Poets for their monthat those people of the first Age performed strous fictions: who affirm shamelessly. That the Giants have in elder times, not onely cast up Mountains upon Mountains, but removed Islands out of the Sea, with like of renown. But these men of renown (whom fooleries. And for that invention of castthe Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both ing up Hills, and making War with the gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the Story of Nimrod, as before remembred; and even out of this Scripture. That the Sons of God faw the Daughters of ginations of their hearts were evil, onely evil Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, and continually evil. And this wickedness was was that conceit, taken from Orpheus and Henot onely found in the issues of Cain, but it | sodus, That Giants were the Sons of the Heawas then universal, when the children and ven and the Earth; meaning by the Heavens the sons of God, and by the Earth, the Daughters of Men: which verses of Orpheus are by John Cassam (who hath written a very witty Discourse of this Subject) thus changed in to Latine:

> Nomine calestes illos dixère Gigantes, Orti quod terrà fuerint & Sanguine cœli.

From th' Earth, and from thy bloud, O heaven, they came. Whom thereupon the gods did Giants But

But what will not Opiniators, and felf-be- | four hundred years after the Expedition of lieving men dispute of, and make doubt of, if Chedorlaomer. Moreover, those Discoverers there have been in all times fince; feeing the Scriptures avow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlative straining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppressors and Tyrants, fav, That they were called Giants onely, beftrength surpassing others: and afterwards to endure their former flavery, than to fall general Floud, then might this place of Moles and yielded to interpretation.

and without all Allegorical construction, aof these Giants in the time of Abraham, of Moses, of Josuah, and of David; namely, even four and twenty. the Rephaims in Afteroth; the Zuzei, or Zandwelt anciently in the Land of Moab; whom Moses (for stature) compareth with the Anakims which dwelt in Hebron; for they also were taken for Giants as the Anakims. Like-Ammon, he useth these words: That also was taken for a'Land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times: and, whom the Ammonites call Zanzummims; a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims. And these Giants called Rephaims in Afteroth and Karnaim, and the Zuzai or Zanzummims, Chederlaomer, King of Elam, overthrew, affifted by other Kings his affociates. Also the Prophet Amor found among the Ammonites, men curse and corruption) brought forth her of Giant-like stature, whom he compareth to young ones more strong and beautifull, than the Cedar, and whose strength to the Oaks: it did in after ages: so also those Giants, and the Prophet Barneth, These were the Gi-those mighty men, and men of renown, as far ants famous from the beginning, that were of exceeded the proportion, nature, and So great flature, and so expert in warr. Partir strength of those Giants, remembred by cularly, it is written of og King of Basan, that his bed of Iron was nine Cubits long, and four Cubits broad: for onely og King of Basan remained of the remnant of the Gi-

they cannot conceive that there were in the and Searchers of the Land of Promite (fent first Age such kind of men; and of which by Moses from Cadesbarne in Paran) made report at their return of the great stature of those people in general, and especially of the Sons of Anak, in these words: All the people Numb. 13. which we saw in it, are men of great stature : for v. 34. there we faw Giants, the Sons of Anak, which come of the Giants, so that we seemed in our and not to ftrength of body, and eminent sta- fight, like Grashoppers, and so we were in their ture: such men might with better reason call sight (that is) the Searchers sound in their them Oppressors, because they were Giants; own judgments a marvellous difference beand therefore had ability to oppress, than tween the Anakims and themselves: insomuch that the Ifraclites were so stricken with cause Oppressions. For first, Moses himself fear, as they rather sought, and defired, to recalleth them mighty men; which sheweth a turn again into Egypt, and were more willing men of renown (that is) of great under- by the strokes of those fearfull Nations, Furtaking and adventurous actions. And if the thermore, the Scriptures put us out of doubt, fame stature of body, and ability, had not that Goliab the Philistine of Gath, was a Giant been found among divers Nations after the of fix Cubits and a span long: the Armour 1 Sam, 17. which he wore, weighed five thousand she- v. 4. have more willingly heark ned to a dispute, kels of Brass: the shaft of his spear was like a Weavers beam, and his spear head weighed But besides all these samous Giants sound six hundred shekels of Iron. Also in Samuel 2 Sam 21. in prophane Histories (which I will referve there is mention of another Goliab, furnamed v. 19. to accompany the Giants of Albion, in the Getheus, because he was of Gath: and of Story of Eritany) the Scriptures do cleerly, three other Giants; of which the furft was flain by Jonathan, David's Nephew, who had 10.7. vow, That befides Nimrod, there were found twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by fixes,

Also that Sampson was of surpassing zummims in Ham, and the Emims which strength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion Jul. 14.6. as it had been a Kid, and after flew thirty of 16. 3. the Philistines, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a Jaw-bone of an Afs: And lastly, he took the gates of Azzah, and wise where Moses speaketh of the Land of the two posts, and lifted them away with the barrs, and put them upon his shoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountain before Ebron. If then it be approved by every judgment, that both Nature, and the Heavens wax old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it felf) infeebled and almost worn out the virtue of all things, then, I say, That as in all other kinds the Earth (before that Sin had increased the Moses of his own time, and after him their fuccessors, as the ordinary proportion of men in general, foon after the Floud, and in ants who commanded the Kingdom of Bafan of men which are now born, in the withered

CHAP. VI.

ing youth and newness of the World.

and oppression) of these men was such, as doth not repent him of any thing which he hath God therefore by the Floud, gave end to done (as men use to do) but if the Scripture all flesh, but to the just Noah and his Fadid not use those words, or the like, it mily. And God repented him that he had should not (in a sort) insimuate it self fa-Del. 1.5. made man: which Saint Augustine thus ex-miliarly to all forts of men, for whom it poundeth; Neque enim sicut hominem, ita would provide: that it might terrifie the Deum facti sui penitet, cujus est de omnibus proud, stir up the negligent, exercise the omnino rebus tam sixa senienta, quam cer- searchers of the truth, and nourish those that ta præscientia. Sed si non utatur Scriptura understand.

quarter and Winter of the World. If there-, talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiafore Giants were common in the third and rius infinualit omni generi hominum, quibus fourth Age, much more in the first flourish- vult effe consultum : ut & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat qua-But the wickedness (especially in cruelty rentes, & alat intelligentes; God (faith) he)



CHAP. VI.

Of Idolatrous corruptions, quickly rifing, and hardly at length vanishing in the World; and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient Times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

6. I.

That in old Corruptions, we may find some signs of more ancient Truth.

Ere, before we proceed any That the Corruptions themselves were very ancient, as in the Family of Noah, and in the

further, the occasion offereth it felf for us to confider how the Greeks, and other more lous inventions, and by breaking into b from God, which was first found in Anparts the Story of the Creation, and by gels, and afterwards in men (the one having delivering it over in a myftical fence, erred but once, the other ever) as concernwrapping it up mixed with other their own ing Man-kind, it took fuch effect, that there trumpery, have fought to obscure the truth by (the liberal Grace of God being withthereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, drawn) all the posterity of our first Parents being thereby brought into many doubts, were afterwards born and bred in a world, might receive those inter-mixed Discourses suffring a perpetual Eclipse of spiritual light. of God and Nature, for the inventions of Hence it was that it produced Plants of fuch of God. But, as a skilfull and learned Chy- out or depure, but that the same defection mist can as well by separation of visible hathhad continuance in the very generation elements draw helpfull Medicines out of and nature of man-kind. Yea, even among trary to the purpoles and hopes of the Hea- of seth, Enoch, and Noah; fo the Sons of Cham

old Egyptians. ancient Nations, by fabu- DUt this defection and falling away Poets and Philosophers, and not as any imperfection and harmfull quality, as the thing borrowed or ftoln out of the Books waters of the general floud could not fo walk poison, as poison out of the most health- the few Sons of Noah, there were found full Herbs and Plants (all things having in strong effects of the former poison. For as themselves both life and death) so, con- the children of shem did inherit the virtues then, may those that feek after God and did posses the vices of the Sons of cain, and Truth, find out every where, and in all of those wicked Giants of the first Age. the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Whence the Chaldwans began, soon after the Story of the first Age, with all the works Floud, to ascribe divine power and honour and marvels thereof, amply and lively ex- to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sun, and then the Fire. So the Egyptians and Phænicians

Phonicians did not onely learn to leave the true God, but created twelve feveral Gods, and divine powers, whom they worshipped, and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. For Herodotus faith, Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Ægyptios in usu habuisse, atque Gracos ab illis cepisse mutuatos, eosque prius Aras, & Imagines, & Templa Din, sibi erexisse; The Egyptians (saith he) first devised the names of the twelve gods, which the Greeks received from them, who first erected unto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples, for the gods.

6. III.

That in process of time, these lesser errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the groß superstitions of the Egyptians.

T)Ut as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, do then after wander for evermore in vices unknown, and daily travel towards their eternal perdition: fo did these groß and blind Idolaters, every Age after other, descend lower and lower, and shrink and flide downwards from the knowledg of one true and very God; and did not thereby erre in worshipping mortal men onely, fame respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowls, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayr, Fire, to the Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees, and Roots, to Passions and Affections of the Mind, to Paleness, Sickness, Sorrows, yea, to the most unworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemy, Rhodius An-But com, axandrides derideth in this manner:

Bovem colis, ego Deis macto bovem. Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego Obsoniorum credidi suavissimum. Carnes suillas tu caves, at gandeo His maxime : canem colis, quem verbero Edentem ubi deprehendo fortè obsonium.

I facrifice to god the Beef which you I broyl th' Egyptian Eeles, which you (as

god) implore: You fear to eat the flesh of Swine; I find

it fweet. You worship Dogs; to beat them I think

When they my store devour.

And in this manner Juvenal. Porrum, aut cape, nefas violare aut frangere morfu: O sancias gentes quibus bæc nascuntur in kortis The Egyptians think it fin to root up, or

Their Leeks or Onyons, which they ferve with holy rite: O happy Nations, which of their own

Have store of gods in every Garden growing!

6. IV.

That from the relicks of Ancient Records among the Egyptians and others, the first Idols and Fables were invented: and the first Jupiter was Cain, Vulcan, Tubal-Cain, &c.

Dut in fo great a confusion of vanities, where among the Heathens themselves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of these inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient pattern they erected their building, were it not certain that the Egyptians had knowledge of the first Age, and of whatsoever was done therein, partly from some inscriptions upon stone or metal remaining after the Floud; and partly from Mizraim the Son of Cham, who had learn'd but they gave divine reverence, and had the the fame of Cham, and Cham of his Father Noah: for, all that the Egyptians write of their ancient Kings, and date of times, cannot be fained: and though other Nations after them had by imitation their Jupiters alfo, their Saturns, Vulcans, and Mercuries, with the reft, which S. Augustine out of Varro,
Eusebins out of many prophane Histories; Case Lis. Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Arnobius, and ma- civii. Dei. ny more have observed, to wit, the Phanici- Enfet. L. I. ny more nave observed, to wit, the rmenter de Prap. ans, Phrygians, Cretians, Greeks, and other Evang c.7: Nations; yet was Cain, the Son of Adam, (as o 1.2. fome very learned men conceive) called and 6.23. reputed for the first and ancient Jupiter; and denat. De-Adam for the first Saturn: for Jupiter was said orum. to have invented the founding of Cities; and Arnob 4, the first City of the World was built by Cain, Gent. which he called Enoch, of whom were the Henochii, before remembred. And fo much may be gathered out of Plato in Protagoras, which also Hyginus in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For besides that many Cities were founded by diversmen; Tamen primam latilsimam à primo & antiquissimo Jove ædiss-catam: yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient Jupiter, seated in the East parts, or in India, according to that of Mofes: And Cain dwelt towards the East fide of Eden, Oc. where also the Henockii were found after the Floud. And therefore was Jupiter by the Athenians called Policus, Gen. 4. 16.

a Foun-

a Founder of Cities, and Herceios, an Inclo-Phorn I de fer, or strengthener of Cities (say Phornutus NAMES DE and Paulanias;) and that to Jupiter Herceios, Description 14, there were in very many places Altars and 5. 00 10.1 Temples erected. And, that there were Ciin Protago ties built before the Floud, Plato also witneffeth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that, foon after mankind began to increase, they built many Cities; which, as his meaning, he delivereth in plain terms, in his third Book of Laws: for he faith, that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great Floud.

This first Jupiter of the Ethnicks was then the same Cain, the Son of Adam, who marrying his own Sifter (as also Jupiter is said to God took him away. have done) inhabited the East, where Stephanus de Urbibus placeth the City Henochia. 611. 4. 10, And besides this City of Henoch, Philo Juda-11, 22. His conceiveth that Cain built fix others, as Maich, Jared, Tehe, Jesea, Selet, and Gebat: but where Philo had this, I know not. Now, as Cain was the first Jupiter, and from whom also the Ethnicks had the invention of Sacrifice : fo were Jubal, Tubal and Tubal-Cain (inventors of Pattorage, Smith-craft, and Mufick) the same which were called by the ancient prophane Writers, Mercurius, Vulcan, Lat. 1.4. and Apollo. And as there is a likelihood of name between Tubalcain and Vulcan: fo doth Augustine expound the name of Noema, or Naamath, the Sifter of Tubalcain, to fignifie Venusta, or beautifull, Voluptas, or pleasure; as the Wife of Vulcan is faid to be Venus, the Lady of pleasure and beauty. And as Adam was the ancient and first saturne; Cain, the eldest Jupiter; Eva. Rhea, and Nomea, or Naamath the first Venus: so did the Fable of the dividing of the World between the three Brethren, the Sons of Saturne, arise from the true Story of the dividing of the Earth between the three Brethren the Sons of Noah: so also was the fiction of those golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent which tempted Evah: fo was Paradise it self transported out of Asia into Africa, and made the Garden of the Hesperides: the Prophecies, that Christ should break the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned the Fables of Hercules killing the Serpent of Hesperides, and descending into Hell, and captivating Cerberus: so out of the taking up of Henoch by God, was borrowed the conversion of their Heroes (the inventors of Religion, and such Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Stars, and heavenly Signes, and (withall) that leaving of the World, and ascention of Astrea: of which Ovid;

ouid. Met. Ultima cœlestum terras Astrea reliquit. Aftraa last of heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

The first Book of the first Part For although thereby the Ethnicks would understand Justice it self to have failed, as Natha it is a vertue abstract, and may be considered without a person, yet, as it is usual among the ancient Poets to describe Vertues and Vices by the persons of men and women, as Defire by Cnpid, Valour by Mars, Beauty or Lust by Venus; so do they also the persons of men by like Vertues and Vices: and therefore by Justice and Aftrea, Enoch; the justice and piety of Enoch being in the same manner exprest, as that of Noah was by Moses: for Noah Gun, was faid to be a just man; And Noah malked out a with God. And of Enoch it is written, That he 14. walked with God, and he was no more feen: for

From this Story also of the first Age, and from that part where Moses remembreth the Giants begotten by the Sons of good men upon the Daughters of the wicked (whom Moses calleth mighty men, and men of renown) did they steal those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and again, their Warr undertaken against the Gods, from the building of the Tower of Babel by the Giant Nimrod, as S. Augustine termeth him. Which war of their man Giants, Cornelius Severus thus describeth.

Tentavere (nefas) olim detrudere mundo Sydera, captivique Jovis transferre Gigantes Imperium, & victo leges imponere cælo.

The Giants did advance their wicked

Against the Stars, to thrust them headlong

And robbing Jove of his Imperial Crown, On conquer d Heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that Nimrod purposed to raise the building of Babel to that sim height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deep, nor by any conjunction of the Stars, should bury them under the moisture of a second Floud, but that by this building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heaven it self. Also the making of leagues peace and covenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by Sacrifice, whereof Virgil both in the eighth and twelfth of his Eneids hath a touch, was (as it feemeth) borrowed, from Moses, Exod. 24. who, when he read the Book of the Covenant, sprinkled the people with bloud.

We find also many remembrances of seth, the paternal Ancestor of Henoch and Noah for Amenophie, the same King of Egipt which reigned at such time as Moses carried thence the children of Ifrael (as of late some learned 1 they were, or were not with those virtues men, mistaking his time, supposed) called inriched, yet by imitation, all Kings in the ment have granted) were the Princes of of honour and reputation in the world(howmany very famous. But herein was the memory of seth most manifestly preserved, that antient Parent, and of the first Tradition: Province Setheitica. We also find in Bithynia the City of Sethia, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure, from the Egyptians did the Grecians borrow this kind of Theologie, though they fcorned to acknowledg any antiquity preceding their own: and that they might not feem to learn elsewhere, they gave the same names to their own Idols, which the Egyptians did to theirs.

§. V.

Of the three chiefest Jupiters, and the strange story of the third.

Dut of all those Armies of Jupiters, remembred by the Antients, Cicero maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers have also done, who fought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was Jupiter, the Son of Aether and Dies, so called because the one had reference to his Celestial conditions (for ather is as much as shining or pure fire:) the other discovered his natural virtues, which daies and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The fecond was faid to be the Son of Cahim or Heaven, for the same former respect; and this Jupiter was an Arcadian, and King of Athens.

The third, of whom all the Grecian fables were devised, was of crete (now Candie,) the Son of saturn and ops. The name derived from the Latine is taken of Juvans pater, from the Greek word Zeus ; it lignifieth life, but somewhat strained. Boccas in his Genealogie of the Gods, conceiveth, that his but whether that Star had such a name before the same was given to men, I know not. Jupiter is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, adventurous, liberal, merciful, loclinations. And therefore those antient Kings

his Son and Successiour setho, of seth: and eldest times assumed those Titles and Sirof the same Seth (as many men of good judg- names: great Princes affecting as high Titles Thrace, called Seuthes, whereof there were foever deserved) as the worthiest that ever were, acquired by their well-defervings, Joves omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui, The anthe Egyptians worshipped Seth, as their most tients called all Kings Jupiters, as Tzetzes in his varia historia confirmeth; Reges olim Join honour of whom they called a principal ves vocarunt omnes; In old times all Nations call'd their Kings Jupiters. But where this last and most remembred Jupiter was born, it is uncertain. Some there are that make him of Crete: others that he was but fent thither by his Mother Ops, or Opis, to be fostered Nat Coil. and hidden from the fury of Titan his Uncle: because it was conditioned between Saturn and Titan, that Saturn being a younger Brother, and reigning (for his own life) by Tratans permission, he should put to death all his male children, left the Titans might be interrupted by any one of them in their succession; which agreement, because saturn performed in his first born, it is feigned that Saturn devoured his own children. Hereof Lycophron, thus turned into Latine :

> Hand fit pinguior, Crudis sepulchrum quod sit ipse filiis.

Saturne to be the father is not known, By being the grave and burial of his own.

This composition between Titan and Saturns Sybilla also witnesseth in these words;

Conceptis verbis, Titan jurare coëgit Saturnum, de se natum ne nutriat ullum, Quò possint regnare, senis post fata, Nepotes.

Things thus agreed; Titan made Saturn fwear

No Son to nourish, which by reigning

Usurp the right of Titans lawful heir.

But Opis the Mother of Jupiter, being des livered at once both of Jupiter and Juno conveyed Jupiter (first called Lyfanias) into Crete, as she did afterwards his two Brothers, Neptune and Pluto: where he was brought up in Gnossus, the chief City of that Island, name was borrowed from Jupiter the Planet; by Cresta the King, or by the Curetes, a peo- Euleb. in ple and nation thereof.

Others challenge him to be of Thebes and a Thebane: others call him an Arcadian: 0thers make him of Messena. The like contenving, and faithful (that is) giving these in- tion is found among the Greeks touching his education and first fostering. Some affirm beautified with these conditions, might be that he was fed by Hony-bees: in recomcalled thereafter Jupiter: but howlocver pence, whereof he changed their black coats

CHAP. VI

fuch a God; others, that he was nourished by Bears: others, by Goats: and of all these the idle Greeks have many pretty tales. But in the end, when Titan had knowledg that Saturn had broken his faith, he fet on him, and took him and his wife prisoners, whom Jupiter again rescued and delivered.

But lastly, the Father and the Son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. Sa turn being the less powerful, fled into Italy, and left his Kingdom in Greece to his Son. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many virtues. the name of Jupiter was given him: yet after he was once fetled, and became potent, he gave himself over wholly to palliardize and adultery, without all respect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such as do ascribe the actions of many to one Jupiter, that not therewith fatisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the fin of sodom with Ganimedes and others: and did not only begin with incest, marrying his owne Sifter Juno, but he ravished, betrayed, stole away, and took by strong hand all the beautiful women born in his time, within the limits of his own Kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame; Niobe, Laodamia, and Alemena, the Wife of Amphytrion, by whom he had Pelalgus, Sarpedon, Argus, and Hercules: by Taygete he had Taygetus, of whom the Mountain Taggetus took name; with another Son called saon, of whom savonas; by Antiope he had Amphion and Zetus: by Lada, Caftor and Pollux, Hellen and Clytemnestra: by Danae, Perseus; by Jordana, Deucalion: by Charme (the daughter of Eubulus) Britomartis: by Protogenia, he had Athlius the Father of Endymion: and by Iô (the daughter of Inachus) Epaphus, the founder of Memphis in Egypt: which Epaphus, married Lihya, of whom that Country took name, for fo the Greeks afterward called Africa. He ravished Aegina the Daughter of Aesopus, and carried her into the Island Oenopia or Oenotria, afterward called Aegina, on whom he begat Aeacus: by Torrhebia he had Archesilausand Carbius: by Ora, Colaxes: he had also Dardanus by Eledra, who built Dardanium, afterward Ilium or Troy. He begat the Brothers Talici, on Thalia; and on Garamantis, Hiarbas. He had besides these (if they bely not their chief God) Phileus and Pilimmis, inventers of the Bakers craft : and I know not how many more; but I And of these his several ravishments, succession: wherefore they took the Boy and

and fkins into yellow; a reward well fitting | betrayings, ftealing away of mens Wives, the like, came in all those antient fables of his transformations into showers of Gold, Eagles, Bulls, Birds, and Beafts; and of him. and by him (in effect) all that rabble of Grecian forgeries. And yet did not the Greeks and Romans fear to entitle this Monster Optimus Maximus, though Cicero in his fecond Book, de natura Deorum, affirm, that he deserved nothing less; and in his Oration, pro domo sua, reprocheth Clodius for his incest, by the name of Jupiter. His burial was in Crete (saith Lucian.) Cretenses non solum Sans. natum apud se, & sepultum Jovem testantur. Sed etiam sepulchrum ejus ostendunt; The Cretians or Candians do not only avow that Inpiter was born and buried among them, but they flew his Grave and Sepulchre: which Epiphanius also confirmeth; for in his time there remained the Monuments of his Tomb in the Mountain Jasins. This, Callimachus in his Hymns also witnesseth; but, as offended thereat, faith thus:

The Cretians ever lyars were, they care not what they fay: For they a Tomb have built for thee, O

King, that liv'ft alway.

Diodorus Siculus tells by way of report Didly from the Libyan Fables, confirmed (as he confirmed) faith) by some Greek Writers, that the original of these Gods was from the Western parts of Africa. For there among the Atlantida reigned one Vramus (which fignifieth Heaven) called fo, for his great skill in Aftrology; and for his knowledg, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wives fourty five Sons; but by his principal Wife Titea, he had seventeen Sons and two Daughters, all which were called after their Mothers name, the Titanes. Of Titea, likewise it is said, that the for her goodness was Canonized as a Goddess, being dead, and called the Earth, as her Hutband was styled Heaven But of all the children of Titea, her Daughter Bafilea (which name founding as Queen in English, fhe is by the Latine translatour of Diodorus called Regina) excelling the rest as far in virtue as in years, was by general confent of her Brethren, and of the People, appointed to rule as Queen after her Father's death, being as yet a Virgin. She took to husband her Brother Hyperion, to whom she bare a Son and a Daughter, called Sun and Moon. The beauty and towardliness of these chilknow well that he could not be father to all | dren moved her Brethren to envie, and bred these, who were born in Ages so far differ- in them a fear of being excluded from the

drowned him in the River Eridanus, now cretly, for fear of his life, to be brought up called Poe. The loss of this child, caused his at Nysa, an Island in the River Triton, under both her children, made the mother to play after a wild fashion, in fight of all the people, before whom she is said to have vanished should become immortal; that also the sun and that their death should be revenged upon the Murtherers. According to which it is faid, that the people did so call those two Planets, and withall held her felf as a goddess; and tearmed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly given to her. for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren whilest they were young. Hyperion and his Race being extinguished, the other Sons of Eranus divided the Kingdom. Of these, Atlas and Saturn were chief. Atlas reigned over the Countries lying about the Mountains, which afterward bare his name; a just and wife Prince, deeply skilfull in Afirologie: and, for invention of the Sphere, faid to have supported Heaven. He had

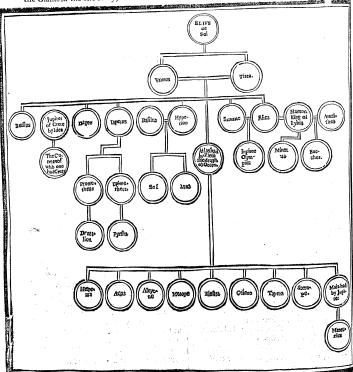
fifter to break her own neck; and the loss of the tuition of his Daughter Minerva, and certain Nimphs. To Amalthea he gave in remany mad prancks, dancing with Cymbals, ward a goodly Country, that lay on the Seacoast, bending in form like a Horn, whence grew the tale of Amalthea's plentifull Horn, away. Ere she died, her Son (as the Fable famous among the Poets. When Rhea heard hath it) fignified unto her in a Dream, that these news, the fled from her Husband to her he and his fifter, by the providence of God, brother Saturn, who, not onely entertained her as a fifter, but took her to Wife, and at and Moon should be called by their names, her instigation, made warr upon Hammon, vanquished him by the assistance of the Titans, and made him flee into Crete. The Curetes, Jupiter's children before mentioned, held the Island at that time; which was new named Crete by Hammon, after the name of Creta the Kings Daughter, whom he took to Wife, and had with her (women, as may feem, being very gracious in those names) the Kingdom. Bacchus was grown a proper young man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting of Trees, and many things else commodious for man-kind, before the flight of his Mother-in-law. Now therefore, hearing report of all that had hapned, and that Saturn was coming against him with the Titans; he levied an Army, to many Sons; but the principal of them called which the Amazons, living not farr from Helperus, being of his Fathers qualities and Nyla, added great forces, in love of Minerus, ftudies, was faid to have been carried away who was entred into their profession. So Bacby the Wind, from the top of an high Hill, in | chus leading the men, and Minerva the wothe middeft of his contemplations; and his men, they fet forward against saturn, met name, in honour of him, imposed by the him, and overthrew him, and taking many people upon the morning Starr. The feven of the Titans prisoners, returned to Nya; Daughters of Atlas were also said to have where pardoning the prisoners, that probeen excellent Ladies, who accompanying mifed to become his true followers, he prefuch as came to be Deified, or registred a- pared for a second Expedition. In the semong the Worthies, brought forth children, cond Expedition he behaved himfelf fo well, answerable in quality to those that begat that he wan the love of all the people by them. Of these it is held, that the seven Stars, whom he passed ; in so much, that partly for called Pleiades, took name. Saturn, the bro- good affection to him, partly in hatred of ther of Atlas, reigned in Sicilia, part of Africk Saturn's rigorous government, he was greatand Haly. Jupiter, another of the Sons of ly strengthened, and the Enemy as much en-Uranus, reigned in Crete; who had ten Sons, feebled by daily revolts. Coming to the City which he called Curetes: he called that Island of Hammon, he wan a battel of Saturn beafter his Wives name, Idea; in which Ille he fore the very walls. After which, Saturn, died, and was buried. But this Jupiter must with his Wife Rhea, fled by night, setting the not have been that great one, but Uncle to Town on fire, to despight Bacchus. But they the great Jupiter, if these Fables of the Lybi-ans were true. Saturn (as these Lybians tell Bacebus, and kindly entertained. Saturn had the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified a young Son by thee, called Japiter. This frong places, the better to keep his people child Bacchus took with him in a great Exin hibjection, His fifter Rhea was married to Hammon, who reigned in some part of Africk. treys: and coming into Egypt, he left this Hammon loving others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter called Minerva, the Country; but appointed unto him as neer to the River Triton, who thereupon was an Over-feer, one Olympus, of whom Jupiter called Tritonia. He also begat on Amalthea, grew to be called Olympus. Whilest Bacchus a Son, called Bacchus, whom he caused se-travelled through all Nations, as farr as into

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ges of some one true History. For the Expe- Terrenus, or Indigena, and of Illus to Saturn, ditions of Ofiris and of Backus; the warrs of but omitting Jupiter of Crete. the Giants in the one Story, of the Titans in

India, doing good in all places, and teaching the other; the Kingdom of Egypt given by many things profitable to the life of man; the Hercules Lybicus to Orus, by Bacchus to Jupi-Titans had found out his father Hammon in ter, the rattles of Iss, and the Cymbals of Bass-Crete, and began to wat upon him. But Bac- lea, with many pretty circumstances, neerly chus returned out of *India*, with whom *Julier* from *Fight*, and his fifter *Minerva*, together with the reft, that afterwards were held (as *Eufchins* cites him) would have all these to gods, joining all their forces, went into Crete, be Phenicians, and is earnest in saying, That overthrew the Titans, chaicd them, took and it is a true Story, and no Allegory. Yet he flew them, and freed the World of them all. makes it feem the more allegorical, by giving After all this, when Hammon and Bacelius to Uranus or heaven for daughters, Fate, and were dead, they were Deified; and the Beauty, and the like, with addition of much great Jupiter, the Son of Saturn, succeeding sabulous matter, omitted by Diodorus, them, reigned Lord alone over all the world, though Diodorus have enough. To the Gehaving none of the Titans left alive, nor any nealogie, he adds Elius, or the Sun, as father other to diffurb him. Between this tale of the of Vranus, and among the children of Vra-Lybian gods, and the Egyptian Fables of Ofiris, nu, Japetus, Batilus, and Dagon (whom Diothere is a rude refemblance, that may cause dorse doth not mention by their names) givthem both to be taken for the crooked Imaling withall to Vranus, the proper name of

The Pedigree of them is this:



5. VI.

of Cham, and other wicked ones; whereof some gat, some affected, the name of God.

F Jupiter Belus, the Son of Saturnus Babylonicus, otherwise Nimrod, it seemeth that Cicero had not heard, (at least by that name;) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembred : for long after these times were the Greeks but Salvages, if they feek no farther off for their

But the Egyptians, even after the Floud, began (somewhat before this Chaldean Jupiter)to entitle cham, the Parent of their own Mizraim, Jupiter Chammon, or Hammon. For the Etymologie of this word (Hammon which the Greeks deduce ab arenis, from the fands, is ridiculous (faith Pencer;) neither yet is his own much better, who brings it from fcorching. And as for the Antiquity of the latter Jupiter (among the Greeks and Romans born not long before the War of Troy, as by many of his Sons is made manifest; namely, Caftor, Pollux, Hercules, Sarpedon, and others, whom, and with whom, Troy was destroyed.

was given to Venus? seeing they were as notorious and famous Harlots, as the was.

5. VII.

That the wifer of the ancient Heathen had far better opinions of God.

he fained that they were perpetually stung him worthily. And what can be more agreeand pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be able to the Majesty of Gods Nature, than doubted, but that Homer had read over all this property by Plato acknowledged? Dens

the Books of Moses, as by places stoln thence, almost word for word may appear; of which Justine Martyr remembreth many in that Treatise converted by Mirandula. As for Plato, though he diffembled in some things for fear of the Inquisition of the Areopagites, yet S. Augustine hath already answered for him(as before remembred) Et mirifice iis delectatus est, qua de uno Deo tradita fuerant; And he was greatly delighted in the dollrine of one God, faith Justine Martyr. Now, howsoever Lactantins pleased to reprehend Plato, because (saith he) Plato sought knowledge, Eusebing from the Egyptians, and the Chaldeans, ne. Prop. E. glecking the Jews, and Books of Moses, * Eu- Cyril. cont. Jebius, Cyrillus, and Origen, find reason to be- Julian. lieve the contrary, thinking that from thence contra he took the grounds of all by him written of celfum. God, or favouring of Divinity: and the same Ambr. ad Irea. Ep. 6. opinion had S. Ambrose of Pythagoras.

But whether it were out of the same vanity, which possessed all those learned Philo-gus seu Hammath, which fignifieth Heat: because the sophers and Poets, that Plato also published won Mar-Temple of Jupiter Hammon was feated in (not under the right Authours names) those in Morr the right Authours names) those in Mill; a Libya, where the ayr is exceeding hot and things which he had read in the Scriptures; bout or fearing the severity of the Areopagites, wherein and the example of his Moster Securities has capital and the example of his Master socrates, by matters the most renowned) it is certain that he was them put to death by poyfons I cannot judge, are used. Justine Martyr (as it seemeth) ascribeth it so called wholly to Plato's fear, whose words among cause Mars many other of the same effect, are these; sherein which lived in that Age of Priamus, under Plato, Moss mentionem facere, ob id, quod ed his cauf Now, seeing that mortal men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortal among the Plato, fearing the Areopagites, thought it not realist Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that safe for him among the Athenians, to make Passon in Alexander Macadon Tahanin Nova Calicula, mention of Macadon the Athenians, to make Michael Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that Alexander Macedon, Tyberius Nero, Caligula, mention of Moles, that he taught there is but comits, and others, fought to be numbred among one God. But for that Divinity which he 6.7.761. them, who were as deformed Monsters as the hath written in Timao, Id ipsim de Deo disse ou so so. rest: for by what reason could the same Dei- ruit quod & Moses; He discoursed and taught the usper ty be denied unto Laurentia and Flora, which the same of God (saith Justine Martyr) which Exed 3.14 Moses did. For, where it pleased God by his Angel to answer Moses, Ego sum existens, (which is) I Am; and, Existens miss me ad vos; I am hath sent me unto you; herein did Plato (faith Justine Martyr) no otherwise differ than that Moses used the word (qui) and Plato the word quod: Moses enim, qui existit (inquit;) Plato, quod existit; for Moses But that ever Pythagoras or Plato, or Or-latth, He who is Plato, That which is. Now, of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the cellently learned, believed in any of these difficulty either to conceive, or express the fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some same, he given this testimony: Genitorem In Timas. of them (over-bufly) have mixed their own inventions with the Scriptures: for, in puallment for their fictions, did Pythagoras hard to find out the Creator of the Universal, hang both Homer and Hessed in Hell, where

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nitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam eri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus natura dignitate: & nihil est Deo similius & omnes intuctur. gratius, quam vir animo perfecto bonus ; The most high God is also an infinite God, not onely by exclusion of place, but by the dignity of nature: neither is there any thing more like, or more acceptable to God than a Man of a perfect heart. Thales affirmeth, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient: Quia nunquam esse capit-because he never had any beginning. Zeno, that God beheld even the thoughts of men; Athenodorus, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, because God was every where prefent, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to Moses story of the Creation, than this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in Euripides, Scholar of Anaxagoras?

Calum terraque unius forma fuit: Sed cum fuissent abjuncta amplexu mutuo, Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita; Arbores, aves, fera, quasque affert mare, Genusque mortalium.

Heaven and Earth one form did bear: But when dif-joyned once they were From mutual embraces, All things to light appeared then; Of trees, birds, beafts, fishes, and men The still-remaining races.

And as in Pythagoras, in Socrates, and in Plato; fo we find the same excellent understanding in orpheus, who every where exprefled the infinite and fole power of one God; though he use the name of Jupiter, thereby to avoid the envie and danger of the time: but that he could attribute those things to the Sons of men, and mortal creature, which he doth to this fupiter, there is no man, who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (faith Mirandula) quos Or-

bonus, & quidem Deus causa bonorum: malo- that he reacheth higher, and speaketh of vonus, o quiuem Dens canga vonoi nm. maio-rum autem omnium non canga; God is abjolute-God himself, this his instruction to Museus, Inmanient community and a good, and for (assured) the cause of all that and the Hymn following, teach us: Respici-1780000, and 10 (again easy) the camp of an total and the verb ad divinum hunc fermonem, et dilicause at all. And again, Charitas Dei suit genter animum adverte, intendens cordis raticansa factionis mundi, & originis omnium onis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascenrerum; The love of God was the cause of the de viam, & solum aspice mundi regem. Unus worlds creating, and the original of all things. eff ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sant : ipse Apuleius the Platonist; Summus Deus inst- verd in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intu-

Then marking this my facred speech, but truly lend

Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,

And fee the worlds fole King. First, he is fimply one,

Begotten of himself, from whom is born

All else; in which he's still: nor could it ere befall

A mortal eye to fee him once, yet he fees all.

And again the same Authour,

Jupiter omnipotens, et primus, et ultimus idem, Jupiter est caput & mediu: Jovis omnia munus. Jupiter est fundamen humi, & stellantisOlympi. Jupiter & mas est, & famina nescia mortis. spiritus est cunctis, validi vis Jupiter ignis. Et pelagi radix, Sol, Luna est Jupiter ipse. Rex & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem. Nam prius occuluit; magno post numine sacrum Cor reserans, bonus in dulce dedit omnia lucem.

The first of all is God, and the same last

God is the head and midst, yea from him

all things be, God is the base of Earth, and of the starred fkie.

He is the Male and Female too, shall ne-

The Spirit of all is God, the Sun and Moon, and what is higher.

The King th' original of all, of all the end, For close in holy breast he did all comprehend,

Whence all the bleffed light, his wondrous power did fend.

Now (besides these former testimonies) that all the learned men of antient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the Egypheus canit, non decipientium Damonum, à tians, Grecians, and other Nations by them quibus malum & non bonum provenit; fed na- infected were, I will only repeat two or three turalium virtutum divinarumque sunt nomina; other opinions, and leave the Readers to The names of those gods whom Orpheus doth those large and learned Collections of Justine fing, are not of deceiving Devils, from whom Martyr, Clemens, Lastantius, Eusebius, Euevil comes, and not goodness; but they are the gubinus, Pencer, Plessis, Daneus, and others, names of natural and divine Vertues. Yea, For Cleanthes the Stoick, being demanded

in that everlasting Country, whose image thou order their common people. hast none at all. Hereof also Xenophanes Colophonius: Unus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore nec mente mortalibus similis; There is one God among gods and men most powerful, neither corporally nor mentally like unto mortals: and Xenophon, Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensque, quod omnibus patet : qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui summus animi genitor, eternus animantium so- and that time which hath devoured it self, spirator, affiduus munds sui opifex, sine propa- hath also eaten up both the Bodies and Imagatione genitor, neque loco, neque tempore ullo ges of him and his: yea their stately Tem-Father of the foul, the eternal preserver of liv- any Monument of that glorious Temple coning creatures, the continual framer of his secrated to Diana. There are none now in world, a begetter without any propagation, Phanicia that lament the death of Adonis; comprehended neither in any place, nor time; nor any in Lybia, Creta, Theffalia, or elletherefore few can conceive him in thought, none where, that can ask counfel or help from Jucan express what he is. Therefore was it said by Saint Hierom, Si enim cundos Philosopho Pipes, Apollo's Priess are become speechless; rim revolves libros, necesse est ut in eis reperies and the trade of riddles in Oracles, with the in aliquam partem vasorum Dei : ut, apud Plato- Devils telling men's fortunes therein, is taken nem, fabricatorem mundi Deum: apud Zeno- up by counterfeit Egyptians, and couzening nem, Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immor- Aftrologers. tales animas, &c. If thou consider all the books of the Philosophers, thou canst not but find these his over-throws and dishonours: for

of what nature God was, described him by Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortal Souls, these Attributes and properties: Eonus, ju- &c. And this is certain, that if we look infins, fantius, seipsum possidens, utilis, speciosus, to the wisdom of all Ages, we shall find that optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, there never was man of folid understanding gloriosus, charitas, &c. Good, just, holy, post or excellent judgment; never any man selfing himself, prositable, beautiful, best, severe, whose mind the Art of education hath not free, alwaies doing good, safe without fear, glo-bended; whose eys a foolish superstition rious, and felf-charity. Epicharmus affirmed, hath not afterward blinded; whose apprethat God who beheld all things, and pierced hensions are sober, and by a pensive inspectievery Nature, was only and every where on advised; but that he hath found by an powerful: agreeing with Democritus: Rex unresistable necessity, one true God, and eomnium tiple solus; He is the only King of verlasting Being, all for ever causing, and all kings: and with Pindarus the Poet, Deus for ever sustaining; which no man among unus, Pater, creator summus atque optimus ar- the Heathen hath with more reverence actifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum knowledged, or more learnedly express d. merita prebet; One God, the Father, the most then that Egyptian Hermes, howsoever it faihigh Creator, and best artificer, who giveth to led afterward in his posterity: all being at every thing divers proceedings according to length by devilish policy of the Egyptian their deserts. This God (faith Antisthenes) Priests purposely obscured; who invented cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore new gods, and those innumerable, best fortnot elsewhere known; Niss in patria illa peren- ing (as the Devil perswaded them) with vulni, cujus imaginem nullam babes: Save only gar capacities, and fittest to keep in aw and

§. VIII.

That Heathenism and Judaism, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under Julian miraculously confounded.

DUt these are again vanished: for the in-Dyentions of mortal men are no less mortal Ince fina omnia perlustrat; God who spaketh then themselves. The Fire, which the chalall things, and setteth all things at rest, is great deans worshipped for a god, is crept into eand mighty; as is manifest to all: but of very mans chimny, which the lack of Fuel what Form he is , it is manifest to none, save starveth, Water quencheth, and want of only to himself, who illuminateth all things with Ayr suffocateth: Jupiter is no more vexed his own light. Finally, Plato faith, Totius re- with Juno's Jealouses; Death hath perswarum nature causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, ded him to chastity, and her to patience; comprehensus, eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini ples of Stone and dureful Marble. The houeffabilis; God is the cause, ground, and origi- ses and sumptuous buildings erected to Baal, nal of the whole nature of things, the most high can no where be found upon the Earth, nor

But it was long ere the Devil gave way to in them some part of the Vessels of God, as, in after the Temple of Apollo at Delphos (one of Plato, God the Creatour of the world: in Zeno, his chief mansions) was many times robbed,

CHAP. VII.

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re-edified again, till by the hand of God creep into the minds of men; and inhabitand Ornaments therein by the Eubwan Pyrates: Secondly, by the Phlegians utterly fack'd: Thirdly, by Pyrrhus the fon of Achilles: Fourthly, by the Army of Xerxes: Fifthly, by the Captaines of the Phocenses: new made, and therein again set up at the common charge. But whatfoever was gathered between the time of Nero and Conflantine, the Christian Army made spoil of, defacing as much as the time permitted time as Julian the Apostata sent thither to know the fuccess of his Parthian enterprise, at which time it was utterly burnt and confumed with fire from Heaven, and the Image of Apollo himself, and all the rest of the Idols therein, molten down, and lost in the Earth. The like success had the Jews in the same

Julians time, when by his permission they of Jerufalem: for while they were busied to in the narrow passage leading to his divine lay the foundations, their buildings were o-Am. Mar. thousands of the Jews were overwhelmed trance of manifold vanities; the other desoverthrown by an Earthquake, and many Mm. Mar. with the ruines, and others flain and scatter- late and over-grown with grass, by which ed by Tempest and Thunder: though Am. Marcellinus report it more favourably for the Jews, ascribing this to the nature of double and twofold opening, worldly mifeple, flaming Balls of fire isluing neer the foundation, and oft confuming the Workmen, made the Enterprize frustrate.

s. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Devil to maintain his Kinedom.

Ow the Devil, because he cannot play upon the open stage of this World, (as

burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence | in those daies) and being still as industrious the same was often enriched, repaired, and as ever, finds it more for his advantage to himself it received the last and utter subver- ing in the Temples of their hearts, works fion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols them to a more effectual adoration of himself then ever. For whereas he first taught them to facrifice to Monsters, to dead Stones cut into faces of Beafts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now fets before them the high and shining Idol of glory, the All-comman-Sixthly, by Nero: who carried thence five ding Image of bright Gold. He tells them hundred brazen Images: all which were that truth is the Goddess of dangers and oppressions, that chastity is the enemy of Nature, and lastly, that as all virtue (in general) is without tafte; fo pleasure satisfieth and delighteth every sense: for true wisdom (faith he) is exercised in nothing else, then them: notwithstanding all this, it was again in the obtaining of power to oppress, and of glorioully re-built, and to remained till such riches to maintain plentifully our worldly delights. And if this Arch-Polititian find in his Pupils any remorfe, any feeling or fear of God's future judgments, he perswades them that God hath so great need of men's Souls, that he will accept them at any time, and upon any condition: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timeful return towards God, by laying those great blocks affembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of rugged poverty and despited contempt presence. But as the mind of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the enenter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: so hath that of Death a that Element. For, faith he, Allypius and the ry passing by the one, worldly prosperity by Ruler of the province of Judea, being by the other: at the entrance of the one we Julian bussed in the re-edifying of this Tem- | find our fufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joys) at the other our cruelties, covetousness, licentiousness, injustice, and oppressions (the harbingers of most fearful and terrible forrow) ftaying for us. And as the Devil our most industrious enemy was ever most diligent: so is he now more laborious then ever; the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and Time neer at an end.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Noah's Floud.

of Gods fore-warning: and some humane Testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth

F this distruction it pleased God Hereof Nicolas Damascenns writeth in this len. 14. served themselves in the Arke. This Arke Mount Sion. God commanded Noah to prepare: And God faid unto Noah, Make thee an Arke of Pine- the most antient, howsoever he hath been

and his family excepted. But this universal grave of Waters, and Wives(in all eight persons) were only saved. general Deluge hath not been received by all: for divine testimonies do not perswade all natural men to those things to which their own reason cannot reach: Dum obvoluta in obscuro veritas latet: Whilest the truth lieth wrapt in obscurity. Many there are who have disputed against the universality of this Overflowing, and have judged that this floud of Noah fell but in some particular places and Kingdoms: moved to to think, because in elder Ages there have been many

to give warning unto Noah: manner, as his words are cited by Josephus, Jos. ani. who (faith Josephuis) fearing to Eff super Minyadam excelsus Mons in Armenia, 1.1 c. 4. perish among the rest, Decedens qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos consugioni- pres. L.g. cum suis in aliam regionem mi- tes sermo est distributivo tempore liberatos, & quen- c. 4. gravit: He departed with his children, and dam simul in Arca devection in hujus vertice travailed into another región. And of these hassife, lignorumque reliquias multo tempore Giants from whom Noab withdrew himself, conservatas, qui sortasse is fuit de quo citam Berosu writeth in this manner; That they ex- Moses Judaorum legislator scribit: thus sar ceeded in all forts of inhumane and unnatural this Author. There is (faith he) above Minyada wickedness, and that they were contemptores or the Country of Minya an exceeding high & religionis & deorum; contemners of reli- Mountain in Armenia, called Baris: on which gion and of the gods: among which mighty it is reported, that many having fled thither, men (faith Berofus) unus erat qui deorum vene- were faved in the time of the Deluge; and that rantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. bnic no one was carried in an Ark, and rested upon the men erat Noah: There was one more wife top of the Mountain, whereon there remained and reverencing the Gods then the rest, whose along time after certain pieces thereof; and name was Noah: who with his three Sons, this might be the same of which Moses the Law-Sem, Japhetus, and Cham, and with their given of the Jews makes mention. And of this Wives, and the wife of Noah, (namely, Titea opinion were the Talmudiffs (faith Annius) the great, Pandora, Noela, and Noegla) pre- that many Giants faved themselves upon

But Berosus (who, after Moses, was one of trees: thou shall make cabins in the arke, and since deformed and corrupted) doth in the shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. Substance of all agree with Moses as touching For God made Noah to know, that an end of the general Floud, taking from thence the all flesh was at hand, and that the graves of beginning of his History in these words: Ante the rebellious and cruel Generations were aquarum cladem famojam, qua universus perialready falhioned in the Clouds, which foon it Orbis, &c. Before that famous destruction after should swallow up and cover all living of Waters, by which the World universal perishcreatures which breathed in the Ayr, Noah ed: witnessing withall, that Noah with his Wife Titea, and his three Sons with their

6. II.

Of the Floud in the time of Ogyges: and that this was not Noahs Floud.

But from the vanity of the Greeks, the Corrupters of all truth (faith Lactantius,) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquity, came the errour first of all: otherFlouds(as they suppose) of that nature. | fought to perswade the World that there CHAP. VII

Caygium id appellant Poeta, tanquam pervetus dixeris ab Ogige vetustissimo: The Poets gave the name of Ogygia to things exceeding ancient, as of Ogyges the most ancient.

But let Ogyges be as ancient as those men Enfeb. de can make him, yet it is manifest that he lived Prop. L. but in Jacobs time (though Eufebius makes him later, and in Moses time) and was born 67. years after him. There is also an opinion that Og yees was Cadmus (and then was he farr later) as Rhodiginus in the ninth Book of his Antiquities remembreth: Sunt tamen qui in Ægypto regnasse autumant hune ; unde sit Cadmus,qui in Graciam profettus Thebas condidit, à Bove jugulato sic nuncupatas; quoniam Syrorum lingua Bos dicitur Thebe. There are (faith he) who think that this Ogvges did reign in Egypt, whereby he should be Cadmus, who travelling into Greece, built Thebes, so named of a Beef slain: because in the Syrian Language, a Beef is called Thebe.

But this Floud of Ogyges fell in the year of the World, 3440. according to Eusebius. who followed the account of the septuagint: and the Floud of Noah in the year 2242. after the same account: and so there came 1200. between these Flouds, wanting but two, though herein Eusebius was much miftaken, and corrected this opinion in his Chrotime of this overflowing in Achaia, or rather Attica, be not precifely fet down, but that there is a great difference among Writers yet wholoever makes it most ancient, finds above 500, years difference between that

and the general Floud. fore Rome was built. Bucholzerus faith, it ed (according to the same Bucholzerus) in the worlds year, 3219. though after the acyears, to which we (allowing 60. more) find same of Noah (except we call Noah, Og yges Prifcus, as some do) it appears by this, that the Floud of Ogyges then King of Attica, or

The first Book of the first Part was no Floud preceded the Floud of Ogyges, then the banks of Archipelago, or the Ege-Madi was not rough preceded the riods of ogress, the last state of the Thebans in Beotia, or rather of an Sea. For, whereas Mela, Pliny, and Soli-Paul King of the Inebans in Beosta, or rather of an oct.

Attica; and therefore (faith Rhodiginus) nus witness, that the City of Joppe in Judea of act to the found and that (not beauty of the found and that (not beauty of the found). withstanding the height of waters) there quites remained on certain Altars of Stone, the other parts of the standard of the st Title of the King, and of his Brother Phineus, insules with many of the grounds of their Religion: Munn fure it is no where found among prophane tom, si Historians, nor in the Scriptures, that ever in the Floud of Ogyges spred it self over any part of Syria, much less over all the Earth, But that it drowned both the Regions of Attica about Athens, and that of Achaia in Peloponnesus, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when Helice and Bura were swallowed up (Cities seated on the North part of Peloponnesus): of which

> Si quæras Helicen, & Buran, Achaidos urbes, out Invenies sub aquis.

Bura and Helice, on Achaian ground, Are fought in vain, but under Sea are found.

Of this Floud of Ogyges, was invented the we Fable of Apollo and Diana. For Latona, the Island Daughter of Caus, the Son of Titan, being beloved, and forced by Jupiter, and by him gotten with child, Juno thereat enraged, permitted her (as they fay) no part of the nologie. Now, although the very year and Earth to be delivered on; and withall, caused the monstrous Serpent Python, to follow and affright her, wherefoever she travelled; till at length arriving at the Isle of Ortygia, she was there received; in which she was delivered, first of Diana, and then of Apollo, being Twins; whereof Barlaam makes this ex-For, Paulus Orosus, affirms that this tempest | position: That at such time as the Deluge fell upon the Athenians, but 1040. years be- | (which happened in Og year his reign) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth was 1043 elder than Rome; wich was found- (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thick mists and fogs, that in Attica, and along the coasts of the Æcount which I follow (and whereof I wil give | gean Sea, neither the beams of the Sun by my reasons in the Story of Abraham) it was day, nor of the Moon by night, could pierce built in the Worlds year, 3280. Now, the general Floud preceded the building of 60 as when at length (the Earth being dried, Rome (faith Bucholzerus) 1563. years: and and these vapours diffipated) the ayr began the Floud of Ogges, (as before) 1043. Hence to be clear, the people of Ortygia espied the it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he light of the Moon somewhat before day, and collection) place Ogyges in his true age) the difference in the same morning the Sun also appeared: between these two Flouds must be 520. fabulously (because Diana represented the Moon, and Apollo the Sun) they were report-580. And that this of Ogges was not the ed to be born in the Isle of Ortygia, thereof afterwards called Delos; which fignifieth Manifestation.

And furely it is not improbable, that the Oggia, did not extend it self any farther Floud of Ogjger, being so great, as Histories

have reported it, was accompanied with \int were eating and drinking, when the Floud L_{Rde-17} . much alteration of the ayr, fenfibly discerned in those parts, and some unusual face of Skies. Varro in his Books, de gente populi Romani (as he is cited by S. Augustine) reports out of Castor, that so great a miracle happed twin.bei. in the Star of Venus, as never was feen before, in the Star of Venus, as never was feen before, ness, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out, as Adrastus Cyzicenus, and Dion Neapolites, famous Mathematicians affirmed, in the time of Ogyges.

Now, concerning the course of that, or have any were read of so good Astrologers, Cecropis (ut autem nostri, Eusebius & Hieflourishing among the Greeks, or elsewhere ronymus) adhuc eodem Cecrope permanente, in those days, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets, fo exact, that it should need no reformation: eth) Cranous the successor of Cecrops governed Of the colour and magnitudes I fee no rea- the Athenians, or, (as our Eusebius and Hiefon, why the difference found in the Star of rome fay) Cecrops yet living, that Floud (cal-Venus, should be held miraculous; consider- | led Deucalions) happened. ing, that leffer mifts and foggs than those which covered Greece with fo long darkness, do familiarly present our senses with as duxit ergo Moses ex Ægypto populum Dei no great alterations in the Sun and Moon. That viffimo tempore Cecropis Athenienfium Regis, the figure should vary, questionless it was cum apud Assyrios regnaret Ascatades, apud very strange: vet I cannot hold it any prodi- Sicyonios Marathus, apud Argivos Tripas: gie: for it stands well with good reason, that Moses led the people of God out of Egypt about the fide of Venus which the Sun beholds, be- the latter time of Cecrops, King of the Atheing enlightned by him, the opposite half nians, Ascatades reigning over the Assyrians, should remain shadowed; whereby that over the Sicyonians Marthus, and over the Planet would, unto our eyes, descrying one | Argives Triopas. So as leaving the curiofity ly that part whereon the light falleth, appear to be horned, as the Moon doth feem; this Floud of Deucalion was either at the if distance (as in other things) did not hin- egression of the children of Israel out of Eder the apprehension of our senses.

in the Stars many things unknown to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to have been disco-Whether some watry disposition of the ayr | World 2356. according to Codoman; then might represent as much to them that lived giving unto Dencalion 40. years of age when with ogyges, as Galileus hath seen through this Floud happened, it falleth within one his instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discovery of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince Man of ignorance, than Nature of errour. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but par- Floud of Dencalion, and the conflagration ticular Floud of Ogyges, was (as appeareth by this of S. Augustine) accompanied with fuch unusual (and therefore the more dreadfull, though natural) figns, testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of Noah, which was general, and altogether miraculous, may feem to have had no other token, or fore-

came fuddenly, and took them all away.

§. III.

of Deucalions Floud: and that this was not Noahs Flond: nor the Umbri in Italy, & remnant of any universal Floud.

Second Floud of great fame, and of A second Floud of great tame, and of which the time is more certain, was that of Deucalion in Theffalia; of which S. Augustin out of Varro: His temporibus (ut Varro scriany other Planet, I do not remember, that I bit) regnante Atheniensibus Cranao, successore Diluvium fuit, quod appellatum est Deucalionis: (that is) In these times, (as Varro report-

And in the beginning of the 11. Chapter of the faid 18. Book, he useth these words: Eof a few years, more or less, it appeareth, that gypt, or near it: and then after Noah 753. A worthy Astrologer now living, who by years, according to Functius, who makes Cethe help of perspective Glasses, hath sound | crops to live in the year of the World, 2409. or if we follow Mercator, then 739. years after Noah, and in the year of the World 23054 vered in Venus, by his late observations. But if Deucalion were born in the age of the year of Mercators account. But Deucalion, by all approved Historians, is said to have been 82. years old at that time. Now, Clemens Alexandrinus dates the time of this and burning in Phatton's time, by the Reign of Crotopus, King of the Argives; but Crotopus lived King of the Argives fix years after. Ifrael departed Egypt, which makes twenty years difference, according to Functius, who will have this Floud and Burning to have fallen 14. years before Moles left Egypt: for shewing, than the long preaching of Noab and Burning, the year 2440, and to Moles. he gave of the Worlds years to the Floud himself, which was not regarded: for they egression the year 2454. And yet Cedrenus

thinks that Mojes was more ancient, and | Antiquities) findeththis floud of Deucalion cedren 1.1. lived with Inachus; but that cannot be true: for then had the Floud of Deucalion, and the Burning of Phaëton preceded the Floud of Ogges, which is denied by all: for that of The flaly (called Deucalions) followed that of Attiva (called Og ggia) at least 250. years, or thereabouts. Eusebius in his Chronologie, makes it 230. and fo doth P. Orofius: Eufebius about the 30. year of Moles life, and Cyril-Ins about the 67. and both after Noahs Floud clem. A. 770. years: for these be Clemens Alexandrilex.1. Stro. nus his words: Fuit autem in Grecia tempore quidem Phornei, qui fuit post Inachum, inundatio que fuit tempore Ogygis: There happened in Greece, in the time of Phorneus, who lived after Inachus, the Floud of Ogyges. Now, if the Floud of Ogyges in Attica were 1020. or 1016. years before the first Olympiad, according to Eufebius and Orofius (as before;) then it is manifest, that taking 763.out of this number of 1020 it falls out, that Ogyges Floud happened before the Hebrews left Egypt 250. years, or 260. years, according to the difference between the opinions of Eusebius and Orofius. And for my felf (who rather follow those Chronologers, which give 60. years more to Abraham after the Floud. than the rest) I reckon the times which come between these Flouds in this fort. The general Floud was in the year of the World 1656. Jacob was born in the year of the World 2169. so as from the beginning of the Floud to Jácobs birth, there were consumed 513. years. Ogyges Floud happened 100. years after Jacob was born; and therefore after the general Floud 613. years. Now, Deucalion was born in the year of the World 2356.and had lived 82.years, when his kingdom of Thessaly was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his floud was after Noahs Floudended, 782. years. And hereto Annius his Xenophon agreeth, who makes 700, years between the general Floud and Dencalions birth; to which adde 82. years of his Age (as before) and then the floud of Thessaly followed the general 782. years. The words of that Xenophon are these: Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortumDeucalionis, secundo anno Sphæri, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta Theffaliam vidit inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of Deucalion, in the second year of Spharus, are numbered 700. years, and when Deucalion was 82.years old, he saw Thestaly drowned. This Floud hapned in the Winter time about Parnalius: witness Aristotle, in the first of his Meteors. And Varro (whom S. Augustine so often citeth for his excellent Learning, especially in

to have hapned in the time of Cranaus, who fucceeded Cecrops: Orofins thinks it fomewhat later, Amphitryon reigning in Athens, the third from Cecrops: Onely this of Deucalion was very great, and reached not onely over Thessaly it self, and the Regions adjoyning Westward, but it covered the greatest part of Italy: and either the same, or some other particular floud then hapning, opprest Egypt. faith Eusebius. And therefore did the Greeks either think it, or feign it to be universal; and Deucalion the King, faving himself, and some others on the Mountain of Thessaly (of all other the highest, saith Solinus) was by reafon thereof (as Strabo witnefleth) faid to be Strably the preserver of man-kind. That this floud Plink covered a great part of Italy, Pliny, and Soli-Salas nus make it probable, who affirm, that the Plant people then inhabiting Italy, were therefore called "oucein : quia ab imbribus diluvii superfuisient; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as Strabo confirmeth in his first Book, and Trezenius in his fecond: which Umbri these Authours make the Parents of the Sabines, and the Sabines to be the Parents of the Samnites, Piceni. Lucani, Brucii, and all other inhabiting anciently the banks of the Mediterrane Sea. But that these Umbri were not the Inhabiters of Italy before the Floud of Noah, and so took name by faving themselves upon the Appenine Mountains, the Scriptures teach us; shewing who. & who only then were preferved, which is sufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling us, that the first people which after the general Floud inhabited Italy, were the Cato in Originibus, another of Annius his Au-Camesenes; (so named from Camese, whom people lived altogether a favage life; till of Dun fuch time as Saturn arriving on those Coasts, with and Thallus among the Greeks; Nepos, Caffins, of and and Varro among the Latines, have preferved; and of whom Virgil:

Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus Olympo, Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis. 319 Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis Composuit, legesque dedit; Latiumque vocari

Saturn descending from the heavens high Fearing the Arms of Jupiter his Son, His Kingdom loft, and banisht thence, doth fly,

Rude people on the Mountain tops he won To live together, & by Laws: which done, He chose to call it Latium.

And afterwards in the Verses following he speaketh of the Ausones; and after them, of the Sicani: Nations, which again fought to dif-plant the antient Inhabiters:

Ving. 1. 8. Tum manus Aufonia, & gentes venere Sicani.

CHAP. VII.

Then came th' Ausoniam Bands, and the Sicanian Tribes.

that of Ogyges; and therefore (according to Januar ex those Gauls of France, but of those of Seythia, eaten, or) of defaced date. But as all the Pling, and Dionysius have assured us: and ly again, before the Umbri were ever heard and twenty Sons, the youngest called Oenoqual. 8. trius invaded Italy, who gave it the name of Ant. Pol. Oenotria. This name it held until Italus of the fame Nation changed it into Italy, after Giants faved themselves upon the Mountain fall of Troy. After these, came the Pelasgi, of whom Pliny in his third Book and fifth Chapter, and Strabo in his fifth, Thucydides in his fixth, speak at large: and after them ing thence the Umbri, took from them three Hils of Armenia by ship, ad Armeniam navigio hundred Castles, and built therein twelve | configiebat: who the third day (after the Cities; to which (after they had pollefs'd and past over the Appenine Mountains) they added divers others, whereof Telfina (afterward Bononia) was one.

Now that there was not antiently fuch a Nation as these Umbri in those parts, I do not sebius's words out of Abydenus, which may affirm; having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And stephanus thinks, that the name was derived from the Greek word Ombros; but that these Ombri of Italy were maketh mention of this general Floud. And descended of the Nation of Scythians (called Galli) it shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IV.

Of some other Records testifying the universal Floud: and of two antient Deluges in Egypt: and of some elsewhere.

Aint Augustine out of Varro affirmeth, that the Greeks and Latines made not any mention of the Universal Floud, because Of these sicani (which left spain, and sate they had nothing of Antiquity foregoing ftimony: who were again expelled by the Rhodoginus, before remembred) were all Ligii, laith Thucydides. After all these Planthings among the Greeks (which antiquity rations and re-plantations, came the Umbri, had worn out of knowledg) called Oggia, defeended of the Gauls (faith Annius) not of which we in English commonly call (wormwho commanded a great part of Italy, even parts of the Earth were successively planted all Hetruria and Campania; as Herodotus, and peopled; and as all Nations had their therefore this Floud of Dencalion, was long once and at the instant: so did every Family, proper times, and not their beginning at after that of Noah. For all those Nations which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledg of divine Letters was not received, find no Parent of more anof, or had being. So that Kingdom was first | tiquity, then such as they had themselves, nor called Camasene, then Latium or Saturnia, allow of any before their own; and as the then Ausonia, then Sicania; before the Um- Grecians, so did others vaunt themselves to bri (in whose time Dencalions Floud happe- be indigene, and growing out of the Earth, ned) possess d the same, about 306. years be- or invent some other prophane or ridiculous fore the War of Troy; Lycaon then govern beginning. But the Chaldeans had certain ing Arcadia: who being the Father of two knowledg of Noah's Floud, as Berofus witnesseth; and Nicolaus Damascenus maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforefaid) Baris in Armenia, but speaketh not thereof as from any authority approved: using the word sermoest; That such a speech there was. And Enfebius remembreth a place out of the Euf. de the Lydi, under Tyrrhems their Captain, that sissifishers, to preserve himself from a chathat gave name to the Tyrrhem; who cast-floud, fore-told him by Saturnus, fled to the antient Historian Abydenus: who writeth vang. 1. 4. waters were fallen) fent forth Birds, that finding no Land to rest on, returned again; which he also did a second time; but at the third return, the Birds feet were covered terms) of Noahs Floud.

Plato in Timeo produceth an Egyptian Priest, who re-counted to solon out of the holy Books of Egypt, the story of the Floud universal, which (saith he) happened long before the Grecian Inundations. Frier Annius his Xenophon remembreth a third Floud, which allo Diodorus Siculus confirmeth, fowewhat biod 1.11

CHAP. VII.

82

which happened (laith he) under the old vers times and Ages, not inferiour to any of Oggges; Jub prisco Ogrge, which was Noah. He these two last remembred, Niliaca and Phacalled the fecond, Niliaca; Hercules and Pro-ronica in Egypt: as in the year of our Remetheus then living, 44. years before that of demption 590. when in Odber of the fame Attica, in the 34. year of Belochus King of year, Gregory then being Bishop of Rome, the Afgrians, though I do not believe him as there happened a marvellous Overflowing touching the time. But this Floud covered in Italy, and especially in the Venetian Terria great part of the nether Egypt, especially tory, and in Liguria; accompanied with a all the Region subject to Prometheus; and most fearful storm of Thunder and Lighthereof came the fable of the Vulture on Proof Egypt: which fiction Diod. Sieulus deli- pents cast up and left upon the land after the vereth in these words: Fluvium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatemque aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum, Herculem, tum consilii cursum convertisse: Unde & Graci quidam Poeta, rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, Herculem tradunt Aquilam Promethei jecur depafcentem occidifie: This Floud (meaning of Nilus) for the swiftness of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Engle: so far extended and over-spread, turning it into the old channel: Whence certain Greek Poets (converting this labour and work of meaning that he delivered Prometheus of that forrow and torment, which for the loss of his people and Country (by the Waters destroyed and covered over) he suffered.

A fourth Floud chanced about Pharus in Egypt, where Alexander Macedon built Alexmoneths; and this happened under the first O- ded that Province, in the year 1156. gyges: the second was Niliaca, and of one moneths continuance, in the time of Hercules and Prometheus, Egyptians: a third of two moneths, under Ogyges Atticus: the fourth of three moneths, in Thessalia under Deucalion : and a fifth of the like continuance, (called Pharonica) under Proteus of Egypt, about the time of Helen's rape. Diodorus, in his fifth Book and eleventh Chapter, taking the Samothraces for his Authors, remembreth a Floud in Afia the less, & esse where, of no less destruction then any of the other particular | I have learned of some ancient Southsayers Inundations, faying, that the same happened among them) may be ascribed to natural before that of Dencalion; the Sea of Pontus causes and accidents; yet that universal

more antient then that of eggges in Attica. and Hellespont breaking in over the Land. For henamed the general Floud for the first, But there have been many Flouds in dimethens his Liver, afterward flain by Hercules at Rome, by reason of the many dead Ser-Waters decreased and returned. And in the year 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at Dordrock in Holmagnitudine, tum virtute, volunt è vostigio land: of which kind I take that Floud to be Magle compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem of Achaia or Attica. Before that, in the year 1238. Trithemius speaketh of an Earthquake, Ediffe which fwallowed many thousands: and af-united ter that of a Floud in Friseland, in which there perished 100000. persons. Strozius Si-min gog, in his Magia omnifaria, telleth of an Inmilitin
undation in Italy, in the time of Pope Damanifus the depth, was in those dayes cauce the Lagrebut Hercules by his great judgment and wirtue sum his River, fivallowed: another in the Papacie of Alexidate did again compress and straighten this River, swallowed: ander the fixth: also in the year 1515. Max. pulls imilian being Emperour. He also remember. pull etha perilous over-flowing in Polonia, about many Hercules into a fable) devised, that Hercules flem the Eagle which fed on Prometheus livers, Likewise Viginier, a French Historian, speaketh of a great Floud in the South part of Languedoc, which fell in Anno Domini 1557. with fo dreadful a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Judgment-day; faying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mounandria, as Annius conceiveth out of his Xe- tain, about Nifmes, there were removed dinophon, who in this brief fort writeth of all vers old heaps and mountures of ground, Xemp de these limindations: Inundationes plures fu- and many other places torn up and rent: aquin. comm. per ere: prima novimestris Inundatio terrarum by which accident there was found both Annian, Jub priso Ogyge: scunda Niliaca, &c. There coyn of Silver and Gold, divers pieces of fol. 37. mere many immediations (with the form V. were many Inundations (faith the same Xeno- Plate and Vessels of other Mettal, supposed phon:) the first, which was universal, of nine to be hidden at such time as the Goths inva-

6. V.

That the Floud of Noah was supernatural; though some say it might have been foreseen by the Stars.

70w, howfoever all these Flouds, and many other, which have covered at feveral times, several Regions, not only in these parts of the World, but in America also, (as

the whole face of the Earth by a power above Nature, and by the especial commandment of God himfelf; who at that time could effect, or any fecond causes by whatfoever union, could perform, without receiving from the Fountain of all power, ftrength and faculties supernatural. Henricus Mechliniensis, a Scholler of Albertus Magnus, in his Commentaries upon the great coniunctions of Albu Masar, observeth, that before the Floud of Noah, the like Conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn happened in the last degree of cancer, against that constellation, fince called the ship of Argos; by which the Floud of Noah might be fore-told, because Cancer is both a watry Sign, and the House of the Moon, which is the Lady of the Sea, and of moisture, according to the Noah did well know this Floud by divine revelation, (yet this conjunction being notorious)he could not be ignorant of the fecond from the first cause, which is God himself: and further, that by * Catarracta celi, English-Catarracta, fignifying flowing down, or comthey walked, and call unto God for mercy. understood, that the words Catarracta Cali, or Windows of Heaven, were to be taken for the former Conjunction, or for those watry greatest Inundations. His own words are these: Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum Catarractas Cæli vocâsse, nisi partes illas celi, que generative sunt pluviarum & inundationum Aquarum quales sunt signa aquatica, ut Cancer, &c. as aforesaid. As yet (faith he)

Floud (in the time of Noah) was poured over maters fuch as are the watry ligns of cancer, over But, in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his unsearchable wisdom this Conjunction should at such time be : fo gave strength of influence to the Stars, and did he (as aforesaid) adde vigour and faculabundance to the Fountains of the deep: ty, and gave to every operation increase of whereby the irruption of Waters was made vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and more forcible than any ability of nature Fountains, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heap of their waters: taking retention from the clouds, and condenling ayr into water by the ministery of his Angels, or whofoever elfe best pleased his All-powerfulness.

§. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of matter to make the universal Floud: And what are Catarracte Celi, Gen. 7. v. 11.

Ow, if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God refted the seventh day: (that is, he did not then after create any new species) which granted, rules of Aftronomy, and common experience. it may feem that then all the Earth and Ayr had not waters sufficient to cover the habiness confirmeth, affirming, that although table World affect cubits above the highest mountains. Of this proposition, whether God had so restrained himself, or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which causes thereof: for those were not only signs, is) that the World had want of water to but alloworking causes, by strength receiv'd over-cover the highest mountains, I take that conceit to be unlearned and foolish; for it is written, That the Fountains of the great deep ed the Windows of Heaven) Mofes meant were broken up, (that is) the waters for fook this great and watry Conjunction; the word the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatsoever was dispersed therein, pierced, and ing down Now (laith P. de Altaco) it pleased brake through the face thereof. Then let Cod to ordain by the course of the Heavens us consider, that the Earth had above one fuch a Constellation, by which all men might and twenty thousand miles, the Diameter of behold therin their destruction towards, and the Earth, according to that circle, seven thereby forfake those wicked ways wherein thousand mile, and then from the Superficies to the center, some three thousand five hun-Of this judgment was Gul. Parifiensis, who dred miles. Take then the highest mountain of the World, Caucasus, Taurus, Olympus, or Atlas, the mountains of Armenia, or Scythia, or that (of all other the highest) in Tennerif; figns, Cancer, Pifces, Pleiades Hyades, and Oriand I do not find, that he that looketh highm; and of the Planets, Mars, Venus, and the est, stretcheth above thirty miles upright. Moon: which are the forcible causes of the It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the Earth three thousand five hundred miles deep, should not well help to cover the space of thirty miles in height; this thirty miles upright being found in the I Perceive not what the Prophet of the Hebrews times: for the Fountains of the great deep were meaneth by those words (Catarratta celi, or broken up, and the waters drawn out of the Windows of Heaven unless be thereby under-bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we configuration. fandeth those celestral powers, by whose instruder what proportion the Earth beareth to ences are ingendred the rain and inundations of the extension of the Ayr over and above it,

we shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Ayr, as every where compasseth and imbraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conversion of Ayr into Water, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not feem strange to men of judgment, yea, but of ordinary understanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was covered over with Waters, without any new Creation.

Lastly: For the opinions of Gulielmus Parisensis, and Aliacensis, to which I may adde there was, fore-shewing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word Catarracta Cali, or Windows of Heano other answer than that observation of Lu-(faith he) there was never a more fair, dry, not be any fuch conjunction at that time.

formerly condenfed into drops.

s. VII.

of some remainder of the memory of Noah among the Heathen.

70ah, commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entred the Ark which he had built, with his own Wife, and his Sons, and his Sons Wives, taking with them of every Creature which took life by generation, feven of the clean, and of the unclean, two. Noah, according to Philo, figni-Berofus, and others, That such a conjunction fleth Quietness: after others, and according to the Prophecie of his Father Lamech, Ceffation'; to whom aftertimes gave many Names, answering his Antiquity, Zeal, Virven, was meant this conjunction; there needs | tue, and other qualities: as, The first Ogyges, because in the time of the Grecian Ogyges, dovicus Vives, who affirmeth, That by the there was also a great Floud of Achaia: 84gravest Aftrologian it was observed, that in turn they called him, because he was the Fathe year 1524, there should happen the like ther of Nations: Others gave him the Name conjunction as at Noah's Floud; than which of Prometheus, who was faid to steal away Jupiters fire; Fire in that place being taken and feafonable year: The like destruction and understood for the knowledge of God was prophefied, of the year 1588. But Pieus and heavenly things. Others think, that he Earl of Mirandula proveth, that there could was so called for his excellent wisdom and forefight. He had also the Name of Janus, To conclude, I find no other mysterie in the (id eft) Vinosus, because Jain signifieth Wine word Catarratta Celi, than that the clouds in the Hebrew. And so Tertulian finds him were meant thereby: Moses using the word written in libris Ritualibus, in the Books of Windows of Heaven (if that be the fense of Ceremonies, preceding both Saturn, Uranus, the word) to express the violence of the and Jove: which three enjoyed an elder Rains, and pouring down of Waters. For time then all the other ancientest feigned whosoever hath seen those fallings of Wa- gods. And this Name Jain is taken from the ter, which sometimes happen in the Indies, Hebrew and Syrian, and not from the Latine: which are called the Spouts, (where clouds for it was in use before there was any Latine do not break into drops, but fall with a Nation, or any Kingdom by that Name refiftless violence in one body) may properly known. Of the antiquity of Janus, Fabius use that manner of speech which Moses did; Pictor giveth this testimony : Jani etate nul-That the Windows, or Floud-gates of Hea- la erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pettoriven opened: (which is) That Waters fell bus nondum haserat ulla regnandi cupiditas, contrary to custom, and that order which &c. Vinum & Far primus populos docuit Jawe call natural. God then loosened the nus ad sacrificia: primus enim Aras & Fopower retentive in the uppermost ayr, and maria & Sacra docuit; In the time of Jathe Waters fell in abundance: Behold (fays nus (faith he) there was no Monarchy : for the Job he withholdeth the Waters, and they dry up defire of rule had not then folded it self about (or better in Latine, Et omnia siccantur; And the hearts of men. Janus first taught the people to all things are dried up) but when he sendeth facrifice Wine and Meal : he first set up Altars, them not, they defiroy the Earth: And in the inftituted Gardens, and solitary Groves, where-26 Chapter: He bindeth the waters in the in they used to pray; with other holy Rites and clouds. But these Bonds God loosed at that Ceremonies. A greater testimony than this time of the general Floud, and called up there cannot be found among all the Heathe Waters which slept in the great Deep; then, which in all agree so well with the Scriand these joyning together, covered the ptures. For first, whilest Noah flourished, Earth, till they performed the work of his there was not any King, or Monarch; Nimwill: which done, he then commanded them | rod being the first that took on him soveto return into their dark and vast Caves; and raign Authority. Secondly, Noah, after the the rest (by a Wind) rarified again into ayr, Floud, was the first that planted the Vine, and became an Husband-man; and therefore des offered the first-fruits of both (to wit) Wine

and Meal. Thirdly, he was the first that raised an Altar, and offered sacrifice to God plainerth in his fourth Book and sifth Chapter. a thanksgiving for his merciful goodness to-Arn. cont. Name of Bifrons (which was given to Janus)

CHAP. VII.

and after the Floud. Quia praterita noverit. & futura prospexerit, saith Arnobius: Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come. He was also in the person rested after the Floud. of Janus shadowed by the Name of Chaos, and Semen Orbis, The feed of the World: because, as out of that confused Heap was drawn all the kinds of Beafts and Plants; fo

ond de MeChaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant: Aspice quam longi temporis acta cano!

The Antient call'd me Chaos: my great

By those old times, of which I fing, ap-

He was also intituled Calum and Sol, Heaven and the Sun, for his excellent knowledg in Astronomy: Vertumnus, Bacchus, and Liber Pater; not that latter, which Diod. Siculus and Alex. Aphrodiseus so call, because he was the restorer of the Greeks to their former liberty, but in respect of the Floud. For the Greeks called Liber 27, and his Nurfes Hyades, of Rain, because Noah entred the Ark when the Sun joyned with the Stars Hy-Taurus, and ever after a Monument of Noah's Floud. He was also by others surnamed Triton, a Marine god, the Son of Neptune; because he lived in safety on the Waters. So was he known by the name of Dionysus, quasi Sopiarar, mentem pungens, Bite-brain, or Witfinger; though Diodorus conceive otherwife, and derive that name à Patre & Loco; Of his Father and the place of his Birth, (to wit) of Jove, and Nifa, a Town of Arabia Noah became an Husbandman. Now howsoever the Grecians vaunt of their Theban Bacchus, (otherwife Dionylus) it is certain, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention stolen from Naah. But this name of was built in some part of the Eastern World;

This first Bacchus (to wit) Noah, was furwards him. Noah was also signified in the named Nisus, of the Mountain Nya in India; where the Grecian Bacchus never came, because he beheld the times both before whatloover themselves seign of his enterprises: and these Mountains of Nysa joyn with those of Paropanisus, and those other Eastern Mountains, on which the Ark of Noah

Furthermore, to the end that the memory of this fecond Parent of Mankind might the better be preserved, there were founded by his Islues many great Cities, which bear his from Noah came all Mankind. Whereof Ovid Name, with many Rivers and Mountains; which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, because the many Names given Plin 1. 6. him, brought the same confusion to places as Trh. to himself. Notwithstanding all which, we Herod I. 4. find the City of Noah upon the banks of the Strabol. 7. red Sea, and elsewhere: the River of Noas in Thrace, which Strabo calleth Noarus; Ptolemy, Danus; dividing Illyria from Panonia. Thus much for the Name.

6. VIII.

Of fundry particulars touching the Ark: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion, and name.

Ow in what part of the World Noah built the Ark, it doth not appear in ades, a constellation in the Brow or Neck of the Scriptures, neither do I find any approved Author that hath written thereof; only Goropius Becanus in his Indo-Scythia conceiveth, that Noah built his Ark neer the Mountains of Caucasus, because on those hills are found the goodlieft Cedars: for when Alex. Macedon made the war among the people, called Nysai, inhabiting the other side of Caucasus, he found all their Burials and Sepulchres wrought over with Cedar. To this place (faith Becamus) Noah repaired, both to felix, faith Suidas, out of Orpheus. He had feparate himfelf from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God and Nature, as because he first yoaked Oxen, and Tilled the also because he would not be interrupted in ground: according to that of Moss; and the building of the Ark; to which also he addeth the conveniency of Rivers, to transport the Timber which he used, without

Only this we are fure of, that the Ark Bacchas, more antiently Bokens, was taken and to my understanding, not far from the (faith Gal. Stuckins, and out of him Daneus) place where it reflect after the Floud. For from Noachus, (N) being changed into (B); Noah did not use any Mast or Sayle (as in oand it is the more probable, because it can ther Ships) and therefore did the Ark no o not be doubted but that Noah was the first therewise move, than the Hulk or body of a planter of the Vine after the Floud: and of Ship doth in a calm Sca. Also, because it is Noah (the first and antient Bacchus) were all not probable, that during these continual

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moved from the place where it was fashio-Gen. 8. 1. made a Wind to pass upon the Earth, and the Waters ceased. And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storm or forcible wind at all, which could drive the Ark any great distance from the place where it was first by the Waters lifted us. This is also the more probable, if that antient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the Ark had fundum the Waves for the better speed.

This kind of Vessel the Hebrews call Thebet, and the Greeks Larnax, for fo they termed Deucalions Ship: and some say, that the Hill Parnassus, to which in eight days he arrived, was first called Larnassus, and by the chang of (L) into (P) Parnassus; but Pausamias thinks that it took name of a Son of the Nymph Cleodora, called Parnassus, the Inven-

tor of Auguration.

Pencerus finds the word (Parnassus) to ne Oracul. have no affinitie with the Greek, but thinks it derived from the Hebrew word Nahas, which fignifieth Auguration and Divination; Oracles, in the Leaf before cited.

Tosephus calls the Ark, Machina, by the ge-Sancluary, but Thebet such a Vessel, as swimmeth, and beareth it felf upon the Waters.

Lastly, this Ark of Noah differed from the fashion of a Ship, in this, that it had a Cover and Roofe, with a Crest in the middest thereof, and the fides declining like the Roof of an House; to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder Noah the many Beafts, which filled the other rooms

and parts of the Ark.

uncertain. The Hebrew word Gopher once, and in this place only used, is diverfly underfrood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the Geneva Translation calls it Pine-tree; the Rabbine, Cedar; the Seventy, square Timber; the Latine, fmooth Timber. Others will have it Cypress Trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypress is worn at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word Gopher fignifie any special kind of Timber, Noah obeyed

and down-right Rains, there were any the voice of God therein, If not, he was Winds at all, therefore was the Ark little not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, having the promise of ned and fet together: for it is written, God God, and his Grace and mercy for his defence : For with Noah God promifed to efta- V. 18. De Civit. blish his covenant. Plinie affirmeth, that in 6.80. Egypt it was the use to build Ships of Cedar. which the worms eat not; and he avoweth. that he saw in Vtica, in the Temple of Apollo, Cedar beams, laid in the time of the foundation of the City, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 1188. years after: proving thereby, that this kind planum, A flat bottom, and not rayled in form of wood was not subject to putrifying or of a Ship, with a sharpness forward, to cut mouldring in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet favour, lasting also better then any other wood, and because neer the place where the Ark rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the Mountains of the East, besides those of Libanus; it is probable enough that the Ark might be of that wood: which hath, beside the other commodities, the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build Ships withal, Pererius conceiveth, that the Ark had divers forts of Timber, and that the bottom had of one fort, the deck and partition of another; all which may be true or false, if Gopher may or from Har or Parai, as in his Chapter of be taken for Timber in general. True it is, that Cedar will ferve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the Body, as for Masts and neral name of a huge Frame; and Epiphani- Yards. But Noah had most respect to the dius out of the Hebrew, Aron: but herein lieth rection received from God: to the length, the difference between Aron and Thebet, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of That Aren fignifieth properly the Ark of the the Ark; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabins; thereby to fever the clean Beafts from the unclean, and to preserve their several forts of Food; and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when Noah had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels steered this Ship without a himself and his children might shelter, and Rudder, and directed it without the help of 6. 4. separate themselves from the noysomness of a Compass or the North star. The Pitch which Noah uled, is by some supposed to have been a kind of Bitumen, whereof there is great quan-Of what Wood the Ark was built, it is tity about the Vally of sodom and Gomorrah, Part now the dead Sea, or Afphaltes, and in the Region of Babylon, and in the West India: and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sun, but by the Fire only, after the manner of hard Wax.

§. IX.

That the Ark was of Sufficient capacity.

He Ark, according to Gods commandement, had of length three hundred Cubites Cubits, fifty of breadth, and thirty deep or it was not needfull to take any kinds of God travelling in this world as a stranger, and not the Waters which God cursed; for of Man Jesus Christ did hang: for even the very thereth hereupon (as aforesaid) that so huge 1.5.6.27.

measure of the length, heighth and breadth, un- a Frame needed not. (wereth the shape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was fore-told and

fured, it hath been a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the diffences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (called the common) containeth one foot and a half, measured from the sharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the Palm-Cubit) which taketh those Beasts which are of mixt natures, eione handfull more than the common. The third is called Regius Cubitus, or the Perfian Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit | might be generated again by others: as the three inches. The fourth is the facred Cubit,

By what kind of Cubit the Ark was mea-

which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by difpart.Lastly, there is a fifth Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth fix common Cubits. But of all these forts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now

a less proportion of bodies, so is the common Cubit from the fharp of the elbow to

than it was in elder times.

Saint Augustine, considering the many sorts of Beafts and Birds which the Ark held, with their food and water, was sometime of opinion, that the Ark had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almost | dians, are now changed to Wolves, and befix of the common: For, measuring the Ark by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacity of that Veffel built by Hiero of Syracuse, or the Ship of Ptolemy Philo-pater. But India is full of red feathers in the drowned S. Augustine (who at the first was led by Origen) changed his judgment as touching the bird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with Geometrical Cubit; and found, upon bet- black and carnation in the North parts of ter confideration, that there needed not fo Virginia. The Dog-fill of England is the

high: by which proportion, it had fix parts Fishes into the Ark, because they were kept of length to one of breadth, and ten times living (faith S. Augustine) in their own Elein length to one of depth; of which S. Au- mene. Non fuit necesse conservare in Arca que gustine: Proculdubio sigura est peregrinan- possent in aquis vivere, non solum mersa sicut tis in koc seculo Civitatis Dei. (hoc est) Eccle- Pisces, verum super-natantia, sicut multæ alithe que sit salva per lignum, in quo pependit tes: It was not needfull to conserve those crea-Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Jesus Chritture in the Ark, which could live in the Wafins : nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, alti- ters; and not onely Fishes which can live untudinis. latitudinisque ejus significat corpus ku- der water, but also those Fowls which sit and manum, in cujus veritate ad homines pranun- swim on them. And again, Terra, non aqua, ciatus eft venturus, & venit, &c. Without maledicta; quia Adam non kujus, sed illius doubt (faith he) it is a Figure of the City of fructum vetitum comedit: It was the Earth, (that is) of the Church, Saved by the Tree, where the forbidden fruit of the Earth and not of (that is) of the Church, Javea by the cree, where- the Jornaden fruit of the Larin and not of upon the Mediator between God and Man, the the sea, did Adam eat. So, as S. Augustine ga- Chui.Dei,

And if we look with the eyes of judgment hereunto, we shall find nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more of mischief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reason, found many impossibilities in this work of God. But it is manifest, and undoubtedly true, that many of the species, which now feem differing, and of feveral kinds, were not then in rerum natura. For ther they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to preserve them, seeing they Mules, the Hyana's, and the like; the one begotten by Asses and Mares, and the other covering of strange Lands, wherein there are found divers Beafts and Birds, differing in colour or stature from those of these Northern parts; it may be supposed by a superficial confideration, that all those which were red and pied skins, or feathers, are differing from those that are less painted, and wear plain ruffet or black; they are much mifthe point of the middle finger, of less length taken that so think. And for mine own opinion, I find no difference, but onely in magnitude, between the Cat of Europe, and the

Ounce of India; and even those Dogs which

are become wild in Hifpaniola, with which

the Spaniards used to devour the naked In-

and low Islands of Caribana; and the Black-

gin to destroy the breed of their Cattel, and do also oftentimes tear asunder their own India. Children. The common Crow and Rook of

huge a Body to preferve all forts of Crea-Shark of the South Ocean: For if colour or tures, by God appointed to be referved. For magnitude made a difference of species, Men, but some kind of strange Beasts: and the measure of Giantly stature; which meafo the Giants of the South America (hould | fure (doubtles) might give much the more be of another kind, than the people of capacity to the Ark 3 although it be also prothis part of the World. We also see it daily, bable, that as the Men were, so were the horses that the natures of Fruits are changed by whereon they rode, and all other Creatures transplantation, some to better, some to of a correspondent size. And yet, (as I take worfe, especially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting; and the best Melons will hard to conceive, how all the diffine fleeies change in a year or two to common Cowtures, as they were by God created, or out those dimensions which the Ark had; allow-Ark after the measure of the common Cubit, was sufficiently capacious to contain of all, necessity, that those large bodies which were according to the number by God appointed: in the days of Noah, might have room sufficito the common Cubit, which had a foot and bit of length proportionable. a half of Giantly stature (and less allowance and 60. foot in depth.

Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty Cubits, named may suffice. For if the Bed of Og, King and the product by the height of thirty Cubits, of Basan, had been nine Geometrical Cubits sheweth the whole Concavity to have been long, it had taken 54. Cubits of the common, 450000. Now, whereas the pofts, walls, and which make 80. foot : and Goliah, who had other partitions of Lodgings may feem to the length of fix Cubits and an handfull, have taken up a great part of the hollow: which makes nine foot and a handfull(a pro- the height of the roof, which (the perpendiportion credible) if these Cubits had been cular being one Cubit) contained 7500. cu-Geometrical, then had been 54. foot in pical Cubes was a sufficient recompence: If height, and upwards, which were monstrous therefore in a Ship of such greatness we seek and most incredible: for (according to this room for 89. distinct species of Beasts, or proportion) had the head of Goliah been (left any should be omitted) for 100. sevenine foot long, and farr weightier and big-ger then all David's body, who carried it them, and for the Birds, which in bigness are

their Office. Wherefore I may conclude, taken by two of each kind, so that in all that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures there were in the Ark one and twenty great

then were the Nigro's, which we call the was not the Geometrical, but the ordinary Black-Moors, non animalia rationalia, not Cubit of one foot and a half, according to it) though by this means there were not any whit the more room in the Ark, it were not of Animals, whose lives cannot be preserved cumers, by being fet in a barren foyl. There- in the Waters, might according to their prefore, taking the kinds precifely of all Crea- fent quantities be contained in a Veffel of of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the ling to the Cubit one foot and a half of our now usual measure: whence it followeth of For if we adde but half a foot of measure ent in the Ark, which was measured by a Cu-

How the appointed number of Creatures we cannot give to the difference between to be faved. (that is, feven of the clean, two them and us) then did the Ark contain 600. of the unclean, with necessary food) might foot in length, and 100. foot in breadth, have place in the Ark, Butao hath very learnedly declared: the brief fumm of whole But first of all, to make it manifest that the Geometrical Cubit is not used in the of the Ark was three hundred Cubits, which no way answerable to them; and for meat to Again, if the Geometrical Cubit had been fustain them all. For there are three forts of used for a Measure in the Scripture, as many | Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantity best Commenters have observed, then had the known; the Beef, the Sheep, and the Wolf: Altar (appointed to contain five Cubits of to which the rest may be reduced, by saylength, five of breadth and three of height) ing, (according to Ariftotle) that one Elereached the length of 27. foot upright, phant is answerable to four Beeves, one Liand so must their Priests have ascended by on to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of steps or Ladders to have performed their Beasts, some feed on vegetables, others on Sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to flesh. There are one and thirty kinds of the Gods Commandment, given in these words: greater fort, feeding on vegetables: of which Thou shalt not go up with steps unto mine Altar, number onely three are clean, according to that thy shame be not discovered thereon; and the Law of Moses, whereof seven of a kind therefore was the Altar but three common entred into the Ark, namely, three couples Cubits high, which make four foot, that for breed, and one odde one for facrifice: their Priests standing thereby might execute the other eight and twenty kinds were Beafts clean, and fix and fifty unclean, efti- Floud; and all Story, as well general as parmable for largness as ninety one Beeves; yet ticular, thereby may be the better underfor a supplement (lest perhaps any species stood. he omitted) let them be valued as an hundred and twenty Beeves. Of the leffer fort feeding on vegetables, were in the Ark fix and twenty kinds, estimable, with good allowance for supply, as fourscore Sheep. Of those which devour flesh were two and thirty kinds, answerable to threescore and four Wolves. All these two hundred and eighty Beafts might be kept in one ftory or room of the Ark, in their feveral Cabins; their meat in a second: the Birds and their provifion in a third, with place to spare for Noah and his Family, and all their necessaries.

5. X.

That the Ark rested upon part of the Hill Taurus (or Caucafus) between the East-Indies, and Scythia.

II. I.

A Præterition of some Questions less material: with a Note of the uje of this Question to find out the Metropolis of Nations.

Hat time *Noah* took to build the *Ark*, I leave to others to dispute: but he received the Commandment from God an hundred years before the Waters fell; and had therefore choice of time, and leifure fufficient. As for the number of Decks and Partitions, which Origen divides into four, Saint Augustine into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controversie: or, whether those Creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called Alegartos) the Sea-Cows, or Sea-Hories, were kept in the Ark, or no, I think it a needless curiosity; and yet to this faith Pererius, and others before him, that a Fish-pool might be made as well with-

||. II.

A Proposal of the common opinion, that the Ark refted upon some of the Hills of Ar-Nd first, for the true place where the

Ark rested after the Floud, and from what part of the World the Children of Noah travelled to their first settlement and plantation, I am resolved (without any prefumption) that therein the most Writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led so to think out of any Humour, or newness of opinion, or fingularity; but do herein ground my self on the original and first truth, which is the word of God, and after that upon reafon, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, That the Ark stayed upon one of the mountains of Ararat, which the Chaldean Paraphrast hath converted Kardu, meaning the hills Gordei, or Gordiei, in Armenia the greater (as the words Gordai, and Kardii, feem to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are: I find neither Scripture nor Reason which teacheth any fuch thing (towit) that it rested on that part of Ararat, which is in the greater Armenia. Nicolaus Damascenus calls this Mountain of Ararat, Baris; being the same Gen. 8.4. which the Chaldean nameth Kardu, to which Mountain the Frier Annius (citing this place out of Josephus) makes him find another adjoyning, called ocila, and to fay that the Ark (of which Moses the Law-giver of the Hebrews wrote) did first take ground on this Ocila. But I do not find any fuch Mountain in being, as this Ocila, neither is there any mention of it in the place of Josephus. Strain the Ark, as in Hiero his Ship of Syracuse. lix of that name; and Pliny finds a Martbo remembreth a Promontory in Arabia fee-Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove town so called in the same, which Ptolemy the foolery of the Hebrews, who suppose calls Ocilis, Pinetus Acyla, and Niger Zidon. that the Ark was lightened by a Carbuncle, But this Ocila of Damascenus, or rather of Anor had Windows of Crystal to receive in nins, seemeth to be one and a part of the Ari Light, and keep out Water, were but to re- menian Mountains. Berofus calleth those vive the buried vanities of former times. Mountains of Armenia Gordiei, and Curting But that which I feek most to satisfie my self | Cordei: Ptolemy Gordei and Gordiei: of and others in, is, In what part of the World which the Countrey next adjoyning is, by 17. the Ark rested after the Floud : because the this Nicolaus Damascenus, called Nymidda, true understanding of some of these places perhaps (as Becanus conjectures) for Milya-(as the feat of the terrestrial Paradise, and dd, or rather Minni: which word is used for the resting of the Ark) do onely and truly Armenia Minor. And the very word of Armenia Minor. teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Minni, and Aram: as if we should say Minni

CHAP. VII.

1.5. c. 12. Syria, Pliny witnesseth. Epiphanius placeth the Cardyes about these Mountains, whom others call Gordieni or Gordeni. The Mountains are feated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the Mountains called Taurus, or Niphates, in the Plains of Armenia the great, near the Lake Thospins: whence passage, the navigable River of Tygris offerthe River of Tygris floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. & 52. degrees of latitude. One of the Mountains, Gordiei (that which furmounteth the rest) Epiphanius calls Lubar, name (saith Junius) was of the event, because of Noahs coming down with his chilevent; feeing any Hill from whence on every fide we must descend, may thus be called: as Junius corrects the place in Josephus Anig I.t. Ao Cagis (Kubaris.) That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, because Joseph. 1.1. c.4. Age, receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any further examination; although the name of Lubar might otherwise rightly be given, especially to that Mountain, by reason that the passage was more fair, up and down unto it, than to any of the rest adjoyning.

). III.

The first Argument against the common opinion.They that came to build Babel, would have come fooner, had they come from fo near a place as Armenia.

OUt there are many Arguments to per-I fwade me, that the Ark of Noah did not rest it self in any part of Armenia, and that the Mountain Ararat was not Baris, nor any one of the Gordiean Mountains.

For the first: It is agreed by all who follow Berosus, that it was in the year 130. or in the year 131. after the Floud, when Nimand Chaldea. If then the Ark had first found That the place of Philostratus in vita Apol-

Na. Hill. of Syria; for that Armenia also was a part of Land in Armenia, it is very unprobable, that Valley, could have spent so many years in so short a passage: seeing the Region of Mesopotamia was onely interjacent, which might by easie journeys have been past over in twenty days; and to haften and help which ed it self, which is every where transpassable by Boats of great burthen: fo as where the Defart on the one fide refifted their expedition, the River on the contrary fide ferved which in the Armenian fignifieth a place of to advance it; the River rifing out of the descent: but this out of Josephus. Which same Ledge of Mountains, or at the foot of posed to settle it self; Then, if the Nations dren. But this also I take to be a supposed which followed Nimred still doubted the furprise of a second Floud (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrews) it soundeth ill to the ear of reason, that they would have fpent many years in that low and overflown Valley of Mesopotamia, so called, of the mafays, the place is called Anceamour (as it were ny Rivers which imbroider or compass it: the descent or coming down) and Epiphanius for the effects witnessed their affections, and lib. 1. contr. Heref. calls it Afont, which word the works which they undertook, their unin the Armeuian and Egyptian Tongue fignibelief; being no fooner arrived in Shimar, fieth Descent, of Lubar, which is to descend; but they began to provide themselves of a whence also Lubra is a Synagogue, because it defence (by creeting Babel) against any was commonly built on some high place: future or feared Inundation. Now, at Babel whereof also the Latine Delubrum may seem it was, that Nimrod began his Kingdom, the to be derived; and AUs 6. 9. they that be- first known City of the World, sounded aflonged to the Synagogue of the Egyptians are ter the Floud, about 131. years, or (as others called Libertini, for Lubra tenn. Yet this suppose) ten years later: though (for my opinion hath been embraced from Age to felf.) I rather think that they undertook that work in two respects; first, to make themfelves famous, To get us a name (faith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to usurp dominion for the manual factors. over the rest.

| IV.,

The second Argument; That the Eastern People were most ancient in populosity, and in all humane glory.

Or a fecond Argument: The civility, magnificence, and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the World first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be faid for Armenia, and for Noah's taking Land there. And that this is true, the use of Printing and Artillery (among many other things which the East had) may easily perswade us, that those Sunrifing Nations were the most ancient. The certainty of this report, that the East-Indians (time out of mind) have had Guns and Ordrod came into the Valley of Shinar, which nance of battery, confirmed by the Portugali Valley was afterward call d Babylonia, Chulb, and others, make us now to understand,

lonii Tianei, l. 2. c. 14. is no fable, though pingari) Venetus maketh this report: Incole written on Fillars of Stone (as before remem- doms of the World. bred) long before the Floud. But from the Eastern world it was that John Guthenberg a Germane, brought the device of Printing: by whom Conradus being instructed brought the practice thereof to Rome: and after that Nicolaus Gerson a Frenchman, bettered both the Letters and Invention. And notwith standing that this Mystery was then supposed to be but newly born, the Chinois or Phanicians; and also the Art of Printing, knowledg, or any Letters among them.

other nations but falvages in respect of them-

And to add strength to this argument, the conquest and story of Alex. Macedon may justly be called to witness, who found more Cities and fumptuofity in that little King-East India, then in all his other travails and undertakings. For in Alexander's time, far to the West as Rome. Alexander esteeming of Italy but as a barbarous Country, and of Rome as of a Village. But it was Babylon that stood in his eye, and the same of the as the Sun-rising, and hear Paulus Venetus what he reporteth of the uttermost Angle the West. For the farther East (to this day)

expressed in fabulous words when he saith, religioni, literis & sapientia sunt additissimi. that the wife men, which dwell between & veritatis indagatores acerrini; nihil illis Haphafis and Ganges, use not themselves to go frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) saforthinto Battel: but that they drive away cris in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt their Enemics with Thunder and Lightning Principem, unum Deum adorant: The Island fent from Jupiter. By which means there it ders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letis faid, that Hercules Ægyptius and Bacchus, ters, and philosophy, and most diligent searchjoyning their forces, were defeated there; ers out of truth: there is nothing among them and that this Hercules there cast away his more frequent then prayer, which they use in golden Shield. For the invention of Let- their Churches, after the manner of Christians; ters was ignorantly ascribed to Cadmus, be- They acknowledg one King, and worship one God. cause he brought them first into Greece: of The antiquity, magnificence, civility, riches. which the people (then rude and favage) fumptuous buildings, and policie in governhad reason to give him the honour, from ment, is reported to be such by those who whom they received the benefit. But it is have been imployed in those parts, as it true, that Letters are no less antient then seth seemeth to exceed (in those formerly named, or Henoch were: for they are faid to have and diversother particulars) all other King-

1. V.

The third Argument, from the wonderful refistance which Semiramis found in the East Indies.

Dut for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the invahad Letters long before either the Egyptians fion of Semiramis before the indifferent and advised Reader: who may consider in what when as the Greeks had neither any civil Age she lived, and how soon after the Worlds new birth she gathered her Army (as Dio-And, that this is true, both the Portugals dorus Siculus out of Ctesias reporteth) of and spaniards have witneffed, who about more then three millions to invade India, an hundred years fince discovered those to which he adjoyned also 500000. Horse; Kingdoms, and do now enjoy their rich and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we betradestherein: for the Chinois account all lieve but a third part, it shall suffice to prove that India was the first planted and peopled Country after the Floud. Now as touching the time wherein the lived: All Historians confent that the was the Wife of Ninus, and the most approved Writers agree, that Ninus was the Son of Belus, and Belus of Nimrod, dom of Porus, which lay fide by fide to the that Nimrod was the Son of Chuh, Cufb of Cham, and Cham of Noah. And at fuch time as Nimrod came to Shinaar, he was then a learning and greatness had not travailed so great Nation, as by the building of the City and Tower of Babel may appear; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast between Nimrod and Semiramis, brought forth in that time those multi-East pierced his ears. And if we look as far tudes, whereof her Army was composed. Let us then see with whom she encountred and Hand thereof, we shall find that those even with a multitude, rather exceeding, in that War with this her powerful Army: Nations have fent out, and not received; then equalling her own, conducted by Stanlent knowledg, and not borrowed it from robates King of India beyond Indus; of the more civil; the farther West, the more siculus; Staurobates coastis majoribus, quam whose multitudes this is the witness of Diod. Salvage. And of the Isle of Japan (now Zi- que erant Semiramidis, copiis: Staurobates

CHAP. VII.

Semiramis. If then these numbers of Indians had been increased but by a Colonie fent out from shinaar (and that also after Babel was built, which no doubt took some time in the performance) this increase in the East, and this Army of Staurobates must have been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which Semiramis gathered might easily grow up in that time, from so great a Troop as Nimrod brought with him into Babylonia (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Story of Israel) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies of men as were in the Indian Army victorious over Semiramis, if the Colonies fent thither had been to late as Babel overturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if we allow 65. years time after the Floud, before Nimrod was born: of which, thirty years to Cush ere he begat seba, after whom he had Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabtecha: and then thirty years to Raamah, ere he begat Gen. 10.7. Sheba and Dedan, both which were born before Nimrod: and five years to his five elder Brothers, which make fixty five, and then twice thirty years for two Generations more, as for Nimrod, Sheba, and Dedan with others, to beget their Sons; and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all an hundred twenty five years; there will then remain fix years to have been spent in travailing from the East, ere they arrived in Shinaar, in the year after the Floud 121. And so the followers of Nimrod might be of fufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at Shinaar in the year 101. and the Confusion to have been at Pelegs birth, these men do all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the help of time; and build Nimrods Tower in the Ayr; and not on those low and marish grounds (which require found foundations) in the Plains of Shinaar. For except that huge Tower were built in a day, there could be no confusion in that year 101. or at Pelegs birth. And therefore it is far more probable, that Nimrod usurped Regal authority in the 131. year after the Floud (according to Berofus) and that the Work of Babel lasted fourty years (according to Glycas) Hominibus in ea perficienda totis 40. annis incassum laborantibus; Men labouring in vain 40. years to finish it. By which account it falls out that it was 170. years after the Floud, ere a Colonie was fent into East India; which granted, (the one being the main Body, and the other but a Troop taken thence) it can hard-

gathering together greater Troops then those of exceeded Semiramis in numbers: who begathered the most of Nations into one

||. VI.

The fourth Argument from divers considerations in the person of Noah.

Ourthly, it is no way probable, that No-ab, who knew the world before the Floud, and had lived therein the long time of 600. years, was all that space 130. years after the Floud without any certain habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that Nimrod was but the conductor of those people, by Noah destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Western World; (which Travails Noah put over to young and able bodies) and that Noah himself, then covered with many years, planted himself in the same place which God had affigned him; which was, where he first came down out of the Ark from the waters: for it is written, that after Noah came down out of the Ark, he planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman, whose business was to dress and manure the Earth; and not to range over so many parts of the world, as from Armenia into Arabia fælix, where he should (if the Tradition be found) have left certain Colonies: thence into Africa towards Triton: then into Spain where they fay he fetled other companies, and built Cities after the names of Noela and Noegla his Sons Wives: from thence into Italy, where they fay he found his Son Cham the Saturn of Egipt, who had corrupted the people and fubjects of Gomer in his absence: with whom Noah (as they make the story) had patience for three years; but then finding no amendment, they fay he banish'd him out of Italy. These be but the fancies of Berosus Annianus, a plain imitation of the Grecian fables. For let every reasonable man conceive, what it was to travail far in fuch a Forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the Earth by the Floud, the same lay wast and over-grown for 130. or 140. years, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or passage through which men were able to creep for Woods, Bushes, and Bryers, that in those years were grown up.

And there are so many reasons, proving that Noah never came into the Valley of shinaar, as we need not suspect his passage into Italy or Spain: For Noah who was Father ly be believed that Staurobates could have of all those Nations, a man reverenced both for his Authority, Knowledg, Experience | ther forgotten or neglected, had he not (in unbelieving prefumptuos work of Babel, Rather by his presence and prevalent perswaover his children and people. Certainly, Noah knew right well, that the former destruction of man-kind was by themselves purchased through cruelty and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise up building against his Almighty power was as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay upon them the same, if not a more sharp affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came fo far West as Babylonia; but rather, that he fent those numbers which came into shinaar (being the greatest troop, because they had the greatest part of the World to plant) under Nimrod, orthose upon whom he usurped. Nauclerus, and Calestinus, take the testimony of Methowere three Leaders of the people after their increase (to wit) Nimrod, Suphene, and Jodan, of which Nimrod commanded the iffues of Cham, Jottan of sem, and suphene of Japhet. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a work as the Worlds Plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sons of Sem: Jostan, Havilah, and Ophir, are especially noted to have dwelt in joyning to Indus, and held also a part of Chaldea for a time: for Abraham inhabited Or, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sons of Jostan, or of all the rest a certain number (Cham and his iffue onely excepted) that Noah kept Plantation I shall speak at large in the Chap-

ter following.

Now, another reason which moves me to believe that Noah stayed in the East far away from all those that came into Shinaar, is, that Moses doth not in any word make mention of Noah in all the Story of the Hebrews, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And Noah being the Father of all man-kind, and the chosenservant that the Ark of Noah stood on the Mountain's of God, was too principal a Person, to be ei- of Armenia, he beginneth with the antiquity

and Piety, would never have permitted his respect of his age and wearisome experience children and iffues to have undertaken that of the World) withdrawn himself, and rested a-part with his best Beloved, giving himself to the service and contemplation of God fions he would have bound their hands from and heavenly things, after he had directed fo vain labours, and by the authority which his children to their deftined portions. For he received even from God himself, he would he landed in a warm and fertile soil, where have held them in that awfull subjection, as, he planted his Vineyard, and dress the Earth; whatsoever they had vainly conceived or after which, and his thanksgiving to God feared, yet they durft not have disobeyed the by facrifice, he is not remembred in the Scripersonal commandment of him, who in the ptures, because he was so farr away from beginning had a kind of Regal authority those Nations of which Moses wrote: which were the Hebrews chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

| VII.

Of the lenflest opinion of Annius the Commentor upon Berofus: who finds divers places where the Ark rested; as the Caspian and Gordinan Hills, which are three bundred miles asunder; and also some places of Scythia.

T remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and Authorities of Frier Annius, who in his Commentaries upon Berofus and others, laboureth marvelloully to prove that dius Bilhop of Tyre for currant, that there the Ark of Noah rested upon the Armenian Mountains called Caspii; which Mountains separate Armenia from the upper Media, and do equally belong to both. And because all his Authors speak of the Mountains of Gordiei, he hath no other shift to unite these opinions, but by uniting those far-distant Mountains together. To effect which, he hath found no other invention, than to charge those men with errour, which have carefully over-seen, Printed, and Published Assa. 3. the Edf-India. The rest of Sem's issues had also the Regions of Persia, and the other adtomatical together dissevered. For that last Edition of Mercators fets these Hills five degrees(which makes three hundred English miles) afunder. And certainly, if we look into those more ancient Copies of Villanovamis, and others, we shall find nothing in them to help Annius withall: for in those the Mountains Caspin with himfelf, it cannot be known. Of which | fland seven degrees to the East of the Gordiai, which makes 420. miles. And for those Authors by whose authority Annius strengthneth himself, Diodorus whom he so much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them Diod Le 3. in the like dispute. Aberrarunt verd omnes, non negligentià, sed regnorum situs ignorantià; They have all erred (faith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdoms. But for an induction to prove

94 Cato de

citeth Marcus Portius Cato, who avoweth ginneth in that place with these words: Fathat 250, years before Ninus, the Earth was bulantur Scythæ, The Scythians Fable: and overflown with Waters, Et in Scythia saga his Interpreter in the table of that work, renatum mortale genus; And that in Scythia giveth this Title to that very Chapter; Serthe flock of mortal men was renewed. The same tharum origo & successive, fabula; The original Author alfo teacheth, that the Umbri before and juccess of the Scythians a Fable. And (inremembred (who were so called, because saved from Deucalions Floud) were the Sons of lince Ptolemy doth directly delineate Scythia the Galii, a Nation of the Scythians. Ex his venije Janum cum Dyrim, & Gallis progenito- of longitude: and the Persians (saith Herodoribus Umbrorum; From these Scythians, he | tus) call all the Scythians, Saca; which Pliny faith that Janus came with Dyrim, and with | confirms: for in respect that these Saca (faith the Gallitle progenitours of the Umbri: And Scythis tribuitur; Certainly, the prime Antiquity of Off-spring is alway given to the Scythians. And herein truly I agree with Annius, Tartaria, and by some Writers Sarmatia, Asiwhich Annius laboureth, is to prove that precifely fet down. these ancient Scythians (meaning the Ne-Berof.l.1. Pul. Ala. the addition of Saga altogether in the repe- speech is at this time called Gasiaria; and the Gon, 11. 2. Which crected the Tower of Babel in Shinaar | mouth of Rha. or Babylonia.

falshood in citing this place. For Diodorus, menia can be no part of scythia; and to

of the Septhians: and to prove the same he | a most approved and diligent Authour, bedeed) there needs no great disproof hereof, Saga. or Saca, and fets them in 130. degrees Pliny) are the Scythians next to the Persians. again, Equidem principatus originis semper therefore they gave all the rest that name. La. Now, that any Nation in Armenia can neighbour the Persians, there is no man believeth. But this supposed Scythia Araxea in Armenia that those Regions called Scythia, and now lieth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the sace; and the atica, were among the first peopled: and Countrey about Araxes Ptolemy calleth Colthey held the greatest part of Asia under thene, and Soducene, and Sacapene, without Tribute till Ninus Time. Also Pling called any mention of Scythia at all: and yet all the Umbri which long fince inhabited Italy, those which are, or were reputed Scythians Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation, who either within Imans, or without, to the numdescended of these Scythians. Now, that ber of 100. several Nations, are by Ptolemy Table

But, to come to those latter Authours, phews of Noah) did first inhabit that Region | whereof some have written, others have seen of the Mountains, on which the Ark refted; a great part of those North-East Regions, and confessing that this great Ship was and searched their Antiquities with great digrounded in Armenia, he feigneth a Nation ligence: First, Marius Niger boundeth Scyof Scythians called Araxea, taking name of thia within Imaus, in this manner: (for Scythe Mountain Ararat, near the River of A- thia without these Mountains, is also beyond raxes. And because his Author Cato helpeth our purpose) Scythia inter Imaum montemea him in part (to wit, That in Scythia man- eft, que proprio vocabillo Gassaria hoc tempore kind was restored after the great Floud 250. | dicitur : ab Occasiu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Orienyears before Ninus) and in part utterly de- | teImao Monte: à Septentrione terra cognita: à stroyeth his conceit of Armenia, by adding | Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, usque the word Saga; as, In Scythia Saga rena- oftia Oxa amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; tum mortale genus; In Scythia Saga, mankind parte ipsius maris hinc usq; ad Rha suminis ostia was restored : he therefore in the Prowne of terminatur: Scythia within the Mountain Imahis Commentary upon Berosus, leaveth out us, is that part of the World which in their own tition of Cato his words, and writes, homines fame is bounded on the West-side by Sarmatia Ain Scythia falvatos. For Scythia Saga, or Sa- fiatica, (or of Asia:) on the East, by the Imaan ca, is undoubtedly under the Mountains of Mountains: on the North, by unknown Lands: Parapinifus; on which, or near which it on the south, by the Saccæ (which are the Sais most probable that the Ark first took | ce) the Sogdiani, and the Margiani, to the ground: and from those East parts (accord- mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, ing to Moses) came all those companies and by a part of the same Sea as farr as the glasses

Now, if Niger sets all Sarmatia Asiatica But now, the best authority which Annius to the West of Scythia, then Sarmatia (qua emiliante to the West of Scythia, then Sarmatia (qua emiliante to the West of Scythia, then Sarmatia (qua emiliante to the West of Scythia, then Sarmatia (qua emiliante to the West of Scythia, then Sarmatia (qua emiliante to the West of Scythia, then Sarmatia (qua emiliante to the West of Scythia, then Sarmatia (qua emiliante to the West of Scythia) hath, is out of Diodorus: where he hath magna sane Regio est, & que innumeras natio- 41. read that the Scythians were originally Ar- nes completitur, Which is a great Region, commenians, taking name à Scytha Rege eo- prehending innumerable nations, faith Niger) rum, from Scytha their King. But (in a word) much of it being between scythia and Arwe may see his vanity, or rather (indeed) his menia, doth sufficiently warrant us, that Ar-

denir make it more plain, he diflevereth Sarmatia | being part of that Scythia which Piolemy calit felf from any part of Armenia, by the Re- leth Scythia intra Imaum monten: Scythia

CHAP. VII. CHAP. VII.

Words: Constate am essential in his de-dia, them, in cited by Vincentius in his de-constant a partibus Orientis (mutatis sedibus) fifth) in the year 1307. published.

called Imanomesero, in the great Wood Oke- then the Scythians of Europe? nitzkilies or Jepiphanolies Volga, which Ptolemy calls Rha, and the Tartars call Edel, rifeth out of a Lake called Fronow, in the great Wood Vodkonzki: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of Bory-Sthenes (now Neyper) and Dhuina or Dividna. And this learned Polonian doth in this fort bound the European Sarmatia. In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Russians, Lithuanians, Muscovians, and those adjoyning, bounded on the West by the River of Vissa, the Name perchance mis-printed Vissa for Vistula, a River which parts Germania and Sarmatia: and for the East-border he nameth

the firm of any part of Armenia, by the Kelington gions of Colchis, theria, and Albania, which middle he leaveth on the right hand of Sarmatia, which is and yet makes Sarmatia but the West bound of Sephia.

Mathibas Miskon sturber affirmeth, that the Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of Armenia among the Tarkarian or Sephian (which Frier Annins would make the first of years before his own time: these be his feription of Scythia) make any mention of paulo plus abhine trecentis annis Alia Sarma-Armenia; neither doth Haytonus, an Armeni- tiam ingressam: It is manifest (saith he,speakan born of the bloud of those Kings (though ing of the scythian Nation) that this is a late afterwards a Monk) ever acknowledg planted Nation, come from the coasts of the himself for a Tartarian, or of the Scythian East: from whence they entred into Asia, & gat Races descended: though he writ that story new seats a little more then 300. years since: at large, gathered by Nicolaus Salcuni, and For (indeed) before that time the Goths or (by the commandement of Pope Clement the Pouloci inhabited Sarmatia Asiatica, And this Matthias lived in the year 1511. and Neither doth Matthias a Michon (a Ca- this his Discourse of Sarmatia was Printed non of Cracovia in Polonia) a Sarmatian born, at Augusta in the year 1506. as Bucholand that travailed a great part of Sarmatia zerns in his Chronologie witnesseth. Now Asiatica, find Armenia any way within the these Scythians (saith he) came from the East; compals of Tartaria, Scythia, or Sarmatia; for in the East it was, that the Ark of Noah and vet no man (whose Travails are extant) rested, and the scytha Sacra were those peohath observed so much of those Regions as | ple which lived at the North foot of those he hath don: proving and disproving many | Mountains, of Taurus or Ararat, where they things, heretofore subject to dispute. And encounter or begin to mix themselves with among others he burieth that antient and re- the great Imaus. And were there no other ceived opinion, That out of the Mountains, | testimony then the general description of the Riphai, and Hyperborei in Scythia, fpring the | Earth now extant, and the witness of Ptolemy. Rivers of Tanais or Don, Volga or Edel; pro- it is plain, that between all parts of Armenia, ving by unanswerable experience, that there and scythia, there are not only those three are no such Mountains in rerum natura; Regions of Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, but and (indeed) the Heads and Fountains of the Caspian Sea: on the East shore of which those famous Rivers are now by the Trade | Sea, but not on the West, or on that part of Muscovia known to every Merchant, and which any way toucheth Armenia, there are that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddy, (indeed) a Nation of Scythians (called Ariaca) and marish grounds. The River of Tanais | between Jaxartus and Jastus; but what are or Don, ariseth to the South of the City Tulla, these scythians to any Ariaca, or Scythia Arasome twenty English miles, out of a Lake | xea, which Annius placeth in Armenia, more

| VIII.

The fifth Argument, The Vine must grow naturally neer the place where the Arke

O this if we add the confideration of this part of the Text, That Noah plan- cen. 9. 10. ted a Vineyard, we shall find that the fruit of the Vine or Raysin did not grow naturally in that part of Armenia, where this resting of the Arke was supposed: for if the Vine Tanais, or Dan. Sarmatia Afiatica he cutteth brought from other Countries thither, it is from Europe by the same River of Tanais, not probable that it grew naturally in Armeand the Capian Sea, to with hold it from ma, being a far colder Country. For Tyrfreeching farther East: this Asian Sarmatia rhenns first brought Vines into France, and

neer unto the Senones, where they contiby Saturn from elfe-where into Italy.

not far to feek out the Vine. For the Planta- suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion tion thereof is remembred, before there was taken, That the Ark first sate thereon. any counsel how to dispose of the World agiving to God; and wherefoever the Arke From whence it doth no where appear, that he travailed far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Husband-man, and not a wanderer.

||. IX.

An answer to an objection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

Nd that all the children of Noah came A together into shinaar, it doth not appear, faving that it may be inferred out of these words (from thence) because it is written: So that the Lord scattered them [from thence | upon all the Earth; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of Sybilla (as they be converted) it feemeth that all came not together into shinaar; for they have this limitation: Quidam corum turrem ædificarunt altissimam, quasi per eam Cælum esent ascensuri: Certain of them built a most high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the Heavens.

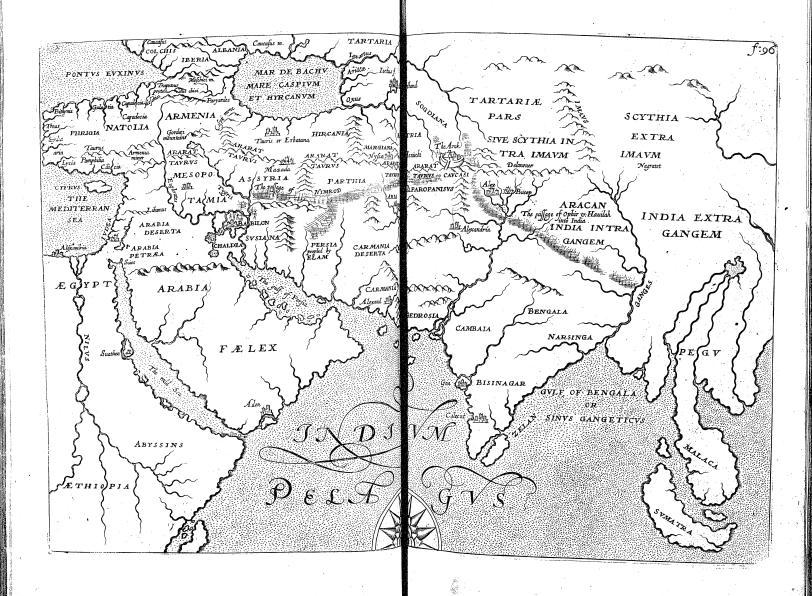
||. X.

An answer to the objection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the heighth of the Hills there.

Dary to see and consider what part of of Berosus differs far from the words of that

Saturnus into Latium: yea at fuch times as Scripture, and what reason may be found Brennus and the Gauls invaded Italy, there out, to make it true or probable, that the were few or no Vines in France. For (faith Ark of Noah was forfaken by the waters on Plutareb in the life of Camillus) the Gaules rethe Mountains of Armenia. For the Text mained between the Pyrenai and the Alpes, hath only these words: The Ark rested on (or neer unto the senones, where they drunk Wine, faith the Marginal Note of the Geneva: the on nued a long time, until they drunk Wine, faith the Marginal Note of the Geneva: the on nued a long time, until they drunk Wine, faith the Marginal Note of the Geneva: the one of the chaldent Paraphraft calls it Kardu: of which nued a long time, time they out of Haly; Chaldean Paraphraft calls it Kardu; of which, to and after they tasted thereof, they hasted to the highest hath the name of *Inbar*, saith *E. nas*, inhabite that Country, which brought forth piphanius. Now this Ararat (which the sepfuch pleasant Fruit: so as it appeareth, that tuagint do not convert at all, but keep the the Plant of the Vine was not natural in same word) is taken to be a Mountain of Ar-France, but from Italy brought thither; as menia; because Armenia it self had antiently that name: fo as first out of the name, Now it is manifest, that Noah travailed and secondly out of the heighth (which they

But these suppositions have no foundatimong his children: and the first thing he on: for neither is Ararat of Armenia alone, did, was, to till the ground, and to plant a neither is any part, or any of those Moundary Vine-yard, after the Sacrifice and Thankf- tains of equal stature to many other Mountains of the World; and yet it doth not folrested, there did the Vine grow naturally. low, that the Ark found the highest Mountain of all other to rest on: for the Plains were also uncovered before Noah came out of the Ark. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this Ararat, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Books of the sybils it is written, that the Mountains of Ararat are in Phrygia, upon which it was supposed that the Ark stayed after the Floud. And the better to particularize the place and feat of these Mountains, and to prove them in Phrygia and not Armenia; they are placed where the City of Cælenes was afterward built. Likewise in the same description she maketh mention of Marfyas, a River which runneth through part of Phrygia and afterward joynethit felf with the River Meander, which is far from the Gordiean Mountain in Armenia. We may also find a great mistaking in Josephus (though out of Berofus, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that Josephus sets Ararat between Armenia and Parthia, toward Adiabene, and affirmeth withall, that in the Province of Caron (by others Kairos and Arnos, so called by reason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out) the people vaunt that they had in those days referved some pieces of Noahs Ark. But Parthia toucheth no where upon Armenia; for Armenia bordereth Adiabene, a Province of Asyria: so that all Media and a part of Asyria is between Parthia and Armenia. Now whereas the discovery of the Mountains Cordiei was first borrowed out of Berosus by Jo-DUt before I conclude this part, it is neces- sephus; yet the Text which Josephus citeth out



by Josephus, hath these words: Fertur & navi- Ptolemy calleth Torgodiaion) are the highest gii bujus pars in Armenia apud montem Cordiaorum superesse, & quosdam Bitumen inde abrasum secum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hujus homines uti solent: (which is) It is reported allo that a part of this ship is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordican Mountains; and that divers do scrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it in stead of an amulet. But Annius his Edition of the Fragment of Berofus uleth these words: Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordia montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & komines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maxime utuntur ad expiationem: For the whole Arke being lifted up by the waters, refted on the top of the Gordiean Mountaines, of which it is reported that some parts remain, and that men do carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith: fo as in these two Texts

Mountains in 39. and a halfe : from the Northen Georgians, who amidst all the strength hath nothing to the Westward of it for of the greatest Infidels of Persua and Turkie, 1000: Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, do fill remain christians. Concerning the o-yet doth it not enjoy the Sun's company at

Berofus, which wandereth up and down in ther suppositions, that the Mountains of Gorthese days, set out by Annius. For Berosus; cited diei, otherwise Baris, Kardu or Lubar (which of the World, the same is absolutely false.

J. XI.

Of Caucasus, and divers far higher hills than the Armenian. Or the best cosmographers, with other,

that have feen the Mountains of Armenia find them far inferiour, and under-fet to divers other Mountains even in that part of the World, and else where: as the Mountain Athor between Macedon and Thrace, which Ptolemy calls Olympus, now called Lacas, (faith castaldus) is far surmounting any Mountain that ever hath been feen in Armenia: for it casteth shade three hundred furlongs, which is seven and thirty miles and upwards: of which Plutarch; Athos adum- Plut. Ninnf. (besides the difference of words) the name brat latera Lemnia bovis: Athos shadoweth is diverly written. The antient Berofus the Cow of Lemnos. Also the Mount of Olymwrites Cordiei with a (C) ; and the Fragment pus in The said to be of that height, as Gordiei with a (G): the one that the Bitu- | neither the Winds, Clouds, or Rain overtop men isused for apreservative against Poyson it. Again, the Mountain of Antandrus in or Inchantment; the other, in Sacrifice. And Mysta, not far from Ida, whence the River if it be faid that they agree in the general, seamandrus floweth, which runneth through yet it is reported by neither from any certain | Troy; is also of a far more admiration than aknowledg, nor from any approved Author: ny in Armenia, and may be seen from Confor one of them, uleth the word (fertur) the | stantinople. There are also in Mauritania other (dicitur); the one, that so it is reported, neer the Sea, the samous Mountains of Atlar, the other, that so it is said; and both but of which Herodotus: Extat in boc mari Mons by hear-fay, and therefore of no authority cui nomen Atlas, ita sublimis esse dicitur ut ad nor credit. For common bruit is so insamous illins verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non an Hiltorian, as wise men neither report af- possint: Oponthis Coast there is a Mountain ter it, nor give credit to any thing they re- called Atlas, whose heighth is said to be such, as the eye of no mortal man can discern the top Furthermore, these Mountains which Pto-thereof. And if we may believe Aristotle, leng cals Gordiei, are not those Mountaines then are all these inseriour to Cancasus, which which himself giveth to Armenia, but he he maketh the most notorious both for calleth the Mountains of Armenia, Moschiei. breadth and height: Caucasus Mons omnium These be his own words: Montes Armenia maximus, qui astienm ad ortum sunt, acumine nominantur ii, qui Moschici appellantur, qui atq, latitudine, cujus juga à Sole radiantur protenduntur usque ad superjacentem partem usq; ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab Ponti Cappadocum; & Mons qui Paryardes occasse: Cancasus saith Aristotle is the greatdicitur: The Mountains of Armenia are they est Mountain both for breadth and height of all co which are called Moschici, stretched along to those in the North-east, whose tops are lightned a 13. the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: by the Sun-beams (ufg; ad conticinium) which alfo the Hill which is called Paryardes: which is, faith Macrobius, between the first crowing Mountains Pliny calleth Pariedri, and both after mid-night and the break of day: Others which ly to the North of Gordiei or Baris, affirm, that the top of this Mountain holds in 43. and 44. and a half; and the Gordinati the Sun-beams when it is dark in the Valley; thermost of which did the Georgians take Mountain of the World known, is that of but I cannot believe either, for the highest their names, who were first Gordians, and Tenerife in the Canaria: which although it

any fuch late hours. Besides these Mountains which Aristotle calleth Caucasi, are those which separate Colchis from Iberia; though (indeed) Caucajus doth divide both Colchis, Iberia, and Albania from Sarmatia: for he acknowledgeth that the River of Phasis 11feth in the same Mountain, which himself calleth Caucasus, and that Phasis springeth from those Hills which funder Colchis from Iberia, falling afterward into Euxinus: which River (it is manifest) yieldeth it self to the Sea, two degrees to the North of Trapezus (now Trabefunda) howfoever Mercator bring it from Paryardes.

N. XII.

Of divers incongruities if in this Story we fhould take Ararat for Armenia.

CO as it doth first appear, that there is no certainty what Mountain Ararat was: for the Books of the sybils fet it in Phrygia, and Berofus in Armenia: and as for Berofus authority, those men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that Baris was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the Arke grounded thereon, the affertion and suppofition have equal credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all those of Armenia; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow on the highest.

called indifferently: and therefore we may any Hills of Armenia. For those of Cauca-

Fourthly, the Authors themselves do not agree in what Region the Mountains Gordiei stand: for Ptolemy distinguisheth the Mountains of Armenia from the Gordiean, and calleth those of Armenia, Moschici and Paryardes, as aforesaid. Now Paryardes is feated near the middle of Armenia, out of which on the West-side riseth Euphrates, and out of the East-fide, Araxis: and the Mounof the Georgians) from Armenia.

IL XIII.

is no marvail that the same Ledg of Hills running from Armenia to India, should keep the same name all along: and even in India be called Ararat.

Aftly, we must blow up this Mountain Ararat it felf, or else we must dig it down, and carry it out of Armenia, or find it elsewhere, and in a warmer Country, and (withal) fet it East from shinaar ; or else we thall wound the Truth it felf with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand, that Ararat (named by Moses) is not any one Hill, so called, no more then any one Hill among those Mountains which divide Italy from France, is called the Alps: or any one among those which part France from Spain is the Pyrenian; But as these, being continuations of many Hills, keep one name in divers Countries, fo all that long Ledg of Mountains, which Pliny calleth by one name Taurus, and Ptolemy both hid Taurus, Niphates, Coatras, Coronus, Sariphi, tim until they encounter and cross the Mountains of the great Imaus, are of one general name, and are called the Mountains of Ararat or Armenia, because from thence or thereabout they feem to arise. So all these Mountains of Hyrcania, Armenia, Coraxis, Caspii, Moschici, Amazonici, Heniochi, Scythici, (thus diversly (as is before written) that the Ark should sit called by Pliny and others) Ptolemy calls by one name Caucasus, lying between the Seas Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is Caspium and Euximus: as all those Mounany such Hill in Armenia, or in rerum natura, tains which cut asunder America, even from as Baris: for Baris (faith Hierom) fignifieth the new Kingdom of Granado, to the streight high Towers; and so may all high Hills be of Magellan, are by one name called Andes. And as these Mountains of Ararat run East better give the name of Baris to the Hills of and West, so do those marvailous Mountains Cancassis (out of which Indus riseth) then to of Imans stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neer, fus in the East, are undoubtedly the highest are called by the name of Imaus, even as Pliny called these former Hills Taurus, and Mofes the Hills of Ararat. The reason of feveral names given by Ptolemie, was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdoms, which these great Mountains bound and diffever; as Armenia, Mesopotamia, Asyria, Media, Susiana, Perfia, Parthia , Caramania , Aria, Margiana, Bactria, Sogdiana, and Paropanisus: having all these Kingdoms, either on the North tains Moschici are those Hills which disjoun or South side of them. For all the Mountains Colchis, Iberia, and Albania (now the Country of Asia (both the less and the greater) have three general names, (to wit) Taurus, Imaus, and Caucasus: and they receive other titles, as they fever and divide particular Places and Regions. For these Mountains which Of the contrary situation of Armenia, to funder Cilicia from the rest of Asia the less, on the place noted in the Text; and that it the North-fide, are called Taurns; and those

Mountains which part it from Comagena (a | and the Mountain Nyfens, (so called of Bacand on her East-side the Mountains are sometimes known by the name of Taurus, (as in Ptolemie's three Tables of Asia) and somethat uncertain appellation fo long as they bound Armenia from Mesopotamia: and after the River of Tygris cutteth them afunder, they then take the name of Niphates altogether, untill they separate Asyria and Media; but then they call themselves Coatras, though between the upper and nether Media, they do not appear, but altogether discontinue. For at Mazada in Media they are not found, but run through the Eastern Media by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves Orontes, and towards the East whereof the River of Bagradus rifeth, which divideth the ancient Persan from Caramania:

The fruitfulm the South botto: by the name of coronus, they give to the Parthians and Hyrcanians their proper Counto the Mountains of sariphi, out of which riseth the River Margus, afterward yielding her self to Oxus (now Abia:) and drawing now near their ways end, they first make themselves the South border of Bactria, and are then honoured with the Title of Paropanisus; and lastly, of Caucasia, even where the famous River of Indus, with his principal onely are properly called Caucasi (faith Ptolemie) that is, between Paropanisus and Imaw: and improperly, between the two Seas of Caspium and Pontus.

. XIV.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountain Caucasi, and toward the East-Indies: and of other excellencies of the soil.

Ow, in this part of the World it is,

Province of Syria) are called Amanus: the chus Nyjeus, or Noah) are found: and on these Mountains called Taurus, running East and highest Mountains of that part of the World West, as Imans doth North and South. did Goropius Eccanus conceive that the Ark Through Taurus, the River of Euphrates of Noah grounded after the Floud; of all his forceth her pallage, leaving the name of conjectures the most probable, and by best Amanus to the Mountains on her West-bank, reason approved. In his Indo-scytkia he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantastical opinions of this subject And as the same Becams also noteth, that as in times Niphates (as in the fourth) retaining this part of the World are found the best Vines: fo it is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34, 35, and 36. degrees of Septentrional Latitude, are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in Judea, Candia, and other parts of Greece: and likewise in this Region of Margiana: and under these Mountains Strabo affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of Palestina, where the searchers of the Land, part Coronus; out of the Southern part by Moses direction, found bunches of equal

The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on 24. the South bottom of these Hills, Curtius witnesseth. For in Margiana, near the Mountains of Meros, did Alexander feast himself and his tries. This done, they change themselves in- Army ten days rogether, finding the most delicate Wine of all other.

I. XV.

The Conclusion, with a brief repeating of divers chief points.

And therefore to conclude this opinion of Ararat, it is true, that those Moun-Nd therefore to conclude this opinion companions, Hydaspis and Zaredrus, spring of Ararat, it is true, that those Mounforth and take beginning. And here do tains do also traverse Armenia: yea, and Ararat, it is true, that those Mounforth and take beginning. these Mountains build themselves exceeding menia it self sometime is known by the name high, to equal the strong Hills called Imans of Ararat. But as Pliny giveth to this Ledge of scythia, which encounter each other in of high Hills, even from Cilicia to Parapo-35, 36, and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in | nifus and Cancasus, the name of Taurus: and 140. of Longitude: of the which the West | as the Hills of France and Germany are called parts are now called Delanguer, and the rest the Alps: and all between France and Spain Nagracot; and these Mountains in this place the Pyrenes: and in America the continuation of Hills for 3000 miles together, the Andes: fo was Ararat the general name which Moses gave them; the diversity of appellations no otherwise growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions, and divers Countreys. For in the like case do we call the Sea, which entreth by Gibraltar, the Mediterrane and in-land Sea; and yet where it washeth the Coasts of Carthage, and over against it, it is called Tyrrhenum: N^{Ow}, in this part of the World it is, where the Mountain and River Janus, and Asia, Ageum: between Sestus and Asyon N 2 between Italy and Greece, Ionium: from Ve-

appear to that Judge winer cannot crite, even Jo Joseph and these travels were precisely set down to the Word of Truth, which in this place is and these travels were precisely set down to be taken and followed according to the plain sence: seeing it can admit neither diftinction, nor other construction than the words bear literally, because they are used from Hiernsalem: the way from Bethel to Eto the very same plain purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely, where the sence is plain (and being fo understood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fancie to our felves any new or strange exposition; And (withall) to resolve our selves, that every word (as aforefaid) hath his weight in Gods Bock. And therefore we must respect and reverence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such fort as Saint Augustine hath taught us, touching the Gospel of Christ Jesus (which is) Nequis aliter accipiat (quod narrantibus Discipulis Christi) in Evangelio legerit, quam si ipsam manum Dei,quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit; That no man otherwise take or un-

Gen. 10. the presence of God, he addeth; And Cain who also speak by hear-say, and by report, Gen. 4. 16. Afterwards removing thence unto a Mountain naar lyeth West from the place where the Gen. 1. 8. Laving Bethel on the Weft-fide, and Hai on the therefore it first found ground in the East,

dus, Hellestont: and afterward Pontus, Pro- went forth journeying towards the South: also aus, Heuespont: and auterward tomas, to when Ezekiel prophecieth of Gog and Marantis, and Bosphorus. And as in these, so is when Ezekiel prophecieth of Gog and Marantis, and Bosphorus. the Ocean to the North-east part of Scotland gog, he shewesh that these Nations of Togorcalled Dencaledonycum: and on this fide, the ma were of the North-quarters: and of the Brittain Sea: to the East, the Germane and Queen of Saba it is written, that she came from the South to vifit Solomon : And the Mante For a final end of this Question, we must Mags, (or Wisemen) came out of the East to of 41.

appeal to that Judge which cannot erre, even fer presents unto Christ. And that all Regions, Men ters of the World, it is most manifest: for Eden was due East from Judea; Saba South Tubalines, and Magogians inhabited the Regions directly North from Palestina, and so of the rest. But Armenia answereth not to this description of Shinaar by Moses. For to come out of Armenia, and to arrive in that Vallev of Babylonia, is not a journeying from the East, nor so near unto the East as the North: for Armenia is to the West of the North it it felf; and we must not say of Moses (whose hands the holy Ghost directed) that he erred toto cœlo, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of Armenia standethin fourty three degrees Septentrional, and the North part thereof in fourty five; and those Gordiean Mountains, whereon it was suppofed that the Ark rested, stand in fourty one. But Babylonia, and the Valley of Shinaar are dryland that which be readeth in the Coffel situated in thirty five; and for the Longitude (the Disciples of Christ having written it)than (which maketh the difference between East if he had seen the very hand of the Lord, which he have in his own body, setting it down.

and West) the Gordinan Mountains stand in 75. degrees, and the Valley of shinaar in 79. The words then of Moles, which end this and 80. And therefore Armenia lieth from Dispute, are these: And as they went from the Shinaar North-west, 95. degrees from the East they found a Playn in the Land of Shinaar, East; and if Armenia had been but North, and there they abode: which proveth with- yet it had differed from the East one whole out controversie, that Nimrod, and all with quarter of the Compass. But Gregory, and him, came from the East into Shinaar; and Hierome warn us, In Scripturis ne minima therefore the Ark of Noah rested and took differentia omitti debet : nam singuli sermonts, land to the East-ward thereof. For we must Sillaba, apices, & puncta in divina Scriptura remember, that in all places wherefoever plena funt fensibus; In the Scriptures the least Moses maketh a difference of Countreys, he difference may not be omitted: for every speech, always precifely nameth toward what quar- Isilable, note, or accent, and point in divine ter of the World the same were feated : as Scriptures are replenished with their meanings. where he teacheth the plantation of Jostan, And therefore feeing Moles teacheth us that he nameth sephar, a Mountain in the East: the children of Noah came from the East, we where he remembreth Cains departure from may not believe Writers (of little authority) dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the East-side | Ut fertur, & ut dicitur, as Berosus and Nicoof Eden: And when he describeth the Tents lans Damascenus, determining herein with and Habitations of Abraham, after he de- out any examination of the Text, at all adparted from sechem, he useth these words; venture. But this is infallibly true, that shi-East-ward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents: Ark of Noah rested after the Floud; and East: and afterward in the ninth Verse of the from whence came the first knowledg of all fame Chapter, it is written; and Abraham things. The East parts were first civil,

which had Noah himself for an instructor: the planted the Vine, where he tilled the and directly East from Shinaar in the same ground and lived thereon. Placuit vero Nodegree of 35. are the greatest Grapes, and acho agriculture studism, in qua tractanda the best Wine. The great Armies also ipse omnium peritissimus ese dicitur: ob camwhich overtopped in number those Millions | que rem sua ipsus lingua Ish-Adamath (hoc est) of Semiramis, prove, that those parts were telluris our appellatur celebratisque est, The finent: for my felf I build on his words, who knowledg and order of which it is faid that in plain terms hath told us, That the Sons of Noah excelled all men: and therefore was he Noah came out of the East into Shinaar, and called in his own language, a man exercised in there they abode. And therefore did the the earth. Which also sheweth, that he was

first Planted. And whereas the other opini- dy of Husbandry pleased Noah (faith the exon hath neither Scripture nor Reason suffici- cellent learned man Arias Montanus) in the Ark rest on those Eastern Mountains, called no wanderer; and that he troubled not himby one general name Taurus, and by Moses self with the contentions beginning again in the Mountains of Ararat, and not on those the World, and among men, but stayed in his Mountains of the North-west, as Berosus first destined places, and in that part of the World feigned, whom most part of the Writers have | where he was first delivered out of the Prifollowed therein. It was, I say, in the plen- son of the Ark, whereinto God had committiful warm East where Noah rested, where ted him, to preserve him and mankind.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the Floud; and of the Sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, by whom the Earth was re-peopled.

6. I.

Whether Shem and Ham were elder then Japhet.

ted this Scripture of Genesis the 10. v. 21. in of Noab's, life, and in the year of shem's life these words: Unto Shem also the Father of all the sons of Heber, and elder brother of Japhet, were children born. But Junius, agreeing with the septuagint, placeth the same words in this manner: To Shem also the Father of all der, he had then been an hundred years old the sons of Heber, and brother of Japher the at the Floud, and in the fix hundreth year eldes son, were children born : So the trans- of Noal's life, and not two years after. polition of the word (elder) made this difference. For if the word (elder) had followed after Japhet, as it is in the vulgar Traflation placed before it, then had it been as plain for Japhet, as it is by these Translations bim (to mit) Ham; of necessity the first place

F these Sons of Noah, Which was I tyed to first and last in bloud, but to the elthe eldest, there is a question dest in piety, yet the arguments are stronger made. St. Augustine esteemed for Japher then for shem. And where the Shem for the eldest, Ham for the | Scriptures are plainly understood without fecond, and Japhet for the any danger or inconvenience, it feemeth youngest: and herein the opinions of Wri- strange why any man of judgment should tersare divers. But this we find every where make valuation of conjectural arguments. in the Scriptures, and especially in Moles, that or mens opinions. For it appeareth that Nothere was never any respect given to the el- ab in the five hundreth year of his life, begat destinyears, but in virtue; as by the exam- the first of his three Sons, shem, Ham, and ples of Henoch, Abraham, Jacob, and David, Japhet : and in the fix hundreth year (to wit) 600. 11. is made manifest. In a few words, this is the the hundreth year following, came the geground of the controversie; The Latine neral Floud; two years after which, Shem Translation, and so the Geneva, hath conver- begat Arphaxad, which was in the year 602. one hundred: so as shem was but an hundred years old, two years after the Floud: and Noah begat his first born being 500. years old; and therefore were shem the el-Which seeing the Scriptures before remem- Gen. 9. bred hath denied him, and that it is also " written: Then Noah amoke from his wine, for obem. Now (the matter being otherwise doth belong to Japhet, This younger for to indifferent) feeing Gods bleffings are not converted by the Vulgar and Geneva, Junibut St. Chrysoftom takes it otherwise, and finds Cham to be the middle or second brother, and Japket the youngest son of all: which cham for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakedness he derided) was dif-inherited, and loft the preeminency of his birth, as Esau and Ruben did. Pererius conceiveth that Ham was called the younger in respect of shem the eldest, but avoweth withal, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of younger and youngest, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that shem himfelt was always named in the first place; yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of Genesis, shem is accounted before Japket, in the second Verse Moses leaveth to begin with the iffue by shem, and reciteth the children of Japhet first. So the first place was given to shem for his election and benediction, and for this weighty respect, that the Hebrew Nation, Abraham, the Prophets, David, and Christ our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar Pagninus, and the Geneva, who agree in this conversion, Shem Frater Japhet major; or with the Septuagint, Junius and Tremelius, Shem Fratris Japhet majoris; or with Pererius, Shem Frater Japhet ille magnus: inferring that shem was the great and famous brother of Japhet, let the Reader judg. But for ought that I have seen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that Japhet was the eldest. For where Pererius qualifieth the frength of the former argument, That Shem's Cicero, the antientest was the son of Ather and age at the time of the Floud did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures took no account of smaller numbers) I do not find in the Scriptures any Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arwere always precifely accounted.

The first Book of the first Part

6. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed; touching the first planting of the World; as that all Histories must yield to Moses: that the World was not planted all The at once, nor without great direction: and that known great Lords of the first Ages were of the issue of Ham.

OUt let us go unto the Worlds plantation D after the floud, which being rightly un-

us turns it films minimus, His youngest son: derstood, we shall find that many Nations Ancestors and Fathers, which never saw or approched the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the fons and iffues of Noah were diffributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the reft of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution. that they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For fo far as the story of Nations is therein handled, we must know, that both the truth and antiquity of the Books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, and testimony of antiquity whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledg of men, the same hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful observers of time have noted: among which, thus writeth Eusebius in the Proæme of his Chronology: Moses is found more antient than all those whom the Grecians make most antient, as Homer, Hesiod, and the Trojan War; and far before Hercules, Musaus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius, and Apollo, and the rest of the Gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of Jupiter, whom the Greeks have seated in the top and highest Turret of their Divinity.

For of the three Jupiters remembred by whose three sons begotten on Proserpina, were multi born at Athens, of which Cecrops was the first King: and in the end of Cecrops time did Moses bring the children of Israel out of Egypt: fuch neglect at all: for it is written, that Eduxit Moles populum Dei ex Egypto noviffmo tempore Cecropis Atheniensis Regis Moses phaxad two years after the floud; and again brought the children of Ifrael out of Egypt in in the 12. Verle: so Shela lived after be be- the last days of Cecrops King of the Athenigat Ebar, four hundred and three years, &c. ans, faith S. Augustine: and yet was not Co point to as the number of two years, of three years, crops the Founder of that City it self, but The-wall of five years, and afterward of two years, | few long after him. But because the truth hereof is diverfly proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut afunder the purpose in hand, by alledging many authorities in a needless question, but leave it to the proper place.

The Sons of Riphath,
Gomer were, Togorma. Gomer, Magog, Madai, Sons of 7a-2 Javan, c Elifba, phet Meshach, The Sons of) Tarshis, Kittim, and (Javan were, and (Dodonim.

the Scriptures themselves, and after them, 130. year after the great Inundation, and by our own barren and cold ground, inform our felves thereby, what wonderful Defarts, what impassable fastness of woods, reeds, briers, and rotten grass; what lakes and standing pools, and what marishes, fens, & bogs, all the face of the Earth (excepting the Mountains) was pestered withall. For, if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying Winter depressent all vegetative and growing Nature, for one half of the year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty years, these our grounds would all over-grow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods, or with other offensive thickets and bushments:much more did all forts of plants, reeds, and trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Valleys, and in the Climate of a long and warm Summer, and having withall, the ffart of 130, years to raise themselves without controlement.

This being confidered, it will appear, that all these people which came into shinaar, themselves into the Regions adjoyning to the faid Valley of shinaar, which contained the best part of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Chaldea; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, some of them towards the South, others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to shem many Regions, both East and West from shinaar, with the Dominion of Palastina, which the Canaanites first posfest; yet could he not enjoy the Lot of his

First, we are to consider, that the World | degrees. For we find that Abraham, the after the Floud was not planted by imagi- true successiour of shem, dwelt in chaldea. nation, neither had the Children of Noah at Ur; and from thence (called by God) wings to fly from Shinaar to the uttermost he rested at Charran in Mesopotamia: from horder of Europe, Africa, and Asia, in haste, whence after the death of Thare he travelbut that these Children were directed by a led to sichem in Palestina: and yet there wife Father, who knew those parts of the had passed between shem and Abraham World before the Floud, to which he dif- (reckoning neither of themselves) seven Deposed his children after it, and sent them not scents, before Abraham moved out of chalas discoverers, or at all-adventure, but affign- | dea; where, and in Babylonia, all those peoed and allotted to every Son and their iffues, ple, by Nimrod commanded, inhabited for their proper parts. And not to hearken to many years, and whence Nimrod went out fabulous Authours, who have no other end into Afgria, and founded Ninevels. Indeed. than to flatter Princes (as Virgil did Augustus | the great Masters of Nations (as far as we can in the fiction of Eneas) or else to glorifie know) were in that Age in the iffues of Ham; their own nations; Let us build herein upon | the bleffing of God given by Noah to Shens and Japhet taking less effect, untill divers upon Reason and Nature. First therefore we | years were consumed; and untill the time must call to mind, and consider, what manner arrived, which by the wisdom of God was of face the Earth every where had in the appointed. For of Chus, Mizraim, and Canaan, came the People and Princes, which held comparing those fruitfullest Valleys with the great Kingdoms of Babylonia, Syria, and Egypt for many Descents together.

§. III.

of the isses of the Gentiles in Japhets Portion: of Berolus his too fpeedy feating Gomer the son of Japhet in Italy; and another of Japhets sons, Tubal in Spain: and of the Antiquity of Longingue Navigation.

O begin therefore (where Mofes beginneth) with the Sons of Tapheth. among whom the Isles of the Gentiles were divided: which division, as well to Japhets Sons, as to the rest which came into Shinaar, was (if the division were made at Phalegs birth) in the year of the World 1757. or 1758 and (by that account) in the years after the Floud one hundred and one; of which question else-where.

The habitations proper to the Sons of 7aphet were the Isles of the Gentiles, which inand over whom Nimrod, either by order or clude all Europe, with all the Isles adjoynstrength, took the Dominion, did, after the ing, and compassing it about: Europe being confusion of Languages, and at such time as also taken for an Island, both interpect that they grew to be a mighty People, disperse the Sea Hellespont and Ageum, Bosphorus, and Euxinus cut it off from the great Continent of Alia, as also because Europe it self is (in effect) furrounded with water, faving that it is fastned to Asia by the North; for it hath these Seas before named to the East, the Mediter rane to the South and South-west, the Ocean to the West, and Brittish, Germane, and Baltick Sea, with that of Glaciale to the North. North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the Cyclades, or Isles lying between Greece and the leffer Afia, and the Inheritance on the fudden, but by time and | Ifles of Rhodes, Coprus, Crete, or Candia, Si-

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This partition and portion of Japheth, with nilhed before it fell, and before they left the adjacent. the part which he held in Asia, and the North, work. They also began this building upon a which was also very great, answereth to ground, the most oppressed with waters of Ges 9:17 that bleffing of God by Noah Dilatet Deus Ja- all the world: as by the great ruine which pheth; Let God fread abroad (or increase the these waters forcibly over-bearing and over-Posterity of) Tapheth, and let him dwell in the Tents of Shem. For though Junius here wieth Emperours, is made manifest 3 approved also the word alliciat, and not dilates: and the by the Prophet Jeremie, speaking of Babylen Geneva, persuadeat; yet the Septuagint have in these words: Thou that dwellest upon many dilatet, or amplificet; and fuch was the bleffing given to our Fathers, which God promiled to Abraham and his feed for ever. And a raised building on a marish ground: and to the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of which Glycas upon Genefis giveth fourty shem was a blefling by God to the Posterity years. For it seemeth that the Tower was of Japheth: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they should ing afterward written; So the Lord scattered be made participant of Gods Church. But to them from thence upon all the Earth, and they come to Japhets Sons, of whom Gomer is the left to build the City. Out of which place it eldeft. This Gomer (if we may believe Berofus and Annius, whose authority the greatest then named) that they very near had pernumber of all our late Writers have followed) did in the tenth year of Nimrods Reign, depart from Babylonia, & planted Italy: which also Functius confirmeth in these words, Anno decimo Nimrodi, &c. In the tenth year of that till fuch time as this confusion seized Nimrods Reign, Gomerus Gallus planted a them (whereupon the Tower was thrown Colony in that Land afterward called Italy: and in the twelfth year of the same Nimrods selves: for from thence the Lord scattered Reign, Tubal feated himself in Austuria in them upon all the Earth, (that was) when they Spain (now called Biscay) which was in the 140. and in the 142. years after the Floud, according to Berofus. But this opinion is very came with Nimrod into Shinaar. Let us therebuilding of fuch a City and Tower required, their work above fifteen Cubits higher than the former wants supposed) be erected in

cilia, Corfica, Sardinia, Malta, the Isles of the highest Mountain, otherwise they could Brittanie, and Zeland, with their young ones not assure themselves from the sear of a second Inundation:a great part whereof was fiflowing made in the time of the fucceeding waters. It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantial foundation for so high near finished when God overthrew it: it bemay be gathered (because the Tower is not formed the work of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the City adjoyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, down) these Nations did not disperse themperceived not one anothers speech. Now, to 64.16 think that this work, in the newness of the World, (wanting all instruments and materidiculous: For before the confusion of rials) could be performed in ten years; and Tongues, the Children of Noah did not fepa- that Tubal and Gomer in the same year, could rate themselves, at least so many of them as creep through 3000 miles of Desart, with Women, Children, and Cattel: Let those fore confider with reason, what time the light believers, that neither tye themselves to the Scripture, nor to reason, approveit, where there was no prepared matter, nor for I do not. And if the Ark of Noah was any ready means to perform such a work as 100. years in building, or but near such a Nimrod had erected (and as Functius himself time, (and then) when the World had stood out of his Authour Berofus witneffeth) ad al- 1556. years; it were more than foolishness, titudinem & magnitudinem Montium; To the and madness it self, to think that such a work height and magnitude of the Mountains. Sure as this could be performed in ten; when the that both this City and Tower was almost World (from the Floud to the arrival at builded, the Scriptures witness: but the Lord | Babel, and beginning of this building there) came down to feethe City and Tower which the had but 131. years, and whereof they had sons of men had builded. Let us then but spent some part in travelling from the East. allot a time sufficient for the making of Again, if all Asia set to their helping hands my Brick to fuch a Work, of the greatest heighth in the building of the Temple of Diana, and (and therefore of circuit and foundation an- yet they confumed in that Work 400. years swerable) that ever was. For where the uni- (or be it but half that time) and in such an verfal Floud covered the highest Mountains Age as when the World flourished in all fifteen Cubits; Let us build us a City and Tower forts of Artificers, and with abundant plenty (faith Nimrod) whose top may reach unto the of materials and carriages: This Work of Heaven: meaning, that they would raise the Tower of Babel could hardly (with all

those few years remembred. And for con- of their Cattel: who had Flocks of Sheep, chifon, let all men of judgment weigh with and great Droves and Herds of their own, 1380. leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if Nimrod took divers years to find shimaar, which was but 2160. miles: or (fuppoling that the Ark rested in Armenia) little above 400. miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many years to Gostood of most part of the world else, it is unmight come by Sea, and so save this great travel through Defarts by Land. But we never read of any Navigation in those days, nor long after. Surely, he that knoweth what it is to imbarque so great a People, as we may them, will not eafily believe that there were any Vessels in those days to transport Armies, and (withall) their Cattel, by whose milk they lived, and fed their children: For milk and fruit were the banquetting dishes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldest times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations va-

themselves how impossible it was for a Na- and their own Shepherds and Herdsmen. tion or Family of men, with their Wives, and Now, if Tubal had past by Sea from any part Children, and Cattel, to travel 3000. miles of Palastina, Syria, or silicia, he might have through Woods, Bogs, and Defarts, without made good choice within the Streights, and any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find not have overgone Granado, Valentia, and it rather a work of 100. years than of 100. other Provinces in that Tract; past the days. For in the West Indies, of which the streights of Gibralter; disdained all Andaluspaniards have the experience, in those lia and Portngal, with all those goodly Ports places where they found neither path nor and Countreys; and have fought out the guide, they have not entred the Countrey Iron, Woody, and barren Countrey of the ten miles in ten years. And if Nimrods people | World (called Biscay) by a long and danfrent many years by the account before re- gerous Navigation. But before the journey membred in passing from the East India, or of the Argonauta, there were scarce any Vesthe higher part thereof, which standeth in sels that durst cross the Seasin that part of 115, degrees of Longitude, untill they came the World: and yet that which Jason had into Shinaar, which lieth in 79. degrees (the | (if the tale be true) was but a Galley, and a distance between those places containing 36. poor one (God knows) and perchance, such degrees, which makes 720. leagues, which is as they use this day in Ireland: which al-2160 miles) and did all the way keep the though it carried but four and fifty paffen-Mountains and hard ground; then the dif- | gers, yet it was far greater than any of the ference between Babylon and Bifcay is much former times: Eratenim antea parvarum na-Diod. simore: for the body of Bifcay lyeth in ten de- vicularum usus: For in former times they used cal. 1.4 c. grees, and Babylon, or Shinaar, (as aforesaid) very small vessels. I deny not but that the 4. solis. in 79. fo the length of way from Shinaar to Tyrians gave themselves of old to far-off Na-Austuria, or Biscar, is 69. degrees, which make vigations, whence Tibullus ascribed the invention of Ships to them:

> Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros. Tyrus knew first how Ships might use leg. 7. the Wind.

And for those Boats called Longa naves, mer and Tubal to travel 3000. miles, to Coun- or Gallies, Pliny faith, that Agefas ascribeth piod. Sigries less known unto them by far, than the the device to Paralus: and Philostephanus, to est. t. t. Land of Shinaar was to Nimrod. For Para- Jason: Ctesias, to Samyras; and Saphanus, to Plin. 1.7. dise was known to Noah before the Floud : Semiramis: Archimachus, to Ageon: to which and so was the Region of Eden by Moses af- invention the Erythrai are said to have adterward remembred; but what he under- ded certain numbers of Oars: and then Ami-Thorid. nocles the Corinthian to have increased them: known. And therefore did Annius ill advise the Carthaginians afterwards to have himself to plant Gomer in Italy, and Tubal in brought them to four Banks: the Quinque Spain, in the tenth and twelfth of Nimrods Remi first to have been used by Nesichthon Reign: shall the Earth be brought forth in one the Salaminian, with which Veffels, in those day, or shall a Nation be born at once? But it parts of the World, the Romans served may be objected, that the Sons of Japheth themselves in the Punick War. But these be, perhaps, but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the devising of these Gallies on Sesostris, though Semiramis used them in the justly suppose those Conductors carried with them. So it is said, that Danaus was the first spide de Enfet de Propies de Conductors carried with passage of her Army over Indus in Abrahams Plin. 1.7. brought a Ship into Greece; and yet the Sa-prap. Emothracians challenge the invention: and vang. c. i. yet Tertullian (on the contrary) gives it to Minerva: others, to Neptune; Thucydides, to Ten. de C the Corinthians. And so ignorant were the people of those Ages, as the Egyptians used hed themselves by the Herds and numbers devised by King Erithrus: and in the time of to coast the shores of the Red-Sea upon raffs;

fmall twigs, and covered over with leather: hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether of which kind I have feen at the Dingle in from them in many particulars. Certainly, of which and elfe-where. Naves ex corro eirthat great Learned man of this latter Age, cumsula in Oceano Britannico (laith Textor:) Arias Montanus, was also in some things of which Lucan the Poet:

Primum cana salix, madefacta vimine parvam Texitur in puppim, casoque induta juvenco, Vectoris patiens tumidum supernatat amnem. Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus Navigat Oceano.

The moistned Ofyer of the hoary Willow Is woven first into a little Boat: (billow Then cloath'd in Bullocks hide, upon the Of a proud River, lightly doth it float Under the Waterman: So on the Lakes of over-fwelling Poe Sails the Venetian: and the Britain fo On th'out-spread Ocean.

And although it cannot be denied, when Noah, by Gods inspiration, was instructed in fo many particulars concerning the ark, that Prophet Ezechiel chiefly, who in the 38. and then many things concerning Navigation were first revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference between the Ark of together with the Magogians : of which Gog Noah, and fuch Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea, ancient Stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst preand Cattel; as also common reason can tell us, that even now, when this Art is come to her perfection, fuch Voyages are very trouble-Ship, or use of Ships, fit for any long navigatiof Navigation would not have been dead livery from Captivity. for fo many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and and Necessity: and to the rest, neither probability, nor possibility.

s. IV.

of Gog and Magog, Tubal, and Meshech, seated first about Asia the Less; out of Ezechiel, Chap. 38. 39.

Ow, although many learned and reverend men have formed (I know not the Magogiams, or Culosyrians, next border-

the Romans, the Britans had a kind of Boat whereby led) a Plantation of the World, (with which they croft the Seas) made of which also hath been and is received; yet I much miftaken: and for Josephus, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours withall; so was he in the Plantation of the World very gross and fabulous; whereby both Ensebins, Hierosolymitanus, Epiphanius, and others, that have taken his testimonies for currant, have been by him far miss-led. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World Gomer the Son of 7apheth possest, as also Tubal, it is needfull to begin with Magog: because the Scriptures take most knowledge of Gog and Magog: which two names have troubled many Commentators, faith Matth. Beroaldus, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find most judicious in the examination of this Plantation. He takes authority from the 39. Chapters directeth us, what Nations the Gomerians, Tubalines, and Togormians were, was Prince, or chief Conductor, in their Attempts against Ifrael. For besides the portions of Europe, and the North-east parts of fume upon any long voyages to Sea, at least the greater Asia, which Japheths Issues pof with multitudes of Women, and Children, fest, all Asia the Less was peopled by them. And that those of the Issue of Japheth (whom Ezechiel speaks of) were feated hereabout, it may best appear, if we consider some and dangerous. So as it doth appear, the circumstances of the place, and the dethat there was not in that Age of Nimrod any pendency upon the former Prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter Exe days on. For if Gomer and Tubal had passed them- chiel prophesieth of the uniting of the two was selves and their people by Sea; the exercise Kingdoms of Israel and Juda, after their de-

By which Prophecie of Ezechiel, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together all men else to their fancies, who have cast his people, to give life to dead bones, and to Nations into Countreys far off, I know not rule them by one Prince. For to that purhow, I will follow herein the Relation of pose it is written; And David my Servant Moses and the Prophets: to which Truth Shall be King over them, and they shall have one there is joyned both Nature, Reason, Policie, Sheepherd, (that is) they shall be united as they were in Davids time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter, Exechiel prophesieth against those Nations, which should seek to impeach this Union, and disturb the people of Israel, whom God purposed to receive to grace, and promifed to reftore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the Ifraelites after their return, and fought to subject them : all which were the Subjects or Allies of Gog, Prince of

Magog not for any one person, but for a Na- the Jews. tion: with which agreeth this observation of Now, that Magog is found in Coloffia,

ing Palastina, or the holy Land, followed the Turks from the Scythians, esteemed Maalso by the rest of the Nations of Asia the gogians of Gog. Many take Gog for the proper less, which lay North from Judea. The name of a Man: others, of a Region: others, words of Exechiel are these: Son of man, set for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as Junius, the face against Gog, and against the Land of who sayes that Gog is the name of a Nation. Magog, the chief Princes of Methech (or Mo- denominated from him whom the Greeks foch) and Tubal: and afterward; Behold, I Stories call Gyges: who informer time havcome against the chief Prince of Methech and ing slain Candanles the Lydian, gave his own Tubal: and in the lixth Verse; Gomer and name to that Nation, thence after called Thoat: and in the that the House of Togorma of Gygades: and thereof also the Gygean Lake; the North quarters. Herein Ezechiel having which Lake Strabo also findeth in Lydia (of 13. first delivered the purpose of his Prophecie, which Gyges was King) fortie Furlongs from teacheth what Nations they were that should Sardis. Plinie calleth it Gygeum fragnum, in vanity affayl Israel. He joyneth them Herodotus and Nicander set it about the Ritogether under their Prince Gog, and shew- vers of Hillus, and Manander; but the difeth that their habitations were on the North ference is not great. Marius Niger maketh quarters of Juda, and how seated and joyn-mention of this Gyges King of Lydia: who, ed together. Gog fignifieth in the Hebrem after he had subdued the Country about the (faith Saint Hierom) tellum or covering of a River Rhodins which runneth into the Helleboule: and Pintus upon Ezechiel affirmeth, font, called the Promontory Trapele after his that by Gog is meant Antichrift: for (faith own name Gyges. These Opinions do also he) Antichristus crit Diaboli tegumentum sub seem to strengthen that of Junius. For Suid cel. specie humana: That Antichrist shall be the Magog, saith he, is that part of Asia the less, covering of the Devil under humane form. which Halyattes obtained, and after him his He addeth, that Magog is as much to fay as Son Crafus; who (as Junius further notes) Cog: the Letter (M) being an Hebrew Pre- having mastered all those Regions as farr polition, and importeth as much as of, or, South as Libanus, in that Border built the Cifrom: to he taketh Magog for those people ty Gigarta, or Gogkarta (which in the Syrian which follow Antichrift. So far Fintus; at fignificth the City of Gog) feated in Caloffria, least in this not amiss, that he expoundeth whose People were the ancient Enemies of

Beroaldus, Magog (faith he) in Hebrew is writ - Pliny affirmeth laying ; Colofyria habet Bamten Ham-Magog, which sheweth Magog to be byeen, que alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur: a Region or Nation: for the Letter (He) Spris verb, Magog; Coclosyria hathinit Bamwhich is used but for an Emphasis (which the byce, which in another name is called Hiero-Hebrews call Heliajedia) is never added to polis; but of the Syrians, Magog. He further proper names of men, but often to place. telleth us, that the monstrous Idol Aiergatis, So as Gog was Prince of that Nation (called called by the Greeks Derceto, was here woreither Magos, or, according to others, the people of Gog) also Prince of Messech (or ing, That the City had anciently another Mo(och) and of Tubal: as by the first Verse name, which he yet expresset not; forbearof the 29. Chapter is made manifest: Behold, I ing, perhaps, the word Magog, as sounding nocome against thee Gog the chief Prince of Me- thing elegantly in the Greek. But if we may shech and Tubal. This must needs be meant believe strabe, then was Edessa in Mesopota-Stables. by the Successors of selencus Nicanor, who mia, the same Bambyce or Hierapolis, where did not (as other conquering Nations) feek the same Idol was worshipped. Ortelius is to make the Jens their Tributaries only, but doubtfull whether one of these Authors did indeavoured by all means, and by all kind not mistake the place of this Bambyce, or Hieof violence, to extinguish the Religion it rapolis. It may well enough be, that the same felf (which the Hebrens profess'd) and the name and Religion was common to them acknowledging of one true God: and to both. Certain it is that both of them lay due force them to worship and serve the mortal North from Palastina, and were both subject and rotten gods of the Heathen 5 of which unto the Kings of the Race of selencus. Now, nothing remained but the very name, and I do not condemn the Opinion of Hermolaus dead Images. S. ambrofe and Islatore take Gog Barbarus following Josephus, but grant that; for the Nation of the Goths: belike, because perhaps, Magog might also be the Father of they invaded Europe, and facked Rome, and the Scythians; notwithstanding that in this many other places and cities thereabout. place, where Gog is made Prince of Magog, Hormolaus Barbarus out of Pomp. Mela derives the Nations of Calofria, and the North parts

be propagated into scythia. Yet it is not to passed into Spain to search out the mines of that be denied, that the seythians in old times Region: having belike understood that it coming out of the North-east, wasted the was a Southerly Country, and Mountainous better part of Asia the less, and possess calo-Syria, where they built both scythopolis and Hierapolis, which the Syrians cail Magog. And that to this Magog Exechiel had reference, it is very plain: for this City Hierapolis or Magog frandeth due North from Judaa, according to the words of Exechiel, that from the North-quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infefted the Ifraclites were the Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt: fo those of the North were the Kings of Asia and Syria, the Successors of Selencus, the Successors of Alexander Macedon. Gulielmus Tyrius thinks that this Hierapolis is that Lib. A.cap. Rages, mentioned in the Story of Tobias. Pliny takes it not onely to have been called Bambyce, as we have faid, but also Edesja: not that by Euphrates; but another of the same name: now, the known name is Aleppo: for fo Bellonius expounds this Hierapolis, or Magog. This City had the Title of sacred, as the sacred re-people it anew. This appeared by the City, (for so the word Hierapolis fignifieth) Carthaginians of old, who were callly drawn yet was it a place of most detested Idolatry, to passover the Streights into that Countrey: and wherein was worshipped the Idol of the and after by the Moors who held Granado, Mermaid Atergates, or Atergitis, according and the South parts, eight hundred years, till to Pliny, which the Greeks call Derceto.

the third Verse of the thirty eight Chapter, not the Gomerians of France, nor the Tubalines of spain, but a people of the leffer Asia, and cologria: and therefore that the opinicted. But if Josephus refer himself to latter times, and think that fome Colonie of the Tubalines might from Iberia and Asia pass into spain (to wit) from that piece of Land between Colchis (or Mengrelia) and Albania, (most part possessed by the Georgians) then is his judgment of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of opinions, it may be granted, that in process of time these people might from their first habitation, pass into the Countries neer the Euxine Sea, and from thence in after-Ages into Spain.

adjoyning be meant by Magog: for by a lat- ing, that they were antiently called Thobelos, ter Plantation from these parts they might as of Tubal; from whence (faith Justine) they lybes, lived altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as Apollonius witneffeth in these following Verses, telling how the Argonautes did visit them:

Hac gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro, Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis: Mercibus hec mutat, que vite alimenta mi-

The Calybes plough not their barren foil, But undermine high Hills for Iron Veins: Changing the purchase of their endless

For Merchandize, which their poor lives fustains.

But it is more probable, that Spain was first peopled by the Africans, who had ever fince an affection to return thither, and to the time of Ferdinand and Isabel. And either If then we confer the words of Ezechiel in of these opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth year of Nimrods Reign, wherein he joyneth together Gog, Mespech Tubal past into Spain, and therein built Saint and Tubal; and withal remember that Hie- Qval: a poor Town, and a poor device, God rapolis was the City of Magog, which also is feated directly North from Judea: with shoch or Meshech, and Tubal Neighbours, and whom also Ezechiel coupleth Gomer, and all Gomer and logarma not farr off, or else we his bands of the North quarters; we may shall wrong Execbiel: for he called Gog the (as I conceive) fafely conclude, that thefe Leader or Prince of Meshech and Tubal, and Followers and Vastals of Gog (which were Northern Nations in respect of Judea) were And that Messech inhabited Asia, Funding (though he followed Berofus) confesseth, for these be his words: Mesacus, qui à Mose Mesech, priscos Mesios ab Adula monte usque ons of Berosus, Josephus, and whosoever esse ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hee regio position hath followed them therein, are to be rejeCappadocia dicta est, in quantus Mazica, oc. bæc est terra Magog principalis; Mesacus, whom Moses calleth Mesech, placed the ancient Mesians from the Mount Adulas, unto the Coasts of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Town Mazica, &c. this is the principal Countrey of Magog. And this doth Annius also avow, and yet forgets that Gog was Prince both of Mefech and Tubal: and therefore that the one was a Nation of Spaniards, the other of Cappadecians, is very ridiculous; spain lying directly West, and not North from Judea. Al-Josephus makes mention of the Iberi, fay- fo Exechiel in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth phecieth of the destruction of Tyre, nameth | drawn at length into Asia the less, and occushall ride upon Horses, even a great multitude, and a mighty. Then, if any man believe that these troups came out of Spain over the Pyrenes, and first passed over a part of France, all Pontus, and Euxinus, to come into the lesier Asia, which is half the length or compass of the then known World; he may be called a ftrong Believer, but he shall never be justified thereby. But on the contrary, it is known that Seleucis was a Province neighbouring Palastina or Judaa, and that Hierapolis (or Magog) joyned unto it : whose Princes commanded all Syria, and Asia the less, (namely; the Seleucida) and held it, til Scipio Alaticus overthrew Antiochus the Great: after which yet they possess syria, till the time of Tigranes: and whether Melbech be in Cappadocia, or under Iberia, yet is it of the Tubalines, and one and the same Dominion.

Of Gomer the like may be faid. First, he feated himself with Togarma, not farr from Magog and Tubal, in the borders of Syria and Cilicia. Afterward he proceeded further into Asia the less; and in long tract of time his valiant Islue filled all Germany, rested long in France and Brittany, and polleffed the utmost borders of the Earth, accomplishing (as their Parents name, which is Otmost bordering. But when these borderers wanted fur-

Melech and Tubal jointly. And for a final pied those parts, which had formerly been proof, that these Nations were of a Northern held by their Progenitours. I say not that Neighbour Land (how far soever stretched) they claimed those Lands as theirs by De-Executed in the 38. Chapter makes them all scent; for likely it is, that they knew little Horsmen. Thou, and much people with thee all of their own Pedigree. Neither can any man therefore deny, that they were of old feated in Alia, because in late Ages they returned thither; unless he will think, that all those Nations which from far parts have Italy, Hungary, and Sarmatia, and imbarqued invaded and conquered the Land of Shiagain about the Hellespont, or else compassed naur, may by that Argument be proved not to have illued from thence at the first.

Now, concerning Samothes, for his excellent wisdom, sirnamed Dir, whom Annius makes the Brother of Gomer and Tubal (which Brother, Mofes never heard of, who spake his knowledge of fapheths Sons) they must find him in some old Poet: For Functius, a great Berosian, confesieth: Quis hic Sa- In Chren. mothes fuerit incertum eft; Who this Samothes was, it is uncertain; neither is there any color. proof that he was that fame Dis, whom Cafar Comment. faith the Gaules suppose to be their Ancestor; Figui part. yea, and Vignier confesseth with Functius: Mays on ne scayt qui il estoit; No man knows who he was.

§. V.

Against the fabulous Berosus his Fiction, That the Italian Janus was Noah.

Dut before I go on with Noah his Sons. I Dthink it is necessary to disprove the Ficti-Melantihon well notes) the fignification of on which Annius hath of Noah himself; an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wrested) by those ther place, wherein they might exonerate Authors of whom himself hath Commented : their swelling multitudes that were bounded as the Fragment of Berosus, Fabius, Pictor, in by the great Ocean, then did they return Cato, Lavinius and others. For Annius fecks upon the Nations occupying the Countreys, to perswaded us, that Noah surrough which they had formerly passed, was the same which founded Genna, with Vill. de sursons of the surrough which they had formerly passed in the surrough which they had some surrough with Vill. de sursons of the surrough which they had surrough with the surroug oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards other Cities in Italy, wherein he lived 92. Can de the people more remote. Hereupon it was years, This to difprove, by Mofes filence, is a origen. (as the worthy Restorer of our Antiquities, sufficient argument to me, if there were no-last defined to M. William Cambden hath noted) that they thing else to disprove it. For, if he vouch-Gall. were called Cimbri, which in their old Lan- fafed to remember the building of Babel, guage doth fignifie Robbers; necessity in | Erec, Achad, Chalne and Nineve, by Nimrod, forcing them to spoil their Neighbours, to Noah was a man of too great mark to be forwhom in their original, they were as near gotten, with all the acts he did in 92. years, joyned, as afterwards in the feats which they But it were a needless labour for me to difpossessed. For that the Warlike Nations of prove the authority of that Berosus, on whom Germany were in elder Ages accustomed to Annins groundeth, seeing so many learned be beaten by the Gaules, the authority of Ce- men have fo demonstratively proved that far affirming it, is proof fufficient. But in Fragment to be counterfeit. Befides that times following, they pursued richer Conquefts, and more easie, though further difant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were cated to Antiochus the Succession of Selencus (1).

whereas Berofus handled onely the citate of the fall of Troy but 150, years (faith Eufebius) filled this Fragment with the business of all King: which also Saint Augustine and Justine the World. And if we may believe Eusebius better than Annius, then all the Kings of the Latines (before Aneas) consumed but 150. years: whereas no man hath doubted, but felves add thus much: That whereas some that from Noah to Aneas arrival into Italy, there past 1126. (after the least rate of the wife of this Janus, who instituted the holy Hebrew account) and (after Codoman) 1291. For fanus (who was the first of their Kings) lived at once with Ruth, who married Book Idolatrous and Heathenish Ceremonics) in the Worlds year (as some reckon) 2717. after the Floud 1064. and Noah died 350. years after the Floud : and so there past between Janus of Italy, and Noah furnamed Jamis 704 years. For Saturmis succeeded famus, Picus after Saturnus, Fannus after Picus, and Latinus followed Fannus: which Latinus lived at once with Tantanes the 27. King of Affria; with Pelagus of Peloponnesus; with contrary to that which he knew best pleasing Demophoon of Athens; and sampfon Judge of to God himfelf. Israel. Now, all these five Kings of the Latines having confumed but one hundred and fifty years, and the last of them in the time of Sampson: then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fifty years, and it reacheth Ruth, with whom Janns lived.

True it is, that the Greeks had their Janus 5

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but this was not Noah: fo had they Ion the Son of Xuthus, the Son of Deucalion, from whom they draw the Iones, who were indeed the children of Javan, the fourth Son of Jaand to the pheth. For the vulgar Translation (where the therein I observe, that as both reason and 19. (tor

us above 2000. years, and the English Speech blance of the Hebrew, Syrian, or Scythian,

Nicanor: but Annius hath devised five Books, with the Grecian Janus which commanded wherewith he honoureth Berofus. And them, and planted them, and who preceded and possibility. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanity, I may out of them-Fire of the Vestal Virgins in Rome (the Latines and Romans taking from Janus all their Noah himself (who is faid by Moses to have malked with God, to be a just man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and ungrateful, to set up or devise any Heathen, Salvage, or Idolatrous adoration, or have instituted any Ceremony,

That Gomer also and his Son Togorma of the Posterity of Japheth, were first seated about Asia the Lest: and that from thence they fired Westward into Europe, and Northward into Sarmatia.

O turn now to the Sons of Noah, and theWorldsPlantation after the Floud: Hebrew word is Javan) writes Greece, and the necessity taught them; so, when they mul-Septuagint, Hellas; which is the same. So had tiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themthey Medus the Son of Medea, whom they selves into the next Countreys bordering to make the Parent of the Medes, though they their first habitations, and from thence sent the phiral were descended of a farr more ancient Fa- forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such manther (to wit) Madai the third Son of Japheth, ner, as that they might repair to each other, Lailly, we see by a true experience, that and keep intelligence by River: because the British Language hath remained among the Land was yet Defart, and overpress with Woods, Reeds, Boggs, and rotten Maever fince the invation of the Angles, and the rifhes. As when Nimrod feated in Babylonia, fame continuance have all Nations observed | Chush took the South part of Chaldea down among themselves, though with some cor- the River of Gehon, by which he might pass ruption and alteration. Therefore it is to and fro from Babylon to his own Plantatistrange, if either Noah (by them called Janus) on: those also, which were of the Race of had left in Italy his Grand-child Gomer after | Shem, inhabiting at Ur, or Orchoa, near the him, or Tubal in Spain, that no plain resem- Lakes of Chaldea, might by the same River get up to Babylon, and receive succour from (which no time could have quite extinguish- thence. All which Tract of Land upon Gelon ed) should have been found in the Langua- Southward, Moses, in the description of Pages of those Countreys. For which reasons radife, calleth the Land of chush because the we doubt not but these personal Planta- Dominion and Empire was then in the hands tions of Janus, Gomer, Tubal, &c. In Italy, of Nimrod a Chushite, by whom the children spain, or France, are meerly fabulous. Let of shem (which came into that Valley and the Italians, therefore content themselves stayed not in the East) were for a while op

prest, till God afterward by the seed of I Abraham made them his own Nation and victorious. Havilah, the brother of Nimrod. and fon of Chush, took both Banks of Tygris. especially on the East side of the River: by and fro to Babel.

The Imperial seat of which Region of Haor Chusan, afterward Susa. Chush himself took the Banks of Gehon, and planted those Countries West-ward, and Southwest-ward to-Pul Alie wards Arabia the Stony, and the Defart, first Chusia.

> themselves Northward, and Westward, into to reason, that both Gomer, Magog, and Tubal,

The children of Tubal ranged as far as Iberia, to whom the Moschici were Neighbours, which others write Meshech. The Prophet Exechiel (coupling them together) calleth Gog the Prince of Meschech and Tubal. For which River his people might also pass to these Meschi (which Ptolemy calleth Moschi) inhabit Syracena a Province of Armenia, directly South from the Mountains Moschiei, in vilab or Susian, was antiently called chussan the Valley between the Mountains Moschier, and the Mountains Pariardes: out of whose North part springeth the River Phasis; from the East part Araxis; and from the West Euphrates: and of this Meschech are descenwhere Ptolemy placeth the City of chnsidia, ded also the Moscovians (faith Melanthon); and it may be, that in process of time some seba, and sheba, with the rest that planted of them inhabited those Regions also: For Arabia felix, had Tygris, to convey them Melbech (faith Melantthon) fignifieth exteninto the Persian gulf, which washeth the dens, enlarging or stretching forth. Togorma banks of Arabia fælix on the East side: so also at first did inhabit amongst his Parents as those sons of Cush might take Land down and Kindred: The Togormians were also the River as they pleased. Also the City of called Giblei, a people neighbouring the 81-Ninive was by Nimrod founded on the faid donians in Gabala, a Tetrarchy of Phanicia, River of Tygris, and from thence a Colonie the fame which Pliny calleth Gaben: from pass'd to Charran, standing also upon a navi- whence Solomon had his most excellent Magable branch of Euphrates. In like manner fons, which hewed stones for the Temple of 1 King 53 did Japheths sons settle themselves together, Jerusalem. Thence the Togormians stretch-18. and took their feats in Afia the less: from ed into the less Armenia, whose Kings were Jan.in whence they might indifferently stretch hence called Tigranes, and their Cities Tigra- Gen. 10. nokarta: of which Cities Tigranes, subdued verse 3. the next parts of Europe, called the Isles of by Lucullus the Roman, built one. Hierosothe Gentiles. And it seemeth very agreeable | lymitanus hath planted the Togormians in Barbary; forgetting the prophecy of Ezechiel fate down first of all in that part of Syria, against the Tyrians: They of the house of To- Judg. 171 to the North of Palestina and Phanicia: and gorma, brought to thy Faires, Horses, and horse-14 from thence Gomer, or his children, pass'd on men, and Mules; which could not well be into Asia the less, as those of Magog and Tu- driven over the whole length of the Medibal did; from whence the Tubalines spred terran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries themselves into Iberia: and the Magogians by land. But Josephus takes them for the more Northerly into Sarmatian. The first parents of the Phrygians; which I do not de-Gomerians, and first Planters in Asia the less, ny, but they might be, in the ensuing ages: held the Country of the Cymmerians (wit- and so might the Tubalines be of the Spaniness Herodotus) the same Region which was ards; but it was from Iberia, and many hunafterward by the Gallo-Greeks called Gala- dred years after the twelfth of Nimrod's tia, to whom Saint Paul wrote his Epistle so reign. The Jews conceive that the Turks intituled. This Nation of the Cymmerians came of those Togormians, because their Em-(whom the invincible Scythians afterwards peror is called Togor. The Chaldeans make dispersed, and forced from their first Plan- them the Fathers of the Germanes. But Latations) gave names to divers places, as to onicus affirms, that the Turks descended of the Mountains about Albania (called Cym- the Crim Tartar, which borders Muscovia, merini) and to the City of Cymmeris in Phry- But for these subderivations it were infinit to gia: also Bosphorus Cymmerius took appella- examine them. Only of the first and second tion from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was also a City of that name, called Cymmerian: which Pliny faith (militaking the ver; and therein to open the ignorance of place) had sometime the name of Cerberion; some, and the corruption of other fabulous but Cerberion was a Town in Campania, for Writers. And this we must Note, that those called of the unhealthful waters favouring grand-children of Noah which were of a of Brimftone, which Angufus caused to be more quiet, or (perchance) of less undercleanfed by letting in the water of the Lake standing, and had not therefore the leading

of Colonies fent out, their proper habitations

minion over the rest.

From Madai the third fon of Japheth, were the Medes. The Grecians bring them (as before) from Medus the fon of Medea.

6. VII.

Of Javan the fourth son of Japheth: and of Mesech of Aram, and Meshech of Japheth.

ed the Greek: and so the Latine and Greek much he had learned from themselves: Interpreters for Javan write Greece, as in which was also the opinion of Panfanias. Efay: Et mittam ex iis qui salouti suerint ad True it is, that the Greeks in after-times cast gentes, in mare, in Haliam, & Graciam: themselves into that part of Asia the Less, op-And I will fend those that escape of them to Na posite unto them, which they held for divers tions in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece. The years. And howfoever the Greeks vaunt Geneva here useth the word (Tarshift) for Tar-themselves to be Fathers of Nations, and the fus, a City in Cilicia, though Tarfis in many most antient; yet all approved Historians places be taken for the Sea. The Tigurine (not their own) deride and disprove their and the Geneva use the names Tubal and Ja- pride and vanity therein. For this dispute van, and not Haly and Greece: keeping the of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) fame Hebrew words. Of the Iones were the rested between the Seythians and the Egypi-Athenians, though themselves dream that ans, as Justine out of Trogus, in the Warbethey were Aborigines, or men without Antween Vexorus of Egypt, and I anais of Scylbia, ceftors, and growing (as it were) out of the witneffeth: which preceded far the reign foile it self: who abounding in people, sent of Ninus, and was long before the name of Colonies into Asia the leis, of whom came Greece was ever heard of. And it is also mathe Iones of those parts. Others derive the nifest, that in Cecrops time the Greeks were Athenians from Ion the son of Xuthus, the son all Salvages, without Law or Religion, liof Dencalion; but the antiquity of Javan ving like brute Beafts in all respects: and marrs the fashion of that supposition, who so | Cecrops (saith Saint Angustine) lived together [4,4] many years preceded Kuthus, Ion or Deucali- with Moses. on. Pausanias tels us that Xuthus stole out of Thessaly with all his Fathers treasure, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at Athens, he was graciously received by Eritheus, who the supposed Ancestors of the Athenians: nesus, ast Ionia; These Countries are not Pelonesus, and not Ionia.

Iones came out of Asia into Greece, which is dwell in the Tents of Kedar: which Junio contrary to the former opinion: That the converteth thus; Hei mihi quia peregrinor

could be hardly known: only reason hath lones of Greece transporting certain compataught us, that they dwelt among the rest, nies into Asia the less, the name of Iones was and were covered with the fame of others, thereby therein retained. And though stra. who took on them the Conduction and Do- bo knew no more thereof than he learned of cture of Hecateus reasonable enough. For though it were to him unknown, yet fure I am that Asia the less had people before Greece had any: and that Javan did not flie from Babylonia into Greece, but took Asia the less in his passage; and from thence past over the necreft way, leaving his own name to some maritimate Province on that side, ashe did to that part of Greece fo called. But vet F Javan the fourth fon of Japheth came strabo himself believed, that Ionia took the name from Ion the son of Xuthus; for so Strabo himself believed, that Ionia took the

The fixth fon of Japheth was Meshech, whom the Septuagint call Mosech (a part of those Nations commanded by Gog the chief Prince of Melhech and Tubal.) But this we gave him his Daughter in marriage; of must remember, that between Mesch the son whom he received two fons, Ion and Acheus, of Aram, and Meshech (or Mosech) the son of Japheth, there is little difference in name, and (For Attica was called Ionia, faith Plutarch both by divers Interpreters diverfly written in the life of Thefew;) who, when he had Montanus, with the Vulgar, writeth Mefich, joyned Megara to Attica, erected a Pillar in the fon of Aram, Mes; the Geneva, Mali; that Isthmos or Strait, which fastneth Pelo- Junius, Mesch. But it may be gathered out ponnesus to the other part of Greece: wri- of the 120. Pfalm, that either Meshech the ting on that part which looketh towards fon of Japheth, was the parent of those peothe East, these words: Hac non funt Pelopon- ple, or gave the name to that Province wherein David hid himself: or else (which ponness, but of Ionia: and on the other side may rather seem) that it took name from which looketh towards the South, and into Mesch the son of Aram. For David beway! Peloponnesus, this: These parts are Pelopon- ing his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) wieth thele Strabo out of Hecatans affirmeth that the words: Wois me that I remain in Mesch, and

took name from Meshech or Mesch both bor- witness antiquity. dering Judga, and like enough to be comtime of his perfecution: the same being a City on the Mountains of Sanir or Galaad. And yet Arias Montanus makes Mosoch the Father of the Muscovians: and herein also Melanchton runs with the tide of common opinion, and fets Melech in Mulcovia, though with some better advice of judgment; as. first seated in Cappadocia, and from thence travailing Northward: expounding the places of the 120. Pfalm, (Hei mihi quod exulo in Mesech) to signifie, Gentis ejus feritatem insignem esse; That the ferity of that Nation exceeded: which fierceness or brutality of the Muscovians, David never proved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the same ferity or cruelty which those Northern Muscovians had, may aswell be ascribed to the Arabians and Kedarens. For this Country took name of Kedar the second son of Ismael, of whom a people of equal fierceness to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, even to this day (if the Arabians, Ismaelites, and Saracens, may be accounted one people:) the same being foreshewed by the speech of the Angel to Hagar,

tam diu: habito tanquam Scenite Kedareni : hand against him. Now Arabia the Desart The Septuagint gives it this sence: Wo is me (saith Pliny) confronteth the Arabians Cochlei Pal, 120. because my habitation (or abode) is prolonged, on the East, and the Cedrai Southward, both who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar: which joyn together upon the Nabathai, So with which this of the Latine agreeth; Here it appeareth (as before) that Mesech, Tubal, mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, ha- Gomer, Togorma, and Magog, neighboured bitavi cum habitantibus Kedar: The Chalde- Canaan and Ifrael, and that Kedar also did an otherwise, and in these words: O memi- joyn to Mesech: all which were Regions of ferum, quia peregrinatus sum Asianis, habitavi Syria, or of Asia the Less, commanded by the cum taburnaculis Arabum; O wretch, that I successors of Selcuens, enemies of the re-estaam, for I have travailed among those of Asia: blishment of Israel and Juda. But (as I have Thave dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabi- already faid) it might well be, that long after ans. But howfoever or which foever con- the first Plantation the issue of Mesch (or version be taken for the best, yet all make Mosoch) might pass into Cappadocia, and mention of Kedar: which is a Province of thence into Hyrcania, and give names both Arabia Petraa; and the Chaldean putteth to Mazega in the one, and to the Mountains Alia in ftead of Mefech, but the Hebrew it felf Moschiei in the other, and from thence might hath Mesech. And if it be to be taken for a send people more Northerly into Muservia. Nation, (as it is most likely, because it an- and so all opinions saved. But all salvage Nafivers to Kedar, the name of a Nation) feeing tions over-grown and uncultivated, do (for Melch the fon of Aram, I Chron. 17. is called the most part) shew a late Plantation, even Messech, it is indifferent whether this Nation as civility, letters, and magnificent building.

JIZ

Tyras, the feventh fon of Japheth, which Mont. in manded by one Prince; for fo Ezechiel makes Montains reckons among the fons of Gomer; chr. Mesech and Tubal. But as for those that take was the Father of the Thracians, as all Au-Melech out of the word Mosock (given by the thors (worthy the examination) affirm. Toleseptuagint) to be the Muscovian: fure they phus was the first that determined hereof: presume much upon the affinity of names, as and because the Scriptures are altogether aforesaid. Sure I am that David never tra- silent, what part of the World Tyras peopled. velled fo far North (for to him Muscovin the conjectures are indifferent, and give no was utterly unknown) but about the border ground at all of dispute. It followeth now of Kedar (it may be) he was often in all the to speak of the Sons of Gomer, which were

Ascanez, Riphath, and Togorma.

S. VIII.

of Ascanez and Riphath, the two elder sons of

A Scanez was the Father of those which the Greeks call Regini, (saith Josephus) but he gives no reason why. Eusebius makes Ascanez the Father of the

Goths. The Jews in their Thargam make him the root of the Germane Nation; but their expositions are commonly very idle. Pliny findeth Ascania in Phrygia, neer the Rivers of Hilas and Cios Melanchton being of the fame opinion, that the Tuiscones were descen- Melanch in ded of the Afcanez : (for Tuiscones, faith he, car. lib. 1. is as much to fay, as of the Afcanez, prapofito articulo die Ascanes) and that the word fignifieth, a Religious Keeper of fire : it being anantient superstition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombs of Martyrs. Not far from Phrygia was the Lake Gen.16; v.12: And he shall be a wilde man: his Ascania, known by that name in the Romans hand soall be against every man, and every mans time. And among the Kings which came to

lis, faith Homer) like unto God: because he was beautifull and strong: for in the same manner doth Virgil grace Aneas, Os humeroque Deo similis; In face and body like one of therefore Mesopotamia being in elder times the gods: Virgil also remembreth such a Ri- but a Province of Syria, the Scriptures dif-Virg. Geor. ver, together with the Hills Gargara: as, Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, transque sonantem call it Aram-Padan. Then if these two Nati-Ascanium; Appetite leads them both over the ons were of the Armenians, and Ascanez mountains Gargara, and the rouring Ascanius. But this Pling maketh more plain in the description of Phrygia. For he placeth the City of Brillion upon the River Ascanius, which is Olympus, which lyeth farr within the Countries of Bithynia: and then from Prusia to Nicea are accounted 25. miles, in which way this Lake lieth, even between Prusia and Nicea. And so Junius (as I conceive him) takes them of Ascanez, to be the Inhabitants of Pontus and Bithynia, and those North parts | firm it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will of Asia. Stephanus de Urbibus makes it a City of Troas, built by Ascanius the Son of Æneas: faying, that there was another of that name in Mysia. Of Ascania a Lake of Bithynia, Ptolemy witnesseth: and Strabo giveth Ascania both a Lake, a River, and a Town in Mysia, near unto Cio; which also agreeth with Pliny. For Pliny findeth Prusia (before fpoken of) near cio, and calleth the Islands before Troy, Ascanes.

Ascanez the Son of Gomer, or of Ascanius the Son of Aneas, it might be questioned : sure it is, that Ascanius which brought succour to the Trojans, could not take his name from Eneas Son, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it feemeth that the Countreys whence those succours therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet Hieremy we shall learn of what Nation the Ascanez. were, whose words are these: Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations against her call up the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Afcanez, against her, &c. meaning, against the Bobylonians. Ararat was Armenia the greater as most Interpreters consent, so called of the Mountains of Ararat which run Minni. For Minni was the ancient name filled all the Land between the Baltick and

Mom. Iliad, the fuccour of Troy, was Afcanius (Deo simi- (faith Junius and others before him:) and tained all that Tract from Enphrates to the Sea-coasts of Phanicia, and Palastina; and joyned with them (who altogether united under Cyrus and Darius, came to the spoil of the Babylonian Empire) we shall erre much to call Askenez Germany, or Almain: for we adjoyning to Myfia, and is near the border hear of no fwart Ruttiers at that fiege. But of the Trojan Empire: and the Lake Ascanez the Askenez were of those Nations which he directs us to find by the description of were either subject or allied to the Meder: Pruss, founded by Hannibal at the foot of of which if any of them came afterwarding to Phrygia, I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in after-times without acount. But for the opinion of Eusebius, who makes them to be Goths; or that of Josephus, who calls them Rhegini; or of the Jews, who will have them to be Almains; when they con-

think as they do.

Of Riphath, the second Son of Gomer, there is mention in the first of chronicles. Beroaldus and Pererius think that he wandered farr off from the rest of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his Plantation. But I fee nothing to the contrary, but that he might feat himfelf with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no room or foil in those days for all the Sons and Grand-children of Now, whether these places took name of Noah. Therefore I take it to be well understood', that the Riphei were of Riphath, which the Greeks afterwards (according to Josephus) called the Paphlagones: and Riphei (faith Melancthon) fignifieth Giants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in Sarmatia: the most of number and power among them Sarmataru gens maxima came, were not out of any part of Phrygia; or Heneti, The greatest number of the Sarmatians Affa, but farther off, and from the North were the Heneti; who spake the ancient Particles. Heneti, The greatest number of the Sarmatians parts of all Asia the less, which by Hieremy is lac. which being first called Riphei (for the called Asianez, by the figure Synechdoche, as love of some of their Leaders or Kings) Junius thinketh. Out of those testimonies changed their names, and became Heneti (a custom exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in Paphlagonia; as Homer witnesseth, and so doth Apollonius in his Argonauticks: Now, when these Riphei (afterward Heneti) fought new Regions, they came and long the shores of Euxinus, and filled the North-part of Europe, containing Ruffia, Lituania, and Polonia. From thence thy croft thwart the Land, and peopled Illyria, defirous (faith Meland hon) of a warmer foil of through it: Minni, the leffer Armenia; Ar- Fruit and Wine. These Heneti, or Veneti, which menia being compounded of Aram and whom Melandhon taketh to be one people; com

Adriatick Sea: and to this day the name of to Tharfis, and brought thence Gold, Silver. the Gulf Venedicus is found in Ruffia. This Elephants teeth, &c. the Chaldean Paraphraft to me, that of Riphath, came the Riphei, afterward Heneti; and fo thinketh Arias Montanus, first feated in Paphlagonia, but in course of time, Lords of Sarmatia, and those other parts before remembred, chiefly between the Rivers of Viftula and Albis. The name (faith Melantthon) fignifieth wandering, or lived by White-meats and Fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Of the third Son of Gomer, Togorma, I have spoken already; now therefore of 7avans children which were four:

Elifa, Tharfis, Cethim, Dodonim.

6. IX.

Of the four Sons of Javan: and of the double fignification of Tharlis, either for a proper Name, or for the Sea.

F Elifa, or Elipha, came the Æoles: called Hellenes, faith Montanus. Melancthon makes Elisa the Father of the Æoles in Asia both. And feeing the Greeks were descend-Moles and the Elei, took name of Elisa his eldest Son. Exechiel in the 27. Chap. speaking of Tyre, nameth the Isles of Elisa, Hyacinthus & purpura de insulis Elisæ facta sunt operimentum tuum : Blue Silk and purple, brought Chaldeans for Elifa, write Italia: but the Vulgar, the Tigurine, the Geneva, and Junius, keep the word Elifa: and fo I think they found afterward at Tyre it felf: and before

Tharfis the second Son of Javan, inhabited Cilicia, of which Tharks is the Metropolis. Montanus, for Tharsis in Cilicia, understands Carthage in Africa; but (referving the re-

Nation, after they were possess of Lituania translates Tharfis (Africa,) But Solomons Ships and Polonia, diffurbed the Plantation of the were prepared in the Red-Sea at Efon-Ga-Rois and Hermonduris. Therefore it seemeth ber, in the Bay of Elana, near unto Madian, where Jethro (Moses Father-in-law.) inhabited; a Province of Arabia Petrea, Idumea, or of the Chastles; and they sailed to the higher part of the East-India. For it had been a strange Navigation to have spent three years in the pallage between Judea and Carthage, or any other part of Africa, wanderers, or Nomades: a people which which might have been failed in fix or ten days. And if so great riches might have been found within the bounds of the Mediterrane Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would foon have entertained that Trade alfo. But this enterprise of Solomon is in this fort written of, in the first of Kings : Also King Solomon made a Navie of Ships in Eliou-Gaber, which is belide Elath, and the brink of the Red-Sea in the Land of Edom: and Hyram fent with the Navie his fervants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the servants of Solomon: and they came to Ophir, and fet from thence 420. Talents of gold, &c. But as the Nations about Pontus and of this Elisa, all the Greeks were thought no Sea in the World like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely (whereof it came, side: others of Elis in Peloponnesus; or of that Pontus was a word used for the Sea in general) so, because the Israelites and the Phaed in general of Javan, it is probable that nicians knew no other Sea than that of the Mediterrane in the beginning; and that the people of Tharfis had the greatest Ships, and were the first Navigators in those parts with fuch Veffels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word Tharlis used often from the Isles of Elifa, was their covering. The for the Sea. And whereas it is faid that the Ships of Solomon went every three years to Tharfis, that phrase is not strange at all; for we use it ordinarily wheresoever we navimight do with reason. For there was not gate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone found any such Purple-Die in Haly in those to the Sea, or that they are set out every days, nor fince, that I can read of : but those year, or every three years to the Sea, and Ises of Elisa, were by a better conjecture therefore Tharsis was not therein named, eithe Illes of Greece; and the best Purple was ther for Carthage, Africa, or India, but used for the Sea it felf. But in this place, Tharfis is truthat, among the Cyclades, and on the Coast | ly taken for Tharfis, the chief City in Cilicia; foundedby Tharfis the second Son of Javan, or by his Successors in memory of their first Parent. To this City arrived Alexander Macedon, before he gave the first overthrow to Darius, and casting himself into the River spect due to so learned a man) he was much to bathe and wash his body, he fell into an mistaken in that conjecture. The Chaldean extreme Fever, and great danger of death: Paraphrisi puts Carthage for Tharsis, but it and in this City of Tharsis was S. Paul born. hath no authority nor warrant of reason Now, this agreeth with the reason and natural therein. So likewise, where it is written, that ture of a Plantation. For (Gomer and his the Ships of Solomon went every three years other Sons inhabiting Affa the less, and that

pass over the Sea into Greece, took the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the Iones on that shore: gave the Islands between Asia on that more; gave the maines beleft Tharfis tors: the Hebrew (D) and the Hebrew (R) the lefs and Greece to Elifa, and left Tharfis tors: the Hebrew (D) upon the Sea-side in Cilicia; of whom that

City took name. whom were the Romans and Halians, faith in the Province of Moloffa. And as Cethim, Beroaldus, but I allow better of Melanthons opinion, who makes Cethim the Father of the Macedonians. Cethim is a voice plural (faith he) and fignifies percussores, though in that longst the Coast, and finding Peloponness in respect it may be meant by either. But it the possession of Elisa, he passed a little furfeemeth more probable, that the place of ther on the Westward, and planted in Epp-Isai. 23. (according to Melantihon) had relation to Alexander and the Macedonians: Hac calamitas ab Esai prædicta est, qui capite Dodonim himself.yet his posterity might give vicessimo tertio inquit, venturos esse eversores it that name in the memory of their first Pa-Tyri ex terra Cittim; This calamity (faith Melancthon) was foreshewed by Esai the Prophet. who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of Tyre were come children, and grand-children; not in all on of Cittim. And although the children of places by themselves, but by their successors Ifrael efteemed all men Islanders, which came many years after: every of their Families to them by Sea, and separate from the Continent (and so also Cittim might be taken for I- those memories, out of what branch themtaly, saith Beoraldus) yet we must take the first performance of the former Prophecic which | And because great Kingdoms were often by took effect by the destruction of the Tyrians by Alexander, who, after feven Moneths fiege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces feven thousand principal Citizens; Îtrangled two thousand, and changed the freedom of or the names of their Ancestors, to Mounthirteen thousand others into bondage and tains and Rivers, as to things (after their flavery. Now, that Macedon was taken for | judgments) freelf from any alteration. Cethim, it doth appear plainly in the first of the Macchabees, in these words: After that his children in the edge and frontier of Asia Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, went forth of the Land of Cethim, and flew Darius King of the Persians, and Medes. Josephus sets Cethim in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (faith he) there remaineth the City Citium, the Country of Zeno the Philosopher (witness Laertius;) which City Pintus upon Ezechiel affirmeth, that it stood in S. Hieroms time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the Hebrews were called the Islands of Cethim; and in that sence might Cyprus be so called also; and yet, because Tharfis was the very next Port to Cyprus, and directly over against it, it is also very probable, that Cethim dwelt by his brother Tharfis: and finding that Island too straight for his people, after they were increased, and that the rest of the Coasts, both in Asia and Greece, were inhabited by his Father and brothers, he fent Colonies over the Agean Sea, and inhabited Macedonia.

Dodonim the fourth Son of Javan, and the

part of Syria adjoyning) Javan, who was to | youngest brether (by the mest opinions) sate Elifa, as he could. For Dodonim and Rhodanim are used indifferently by many Translafor the other, as all Hebricians affirm. There The third Son of Javan was Cethim, of is also found in Epirus the City of Dodona, when he wanted foil in Cyprus: so Dodonim (feated in a farr less Island) did of necessity fend his people farther off; and keeping arus. And though the City of Dodona was not then built (or perchance not fo ancient as rent, as it happened all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountains, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of Noahs being defirous to retain among them, by felves were taken and grafted elfe-where. new Conquerers newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished, therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names,

Thus then did Javan settle himself and the less, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in Greece, and the Islands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as Japheth their Father had done in the body of the leffer Asia, together with Javans brethren, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Tubal, Mesech, and the rest, round about him. And in like fort did chift (the Son of Cham) people Babylonia, Chaldaa, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the Sons of chush (all but Nimred, who held Babylonia it felf) travelled Southward in Arabia falix, and South-westward into Arabia Petræa: the rest of his children holding the Regions adjoyning to Nimrod. Mizraim the brother of Chish in like manner took the way of Egypt: and his brother Canaan the Region of Palastina adjoyning. The Sons of Canaan had their portions in Canaan, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the Hebrews, and to those of the Sons of Shem, which spread themselves to wards the West, and the borders of the Me- vainly led by his own invention. For Josediterrane Sea: of which I shall speak here- phus, presuming that Chush was Æthiopia, and which were four:

Chulb, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan.

9. X.

That the feat of Chush the eldest son of Ham. was in Arabia, not in Æthiopia: and of firange Fables, and ill Translations of Scri ptures, grounded on the mistaking of this

of Josephus bis Tale of an Æthiopes, Wife of Moses, grounded on the mistaking of the feat of Chush.

"Hat Ham was the Father of the Egyptians, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Pfalm, verf. 51. Then Israel came to Egypt, and Jacob was a stranger in the Land of Ham: and in the 78. Pfalm. He slew all the first-born in Egypt, even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles Thebaidai, called Cheramis (as it were the City of Ham) of which name Herodotus also dicovers an Island in the same Region. But because chush is the elder Son of Ham, it agreeth with order to speak first of him. Now, though I have already in the description of Paradise handled this question, and (I hope) proved that Chush could not be Æthiospeak for himself, I will add some farther hereof fets many things streight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and fenceless interpretations. Surely, howfoin failed, that chush could not be Æthiopia, but Arabia (to wit) both that Arabia called Petrea, and a part of Arabia the Happy and the Desart: which Regions Chush and the Chustes presently planted, after they left Babylonia to Nimrod, wherein they first sate down altogether. And there is nothing which so well cleareth the Controversie, as vers. 1. where Moses his Wife is called a Chufite; together with some places which speak of Nebuchodonozor's Conquests. For whereas Josephus and the septuagint in the place Numb. 12. vers. 1. as also else-where, underftand Chush for Ethiopia, we must give creappear that Josephus was grosly mistaken, or

after. But first of the Sons of Cham or Ham; therefore that the Wife of Moses (which in Scripture, Numb. 12. vers. 1. is called a Woman of chigh) was a Woman of the Land of Æthiopia, feigneth that Tharbis the Daughter of the King of Æthiopia, fell in love with the person and fame of Moses, while he befieged Saba her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtain Moses for her Husband, she practifed to betray both her Parents, Countrey, and Friends, with the City it felf, and to deliver it into Moses hands: The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) lieth thus in Joje- Antiq.L.2. phus. And after he hath described the cap. 5. ftrength of the Æthiopian City Meroe, which he faith at length Chambyses called fo from the name of his Sifter (the old name being Saba) he goeth on in these words: Hic cum Moses residere exercitum otiosum ægrè ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum Regifilia nomine Tharbis, &c. which Tale hath this sence in English: When Moses was grieved that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieved durst not fally and come to handy-strokes, there happened this accident in the mean while: The Æof Ham. There is also found a great City in thiopian King bad a Daughter called Tharbis, who at some assaults given, beheld the person of Moses, and withall admired his valour. And knowing that Moses had not onely up-held and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Athiopians to the very brink of subversion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily increased, she made means pia: yet seeing it cometh now to his turn to to send unto him by one of her trustiest servants, to offer her self unto him, and become proof to the former. For, the manifestation | his Wife; which Moses on this condition entertained, that she should first deliver the City into his possession; whereupon she condescending, and Moses having taken oath to perform ever the septuagint and Josephus have here- this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

||. II.

A Dispute against the Tale of Josephus.

This Tale (whereof Moses hath not a word) hath Josephus fashioned, and the true interpretation of the place, Num. 12. therein also utterly mistaken himself, in naming a City of Arabia for a City of Æthiopia: as he names Æthiopia it self to have been the Countrey of Moles his Wife, when (indeed) it was Arabia. For Saba is not in Æthiopia, but in Arabia, as both Strabo and dit to Moles himself herein; and then it will teach us, saying, that the Sabaans are Arabians, and not Æthiopians; except Josephus

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which came non the solution of solutions, were a Negro or Black-Moor. eth the greatest things by the simplest End. And though Damianus à Goes speak of certain means: so it pleased him from a Shepherd Letters to the King of Portugal from Prester to call Moses, and after him David, and by John, of the Abiffines: wherein that Æthiojours, or the many man and the Portugals, that Mofes fitting by a Well (as disconsolate, and pian King would perswade the Portugals, that he was descended of the Queen of Saba, and a stranger) defended the Daughters of Reof solomon; yet it doth no where appear in guel from the other Shepherds, and drew the Scriptures, that Solomon had any Son by them Water to water their Sheep: upon that great Princes: which had it been true, it which occasion (by God ordained) he was is likely that when sishac King of Egypt invaded Roboam, and fackt Hierusalem, his Brother (the Son of Saba and Solomon) who or Countreys. joyned upon Egypt, would both have impeached that enterprize, as also given aid and fuccour to Roboam against Jeroboam, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his own obedience. Neither is it any thing against our Opinion of Moses his Wife, to have been an Arabian, that the Scritures teach us, that Moses married the Daughter of Jethro, Priest of Midian or Madian: which standing on the North-coast of the Red-Sea, over against the body of Egypt, and near Eston-Gaber, where Solomon provided his Fleet for India, in the Region of But the passing of Moses through Arabia Edom, may well be reckoned as a part of Petrea (which joyneth to Madian) proveth Arabia, as the Red-Sea is called Sinus Arabicus. For Idumea joyneth to the Tribe of 7uda by the North; to Arabia Petraa, by the East; to the Mediterrane, by the West; and to the Red-Sea, by the South-east. And if we mark the way which Moses took when he lest Egypt, and conducted Israel thence, it will appear that he was no stranger in Arabia: in the border whereof, and in Arabia it felf, he had formerly lived fourty years; where it feemeth, that besides his carefull bringing up in Egypt, he was instructed by Jethro in the Egyptians learning. For Josephus confesseth, and S. Stephen confirmeth, that he was learned in all the Wildom of the Egyptians. But on the other fide, this Text makes to his own defire, and Gods Commandmuch against Josephus, where it is written in | ments. Exodus the second, Therefore Moses fled from (which was for betraying her Countrey and ing the same that joyneth to Arabia: So fare friends) neither had she the name of Tharbis, Chrysamensis.

can perswade us, that the Queen of saba, but of sippora, or Zippora: neither was she a can penwade us, that the Vistoria Negro, but a Madianites. And as God work-which came from the South to hear the Wistoria Negro, but a Madianites. married, and not for any betraying of Towns

From hence also came fethro to Moses at Rephidim, not far from Idumea, and finding the insupportable government of such a multitude, he advised him to distribute this weighty charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Family. And if Jethro had been an Æthiopian, it had been a farr progress for him to have passed through all Egipt with the Wife and Children of Moses, and to have found Moses in the border of Idnmea: the Ægyptians hating Moses, and all that favoured him. that Moses was well acquainted in those parts, in which the fecond time he wandered fourty years, and did by these late travels of his, feek to inftruct the Children of Ifrael in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and rest. For he found them nourished up with the milk of Idolatry, and obstinate in the Religion of the Heathen, and finding that those stiff Plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Defarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those he might receive fruit, agreeable

Laftly, this Opinion of Josephus is con-Pharaoh, and dwelt in the Land of Madian or demned by Augustinus Chrysamensis, where Midian, and not in Æthiopia. And in the also he reprehendeth Apollinaris, who a third Chapter, it is as plain as words can express, in what Region Madian was, where it and Sephora: His own words have this beis written, When Moses kept the sheep of Je- | ginning : Mentitur etiam Apollinaris duas thro his Father-in-law, Priest of Madian, and uxores habuisse Mosen, &c. Apollinaris also drave the Flock to the Defart, and came to the leth, in affirming that Moles had two Wives: mountain of God in Horeb, Now, that Mount and who doth not perceive these things feigned Horeb is not in Æthiopia, every infant know- by them? for it is manifest, that the Wife of eth. And if we may believe Moses himself, Moses was Lephora, Daughter to the Priestor then was not the Wife of Moses purchased President of Madian: and that Madian canin that manner which Josephus reporteth not be taken for Ethiopia beyond Egypt; beI. III.

CHAP. VIII.

Chush ill expounded for Æthiopia, Ezechiel 29. 10.

Ow, as Chush is by the Septuagint converted Ethiopia, and the Wife of Mofes therefore called Athiopifia: fo in the conquest of Nebuchodonosor is Æthiopia written is manifest that Nebuchodonosor was never in of the person of this great Asyrian) I come upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make from the Tower of Seveneh even to the borders of the Black-Moors: which last words should have been thus converted: From the Tower Seveneh, to the borders of the Chusites.or Arabians, between which two is fituated all Egipt. For to fay, from the borders of seveneh to the Ethiopians, hath no fence at all, seveneh it self being the border of Egypt, confronting and joyning to Æthiopia, or the Land of the Black-Moors. So as if Nebuchodonosors conquest had been but between Seveneh and the border of Æthiopia, it were as much to fay, and did express no other victory than the conquest of all that Land and Countrey, lying between Middlesex and Buckingham, where both the Countries joyn together; or all the North parts of England between Barwick and Scotland : for this hath the same sence with the former, if any man fought to express by these two bounds, the Conquest of England: Barwick being the North border of England, as Seveneh or Syena is the South bound of Egypt, seated in Thebaida, which toucheth Æthiopia. But by the words of Exechiel it appeareth, that Ne-Æthiopia, although the Septuagint, the Vulgar, the Geneva, and all other (in effect) have written Æthiopia for Chush.

Another place of Executed, Chap. 30. Vers. 9. in the like manner mistaken.

Nd as the former, so is this place of Exe-A chiel mistaken, by being in this sort converted: In die illa egredientur nuncii à facie mea in tricribus ad conterendam Æthiopiæ confidentiam: Which place is thus turned in English by the Geneveans: In that day shall their messengers go forth from me in ships to make the careles Moors afraid. Now, the Latine for (ships) hath the Greek word Trieres

banks, and not ships. But that in this place the Translation should have been (as in the former) amended by using the word Chush, or Arabia, for Æthiopia, or the Black-Moors, every man may fee which meanly understandeth the Geography of the World, knowing, that to pass out of Egypt into Athiopia, there need no Gallies or Ships, no more than to pass out of Northampton into Leicesterfor Arabia. For by the words of Exechiel it Shire: Æthiopia being the conterminate Region with Egypt, and not divided so much Athiopia. Behold (faith Ezechiel, speaking as by a River. Therefore in this place of Ezechiel it was meant, that from Egypt Nebuchodonofor should send Gallies alongst the Coast of the Land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, the Red-Sea, by which an Army might be transported into Arabia the Happy and the stony (sparing the long wearisom march over all Egypt, and the Desart of Pharan) which Army might thereby surprise them unawares in their security and confidence. For when Nebuchodonosor was at Seveneh within a mile of Æthiopia, he needed neither Gally nor Ship to pals into it; being all one large and firm Land with Egypt, and no otherwise parted from it, than one In-land shire is parted from another: and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleasure, he could not have done it; for the fall of Na lus (tumbling over high and steepy Mountains) called Catadupa Nili, were at hand.

Laftly, I have already observed, the Sons of every Father seated themselves as near together as possibly they could; Gomer and his Sons in Asia the less; Javan and his Sons in Greece, and the Islands adjoyning; shem in Persia and Eastward. So the sons and grandchildren of Chulh from the River of Gehon (their Fathers first seat) inhabited upon the fame, or upon some other contiguate unto it, as Nimrod and Havilah on the one fide, and buchodonosor never entred into any part of Saba, Sheba, and Sabtecha (with the rest) did on the other fide. And to conclude, in a word, the Hebrews had never acquaintance or fellowship, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the Æthiopian Black-Moors, as is already remembred in the Chap-

ter of Paradife.

Aplace, Elay 18. v. 1. in like manner corrupted, by taking Chush for Æthiopia.

Nd as in these places before remembred. fo in divers others is the word Æthiopia put for Arabia, or Chush, which puts the Story (where it is so understood) quite out of fquare; one Kingdom thereby being taken for Triremes, which are Gallies of three Scripture, Mai. 18. Ve terra Cymbalorum alarum quæ est trans slumina Æthiopiæ; or, according to the septuagint, in these words: Va terrænavium alarum quæ est trans fluvios Æthiopia; We to the Land shadowing with fending Embassadors by Sea, even the Vessels of

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the Land. the transposition of Kingdoms: for hereby Æthiopia, and Æthiopia set next unto Judæa; when it is the Land of Chush and Arabia indeed that lieth between judaa and Egypt, and not Æthiopia, which is feated under the Equinoctial Line. And of this, Beroaldus alketh a material question (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet fpeaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of Æthiopias Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit; For it cannot be faid that he treateth of ledg of Nations far beyond it again, and beknown by the name of Bona esperanza.

||. V I.

That upon the like mistaking both Terrhaca in the story of Senacherib, and Zera in the Story of Asa, are unadvisedly made Æthiopians.

knowledge that Thirrhaca (which all the Inthe way to set on him, he began to withdraw For they were the Chaffites and Arabians,

himfelf: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he fent threatning Messengers to Ezechia King of Juda. perswading him to fubmit himself: the Tenor whereof is set wings, which is beyond the Rivers of Arthropia, down in the second of Kings in these words: Reeds upon the waters. Væterræumbrojæ oræ; his Land out of the hands of the King of We to the Land of the shady coast, faith Junius, Ashur? Where is the god of Hamah, &c. By The former Translators understand it in this which proud Embassage, if he had obtained fence; That the waters are shadowed with entrance into Jernfalem, he then meant to the fails, which are fignificatively called the have united that great Army before Jerusawings of the ships; the other, that the coast | lem, commanded by Rabsekeb, with the other of the Sea was inadowed by the height of which lay before Pelusum, a great City upon the branch of Nilus next Arabia. For Sena-But to the purpole: That this Land here cherib had already mastered the most part of spoken of by the Prophet Isaiah, is Egypt, no all those Cities in Judea and Benjamin, with Interpreter hath doubted. For they were a third Army (which himself commanded) is the Egyptians that fent this Message to the being then at the siege of Lebna. But upon If aelites, which Isaiab repeateth, and by the the rumor of that Arabian Army led by former Translation, every man may see the King Thirrhakeh (whom Josephus calls to Tharfices) Rabsakeh hasted from the siege of Egypt is transported unto the other side of Hiernfalem, and found Senacherih departed from Lackie, and fet down before Lebna, which was afterwards called Eleuthoropolis, as some have supposed. But while he had ill fuccess at Pelusium, and feared Thirrhakeh, God himfelf, whom he least feared strook his Army before Hierusalem by the Angel of his power, fo as 158000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of Ezechias is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of Thirrhakeh was from Arabia, Josephus an unknown Region. Now, if Athiopia it felf himfelf makes it plain. For he confessed in be under the Equinolial line, with whom the the tenth Book, the first Chapter of the Jens Jews had never any acquaintance, why Antiquities, that it was come to Senacheriha should any man dream that they had know- knowledge, that the Army which was a foot (both to relieve the Egyptians and the Jews) yond the Rivers of Æthiopia? except we marched towards him by the way of the Deshall impiously think that the Prophet spake | fart: Now, the Defart which lay indifferent jan he knew not what, or used an impertinent between Hierusalem and Pelusium, was that of discourse of those Nations, which were not | Pharan or Sur, which also toucheth on the discovered in 2000, years after, inhabiting as three Arabia's, to wit, the Stony, of which it is far South as the Cape of Good Hope, commonly | a part; the Defart, and the Happy; and by no other way indeed could the Arabians come on to succour either Pelusium or Hierusalem. But that there is any Defart between Pelusum and the South part of Egypt, hath never yet been heard of, or described by any Cosmographer or Historian. So then this descriptition of the second of Kings, Vers.9. hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (Chush) is also translated Æthiopia; and Nd by this Translation is the Story of in this sence have all the Interpreters (but # A Senacherib utterly mistaken in the cause mins) expressed the beginning of the minh of his retrait. For Senacherib was first re- Verse : He heard also men say of Thirrhakeh pulled at Pelujum, at the very entrance of King of Ethiopia, &c. whereas it should Egypt from Judea: when having certain have been thus converted with Junius: And ens autem de Thirrakeh Rege Chushi; He heard tepreters called King of Æthiopia) was on also of Thirrhakeh King of the Chulhites

whose Houses and Cities were next the fire, Isaiah: and this phrase is often else-where with an Army of a Million, and three thoufand Chariots. Indeed, how fuch an Army, and those Chariots should pass through all Egypt (the Kings of Egypt being mighty Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are feated, and how far distant, judge. For Princes do not eafily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there ever such strength of Black-Moors heard of in that part of the World, or elfewhere. Neither are these Æthiopians such Travellers or Conquerors; and yet is this King Zerah alfo called King of Æthiopia. But the word chush being first so converted for Æthiopia, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the feats of Kingdoms, or the possibilities of attempts, or invasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

VII.

A farther Exposition of the place, Esai. 18. 1.

Oncerning these words in that eighfladow over the Red-Sea. But to make both reft of Noahr children, fort themselves. interpretations good, Pintus (upon Isaiah) affirmeth, that the word (sabal) doth fignifie both to shadow, and to gingle (which is) to make a kind of Cymbaline found: fo as the meaning of this place (faith Pintus) is this: Wo to thee, o Egypt, which dost promise to others safeguard, under the shadow of thy wings: which (indeed) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of

and upon whom the very smoak of Juda used, as in the 16. Psalm: Sub umbra alaflaming was blown, being their nearest rum tuarum protege me; Defend me under the Neighbours: and so were not the Æthiopi- shadow of thy wings. The Boats of Reed an Black-Moors under the Equinottial, whom spoken of are of two kinds; either of basketneither War nor Peace (which discovereth Willow covered with hides (as anciently in all Regions) ever found out, faith Pliny. For Erittain) or a Tree made hollow in the botthis King was no more King of Æthiopia than tome, and built up on both fides with Canes. Zerah was, who invaded Asa King of Juda, Of the one fort I have seen in Ireland, of the other in the Indies.

9. X I.

Of the Plantation and Antiquities of Egypt.

That Mizraim the chief Planter of Egypt : and the rest of the sons of Ham, were seated in order one by another.

He second Son of Ham was Mizrain; who (according to the place of a fecond brother) was fent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For chush first possest chaldea on the West side of Gehon chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in people, so he entred Arabia, and by time came to the border of the Red-Sea, and to the South-east side of Judea. Mizraim his brother (with Phut) past over into Africa. Mizraim held Egypt; and Phut (as a third brother) was thrust far ther off into Mauritania. Canaan took the teenth Chapter of Esay, Navium alarum, Sea-coast, and held the side of Palastina: Winged ships (to the septuagint turn it) or and these four brothers possest all that Tract Cymbalo alarum (according to the Latine) of Land, from Gehon in Chaldaa, as far to fails whiftling in the winds, or terræ umbrofæ the West as the Mediterrane Sea: compreore (after Junius) the Land of a shadowed hending all Arabia Deserta, and Petraa, all coast, or the Land shadowing with wings, as Canaan which embraceth Galilea, Samaria, our English Geneva hathit. The two first in- | and Judaa; with the two Egypts, whereof terpretations of the Septuagint and S. Hierom, the neather is bounded by Memphis on the have one sence in effect. For the sails are South, and by the Mediterrane Sea on the commonly called the wings of a Ship; North: and Thebaida (called the upper Eand we use to say ordinarily when our Ships gppt) stretcheth it self toward the South as sar fails flowly, that she wanteth wings (that is) as Syene, the border of the Ethiopians, or when her fails are either worn, or too narBlack-Moors. All the rest of the coast of Africa row: and we also use the same phrase of the Westward, Phut peopled; which brothers had wind whiftling in the fails. And it may be not any other Nation or Family that dwelt that the Egyptians imployed fo many of those between them. And in the fame manner did finall hips, as their fails were faid to give a all their Sons again, and all the Sons of the

II.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be known : and of the Egyptians Lunary years, which made their Antiquites feem more fabulous.

His flourishing Kingdom possest by Mizraim, changed her ancient name

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and became Egypt, at fuch time as Ægyptus (otherwise Ramesses, as some think) the son of Belus, chased thence his elder brother Danaus, shifting him into that part of Greece, now called Morea, by whom the Argives were made Danai, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. years after the Floud, in the time of Josua, as Saint Angultine this manner: That the sixteenth Dynashy conjectureth out of Eusebius. But in Homers Odyjjes it appeareth that the Egyptians were ans times) had beginning with the general to called at the time of the Trojane Warr. And before this, Egypt was known by divers other fifteen reached the Creation, or foon other names, as Oceana, Aria, Ofiriana, &c. after it. To which conjecture of Mercator, And Manethon (whom Josephus citethin his Pererius maketh this answer; That therein first Book against Appion) numbreth all the Kings of Egypt after Mojes departure, who it for granted, that the beginning of the fixconfumed 393. years. By which other men teenth Dynasty was at once with the general conjecture, that the Egyptians took on them Floud: which Eugebius maketh 292, years af that name, 330. years after Josia, and about ter, and in the time of Abraham. Secondly, 1000. years after the Floud. But where Jo- Mercator maketh the beginning of the shep-Sephus in the same Book taketh Israel to be herds Dynastia (being in number 17.) in the those Hyesos, which he also calleth Pastores, or time of their first King, Salis, to have been Shepherds, which are faid to have reigned in the year of the World 1846. which Euge in Egypt 511. years: whom also he calleth brus findeth in the Worlds Age 2140. For the his Ancestors (meaning the Ancestors of the 16. Dynastia was begun but in the 292, year Jews) in this I am fure he was grolly de- after the Floud, as they account, and conticeived, or that he vainly boatted: for the mued 190 years. Thirdly, whereas Mercator Israelites had no such Dominion as Manethon faineth, nor abode in Egypt so long a time by Ensebius reckoneth many of them at less than many years.

Of the Egyptian Antiquities there are many fancies in Trogus, Herodotus, Plato, Diod. siculus, Mela, and others. For they affirm nethon affirmeth, That all these 15. Dynashiv (faith Pomp. Mela) that there had reigned in lasted but 162, years: and that the first of Egypt 330. Kings before Amasis, who was the 15. began but in the 131. year after the contemporary with Cyrus; and that they Floud: so as where Mercator makethall the had Memory and Story of 13000, years; and that the Stars had four times changed have been then in being at the time of the their course, and the Sun twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rife among the Athenians and Arcadians, who dare affirm, that they are more ancient than Jupiter and

the Moon; whereof Ovid:

Ante Jovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur Arcades : & Luna gens prior illa fuit.

The Arcadians the Earth inhabited Ere yet the Moon did shine, or Jove was

true; feeing it is certain that the Egyptians arrival into Babylonia) yet herein he ismore reckon their years by Moneths, which unadvifed. For he makes Egypt possets, and makes after that account not above 1000. a Government established in the very sufficient or 1100. years, whether we take their year of the arrival of Nimrod into Shinnan, Moneths or Lunary years to have been of the before all partition, or any expedition far first kind of 27. days and eight hours; or off, or near, in question: for, from theree otherwise 29. days and twelve hours; or af- (that is, from Eabel) did the Lord scatter ter any other of those five diversities of their them upon all the earth. Lunary years.

I. III.

Of certain vain affertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.

Erardus Adercator, in his Chronologie, rea-I foneth for the Egyptians Antiquity in (where Eusebius begins to reckon the Egypti-Floud: and that therefore the first of the Mercator was first deceiv'd, because he taketh maketh every Dynastia to endure 115. years, 100. years: for the 28. had but fix years, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. years.

Now, Annius in his Supplement of Ma-15. to precede the Floud, and the 16. to Floud, Annius makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falshood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For Annius had forgotten his former Opinion and Affertion, that it was in the 131. year that Nimrod, with the Sons of Noah, came into the Valley of Shinaar: so he forgets the time which was confumed in the building of Babel: and that before the confusion of Speech there wasno dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he haftily conveyed Gomer into Itaby, and Tubal into Spain, in the tenth year of But for those 13000. years, it may well be Nimrods reign (which was ten years after his

H. IV.

Against Pererius: that it is not unlikely. but that Egypt was peopled within 200. years after the Creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Floud.

TILL whereas Pererius feeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the Egyptians touching their Dynasties (which Eusebius doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this Opinion of Pererius (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that Egypt should be peopled within 100. or 200. years after Adam, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the general Floud, I do verily believe the contrary; and that not only of Egypt, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: Pererius his words are these: Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos Adami proles adeò multiplicari potuit, ut ad Ægyptum usque habitandum & complendum propagata fit, &c. For how could the children of Adam be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred years of the World, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill Egypt? for allowing this (faith Pererius) we the Asyrians and other Nations.

herein, and that it is no point of our favingneedless, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, for this Opinion, that Egypt is no reason why we should give a less increase to the Sons of Adam, than to the Sons of Noah. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the Floud may in some fort appear by this, that Caim, my was gathered) was full of people: yea, who (being fearfull that the death of Abel Arabia it felf (much part whereof is barren)

would have been revenged on him) withdrew himself from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, and there, by the help of his own iffues, built a City (called Enoch) after the name of his first-born. Now, if it be gathered that Nimrod came into the Valley of Shinaar with fo many multitudes as sufficed to build the City and Tower of Babel: and that to this increase there was given but 130. years by Berofus, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of Arphaxad, Selah, Heber, and Phalegh) but one hundred and one year: I fee no cause to doubt, but that in the Infancie of the first Age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130. years the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. years after (that is, by fuch time as the World had stood 200. years) as well Asyria. Syria, and Egypt might be possess before the Floud, as they were within the same or less time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance or true Story of the Babylonian and Asyrian Empire, that all those people, which we increased in the first 100. or 130. years after the Floud, came into Shinaar and Babylonia. For that ever Noah himself came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or must also confess, that there were then both Authority to prove it, so all probable conjecture and reason it self denies it. Again, Now, feeing that the Scriptures are filent those multitudes and powerfull numbers which semiramis (but the third from Nimbelief, it is lawfull for every man to be gui- | rod) found in India, confidered with her ded in this and the like questions by the best own Army of three millions (and she left not reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and all her Kingdoms empty) do well prove that herein, as in the rest, I protest that I do not if the World had such plenty of people in gainfay any mans opinion out of any cross- lo few years after the Floud, it might also be ing or cavelling humours: for I think it the as plentifully filled in like time before it: part of every christian, rather to reconcile | For after their own account, Ninus governed differences, where there is possibility of uni- Babylonia and Asyria but 292. years after on, than out of froward subtilty, and pre- the Floud of Noah. And these Troops of Sejudicate resolvedness, to maintain factions miramis were gathered out of all those Eastern Kingdoms, from Media to the Mediterrane Sea; when there had now past was not planted so soon after Adam, no, from the Floud to the time of this her invanot at all before the Floud, I fay, that there | fion fomewhat less or more than 360, years: for much more time the true Chronologie cannot allow; though I confess, that in respect of the strange greatness of semiramis Army; and the incredible multitudes gathered, this double and (after a few years) treble, is an is as short a time as can well be given. And if infallible proof of their strength and ability, but one half be true of that which is said, to beget many Children: and at that time, That her Army confifted of 1300000. Footthey observed no degrees of kindred, nor men, and 500000. Horse-men, it must needs confanguinity. And that there was a fpeedy be, that long before semiramic Reign, the increase of people, and in great numbers, it greatest part of Asia (whence her huge Armust long before this time of semiramis, have been plentifully peopled; when Ninus having a determination to make himself Master of all Nations, entred (notwitstanding) in league with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or fought his affistance. And if Arabia were then so well replenished, I see no cause but Egypt might also be peopled. Now, if we may believe Trogus Pompeius (Epitomiz'd by Justine) Egypt was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before Ninus was born. For these be his own words, speaking of Ninus: Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris Rex Agypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient Vexoris King of Egypt, and Tanais King of the Scythians: of which the one invaded Pontus, the other Egypt. And how full by many thousands, the Earth, with all the of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of Ninus witness, who subdued with no smal force the Armenians, the Medes, and afterward the Badrians; yea, all that whole body of Asia on this side India. For Diodorus out of Ctelias numbreth the Armies wherewith Ninus invaded Zoroafter, at 1700000. Foot-men, and 200000. Horf-men: and the Stories generally flew, that though Zoroasters Army was far short of this, yet it was greater than any that those parts of the World ever fince beheld. But to what end should I feek for foraign Authority? for no man doubteth, but that Egypt was poffest by Mizraim, the Son of Ham; and that it was an established Kingdom, filled with many Cities in Abrahams time, the Scriptures tell us. And fure, to prepare and cultive a defolate and overgrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Laws, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few days: and therefore it must be inhabited in a less time than 200, years after the Floud; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Floud. For if so many millions of men were found within 300. years after the general Floud; so as not onely Babylon, and Afyria, Battria, Armenia, Media, Arabia, Egypt, Palestina, yea, the faroff Lybia on the one fide, and India on the other, and seythia (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be comprest, which 1656. years brought forth before the Floud? even necessity, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the known World; especially, where Syria) and Egypt (which meighbourethis) death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Son, till he had beheld living Nations of his own body.

||. V.

Of some other Reasons against the Opinion of Pererius.

Or what a strange increase did the lone lives of the first Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. years? Surely we have reason to doubt, that the World could not contain them, rather than they were not foread over the World. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in the Ageof the World: wherein if one exceed 50. years, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we find no want of people; nay, we know the multitude fuch, as if by Wars, or Pestilence they were not sometimes taken off What strange heaps then of Souls had the first Ages, who enjoyed 800. or 900. years, as aforesaid? These numbers, Isay, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which have been born in Brittain fince three or four hundred years before the Norman Conquest (faving such as by accident, or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by Polygamy might have been increased. For (to omit, that the Giants and mighty Ones of the first Age observed no Law of Matrimony) it is to be thought, that those Lovers of the World and of Pleasure, when they knew the long and liberal time which nature had given them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could fly from, or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswafion to make men careless of life, and fearless of death, than the little time which keeps them afunder, and that short time also accompanied with fo many pains and dileases, which this envious old Age of the World mingleth together, and loweth with the feeds of Mankind?

Now, if that Berofus or Annius may bealledged for sufficient Authours, whom Pertrim himself in this question citeth, thenisit by them affirmed, and by Josephus confirm ed, that the City of Enoch was feated near Libanus in Syria: and if other parts of Syria were peopled in Cains time, I fee no caule why Palastina (wich is also a Province of could be left desolate both all the life time of Cain, and all those times between his death and the Floud, which were by ellimation 700. or 800, years. And fure, though this fragment of Berofus with Annius, it Comment be very ridiculous in many places | This confequence, quo fignificatur, &c. feemyet all things in Berofus are not to be rejectuniversal Word: and though that phrase (of all the World) be often used in the Scrithe Acts, That there were dwelling at Hierufalem Jews, men that feared God of every Nation under Heaven: yet by the words which follow in Berofus, it is plain, that his words and fence were the fame: for he addeth. from the Suns rifing to the Suns fetting; which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may fafely conjecture, that Noah did not part and proportion the World among his Sons at adventure or left them as Discoverers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the Earth was more passable and easie to travel over before the Floud than after it. For Pefon of mud and flime, which the water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200 years after Ogges Floud; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleafure in paffing into farr Countreys, after the general Deluge, when the Earthday (as it were) incopfed for 100. or 120. years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautifull, and less cumberfome to walk over, in the first Age, than af-

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Of the words of Moles, Gen. 10. Verf. ult. whereupon Pererius grounded his Opi-

ter the general overflowing.

Afily, whereas Pererius draws this Argument out of the laft Werfe of the tenth of Genesis; And out of these more the Nations divided after the Floud : Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuissorante dellainme 9 By

(the ancient Copies being corrupted or loft) eth to me very weak: The Text it felf rather teacheth the contrary: For out of these (faith ed. Therefore S. Hierome, for fuch Authours Moses) were the Nations divided in the Earth gives a good rule: Bona corum eligamus, after the Floud; inferring, that before the vitemus contraria; Let us choose what is Floud the Nations were divided out of good in them, and reject the reft. And cer- others, though after the Floud out of these tainly, in the very beginning of the first onely. But whatsoever sence may be gather-Book, Berofus agreeth (in effect) with Moses, ed from this place, yet it can no way be touching the general Floud: and in that drawn to the times before the Floud, or to first Part Berosus affirmeth, that those mighty any plantation or division in that Age: for if men and Giants which inhabited Enoch, com- there were none else among whom the Earth manded over all Nations, and subjected the could be divided after the Floud, but Noahs Sons, wherein doth that necessary division controul the planting of the World before ptures for a part thereof; as in the second of it? And whereas it is alledged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this disperfion; it is true, that it was fo for that prefent; but if Babel had never been built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and general plantation: as Bero-Jus fays well, that when man-kind were ex- Lib. 3: ceedingly multiplied, Ad comparandas novas sedes necessitas compellebat. They were driven by necessity to seek new Habitations, For we find (as it is before faid) that within 300. years after the Floud, there were gathered together into two Armies such multitudes, as the Valley about Babylon could not have fustained those numbers, with their increase, rerius himself confesseth, that Attica (by rea- for any long time; all Asia, the Greater and the Leffer; all Scythia, Arabia, Palastina, and Egypt with Greece, and the Islands thereof; Mauritania, and Lybia, being also at that time fully peopled. And if we believe Berofus, then not onely those parts of the World, but (within 140. years after the Floud) Spain, Italy, and France were also planted: much more then may we think, that within 1656. years before the Floud, in the time of the chief strength of mankind, they were replenished with people, And certainly, seeing all the World was overflown, there were people in all the World which offended.

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A Conclusion, resulting of that which is most Tikely, touching the Egyptian Antiqui-ties with somewhat of Phut (another Son of Ham) which peopled Lybia.

Herefore for the Antiquity of the Egytians, as I do not agree with Mercator, nor which it appeareth (faith Pereries) than there judge wath the Volgar; which give too much was no such division before the Floud which credition the Egyptium Antiquities: so I do he also feekerh to confirm our of the eleventh | not think the report of their Antiquites fo of Genesis, because the division of Tongnes fabulous, as either Peterius or other men conwas the cause of the dispersion of the people, ceive it. But I rather incline to this, that

200. or 300. years more or less after Adam, two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the there might remain unto the Sons of Mizraim thirtieth Chapter of Ezechiel, that Phut, Chuff, fome Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of and Lud were contermini, and affociates Stone or Metal) of their former Kings or Go- with the Egyptians. vernours: which the Egyptians having added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the Floud, in fucceding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by fome corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inferted. And that the memory of antiquity was in such fort preserved, Berosus affirmeth it of the Chaldeans, and fo doth Epigenes. For they both write, that the use of Letters, and the Art of Astronomy was known to the Babylonians 3634. years before Alexanders Conquelt: and this report Annius findeth to agree, and reach to the time of Enoch, who was born 1034. years before the Floud, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as alfo of Christ his coming in judgment, as Saint Jude hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgments, and every man to his own reason, I will conclude this Plantation of Egypt. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by Mizraim, and that it took the name of Egypt from Egyptus, the Son of Belus, as aforesaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from Memphis, or Nicopolis, to the Mediterrane Sea, was called the Inferiour Leypt; furnamed also Delta: because the feveral branches of Nilus breaking afunder from one body of the River, gave it the form of the Greek Letter Delta which is the form of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-east, and embraced the Scanext unto the Defarts of Sur and Pharau, had on it the City of Pelulium, where Senacherib was repulfed: The other branch, which yielded it self to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous City of Alexandria: The upper part of Egypt is bounded between Memphis and Syene near Athiopia, and had the name of Thebaida, of the ancient City of Thebes; which (according to Homer) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called Civitas centum portarum; and by the Greeks, Diospolis; in the Scriptures No-hamon, which fignifieth multitudes of In-Jos. 1.1. habitants, exceeding belief. Josephus calls June c. 7. Egypt, Mersin of Mizrain: and Herodotus affirms that it had once the name of Thebais.

Phut, the third Son of Ham, took the next portion of Land to his Brother Mizraim, and inhabited Lybia: whose people were anciently called Phutei (saith Josephus) and Pliny mentioneth the River Phut in Mauritania: which River from the Mountain Atlas (known to the Inhabitants by the name of

Fgppt being peopled before the Floud, and | Dyrit) he maketh to be distant the space of

§. XII.

Of the eleven sons of Canaan, the fourth son of Ham.

| I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan : with the names of his eleven Sons.

Anaan (the fourth Son of Ham) possess all that Region, called by the Romans Palæstina ; in the Scriptures Galilea, Samaria, and Judea; in the latter times known by the name of the Holy Land and Jurie: the limits whereof are precifely fet down by Moses, Genefis the tenth, Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goeft to Gerar until Azzah, and as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Adma, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha. Now, howsoever these words of the Hebrew Text (as thou goest) be converted, Moses meaning was, that Gerar was the South bound of Canaan, and Zidon the North; Sodom and Gomorrah the East, and the other Cities named, flood on the Frontiers thereof. For Gerar standeth in a right line from Gaza in the way of Egypt, the uttermost Territory of Canaan Southward: and this was properly the Land of

Now, the Sons of Canaan which possest this Countrey, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof were in number eleven.

- I. Zidon. Heth, or Chethus.
- Jebusi, or Jebusaus.
- Emori, or Emoreus, or Amoreus.
- Girgeshi, or Girgiseus. Hevi, or Chiveus.
- Arki, or Harkeus. Seni, or Sinaus.

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- Arvadi, or Arvadaus.
- 10. Zemari, or Samareus, or Tzemareus,
- II. Hamathi, or Hamatheun, or Chamatheus. in to this Qualificatur ta

Qf which the most renowned were the Hethites, Gergesites, Amorites, Hevites, Jehnfiter, and Perizzites & which Perizzites were descended of Zemari, or Samareus, or from fome of his.

| II.

CHAP. VIII.

of the Portions of Zidon and Heth.

Idon the first-born of Canaan, built the famous City of Zidon in Phanicia, which Asser: for Asser, Zabulon, and Nepthali had a great part of the ancient Phanicia distributed among them; but the Afferites could never obtain Zidon it felf.

The fecond Son of Canaan was Heth, or Cethus: of whom came the Hethites, or Hittites, one of those seven principal Nations (Commanders of Canuan) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the Gercm.10.19 gelites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hevites, and the Jebufites. The Hittites inhabited about Berlabe, and towards Hebron, near the Torrent Befor, and about Gerar, which Mofes maketh the uttermost limit of Canaan, having the Defart of Pharan to the South: for about Bersabe (otherwise Puteus juramenti) four miles from Gaza, dwelt Heth and his Posteritv, as far to the North-east as Hebron, and Mamre, and of Ephraim the Hittite, did Awhich Nation Rebecca bewailed her felf to Isaac, faying, That she was weary of her life for the Daughters of Heth. The Giants Anakim were of these Hittites, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of Ifrael against them the Syrians greatly fear-King. 1. 6. ed : as in the seventh of the Kings ; Ifrael hath hired against us the Kings of the Hittites.

| III.

Of the Jebusites and Amorites.

Ebusans, the third Son of Canaan, of whom came the Jebusites, and whose principal feat was Jebus (afterward Hierusalem) were their City and the Countrey near it, till fuch the Commandments of God. time as David by Gods affiftance recovered both : yet were not the Jebulites extinguished, but were Tributaries to Solomon.

Amoreus was the fourth Son of Canaan, of whom the Amorites took name, who inhabited that Land to the East of Jordan below the Sea of Galilee, having Arnon and the Mountains of Galaad on the East, and Jordan on the West: of whom og (King of Basan) and sihon (overthrown by Moses)

The Amorites had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of ca-

losyria, or Syria Libanica. They had also their being in the Mountains of Juda, and in Idumea, near the Metropolis thereof, called Dent, 1. Duma. And hereof it came that all the Ca-Numb. 13? naanites were sometimes called Amorites: as in Genesis the fifteenth: For the wickedness afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of of the Amorites is not yet full. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, we find in the Amos 2; Prophet Amos: Tet destroyed I the Amorite, before them, whose heighth was like the heighth of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oak.

| IV.

of the Gergesites, Hevites and Harkites.

The fift Son of Canaan was Gergefins, or Gergesion (otherwise Girgasi) who inhabited on the East-side of the Lake of Tiberias, or the Sea of Galilee, where Ptolemy fets the City Gerasa, which Josephus calls Gesera, in the Territory of Decapolis. Here it was that Christ dispossessed the possessed with devils; and the Gergesites desired him to depart their Coasts, because their Swine, filled with the evil Spirits, drowned themselves in the Sea of Galilee : Gergeseus also built Beritus (sometime braham buy the Field of Sarahs burial. Of Geris) afterward Fælix Julia, three miles from the River Adonis in Phanicia: in which the Romans held a Garrison: and to which Augustus gave many large priviledges.

Hevens the fixth Son, and Father of the Hevites, inhabited under Libanus near Emath. These Hevites howsoever the Caphthorim expelled a good part of them (as in Denteronomie the second is remembred) yet many of them remained all the Warr of Josua, and afterward to the time of Solomon. For God was not pleafed utterly to root out thefe Nations but they were fometimes made Tributaries to the Ifraelites, and at other times ferved (in their falling away from the true worthip of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, Judges the third: They remained to also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held prove Israel by them, whether they would obey

> The feventh Son was Araceus, or Harkis who between the foot of Libanus and the Mediterrane Sea (over against Tripolis) built the City of Archas, Arce, or Arca, afterwards

||. V.

of Sini and Arvadi.

Ineus the eighth Son, Hierosolymitanus Ifets at Caparorfa, which Ptolemy finds in Judga, not farr from Jebus; to the South name as behind Libanus, in the edge of ce-thereof; faith Junius. But it is more pro-

CHAP. VIII.

and Pliny, Symirus: Brockard, Sycon (called which he built, after the name of Shemar, Lord Synochis) near Arca. Pererius thinks that Sineus inhabited the Defarts of Sinai, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of Brochard, who took view of all these places, affirming, that Sineus built Sinochis, as Zidon built Zidon. There is also another Nation of Cini, written with the letter C. (otherwise Kenai) who defcended of Hobab the Son of Raguel the Madianite, who affifted the Israelites in their conduction through the wilderness of Pharan. But the Cinki were admitted among the Ifraelites, and had a portion of Land with the Nephtalims, beside their inhabitations with Judg. 4. the Amalekites: against these Cinci, Balaam prophefied, that they should be destroyed by the Assyrians.

The ninth Son was Aradeus, or Arvadeus, who in the Itle of Aradus, built the City Arades: opposite against which Island, on the Main of Phanicia, they founded another City of that name, which for opposition was mathi, of Hamath (faith Beroaldus:) of which afterwards called Antaradus. To this City came Saint Peter (faith Clement) and in this nounced Emath, whereof Hamatheus was Isle preached the Gospel, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but we find no fuch work of his in the Alls of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom Ezechiel remembreth in his Prophecies against the Tyrians: The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy Mariners.

> ||. V I. of Zemari.

F Samareus, or Zemari, the tenth Son, there are divers Opinions. Some think that he inhabited in Calosyria at Edessa, and founded Samaraim, which in Josua is placed mia, in the Tribe of Nephtali; it is manifest, in the Tribe of Benjamin. There is also Sa- that Epiphania, which standeth to the North marajim(of the same Orthography) upon the of Emesa, hath all the Province of Landi-Mountain of Ephraim (faith Beroaldus) men- cea between it and any part of the Land Berould in tioned in the second of Chron. c. 13. v. 4. divided. And if Libanon it self were not which the Latine converteth amis (faith he) shared among the Tribes, then could not by Semeron. The Hierosolymitan Paraphrast. makes Samareus (of whom were the Perizzites) the Parent of the Emissani, which Pliny tween Epiphania and any part of the Holy calls the Hemisseni, in Calosyria; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that not be a part of Nephtali, as in the thirteenth they afterwards inhabited those other places of Josua is directly proved. For Josua countbefore remembred. But that they founded Samaria, both the Hebrew Orthography. and this place in the first of Kings (speaking of Omri) disproveth: And he bought the Mountain Samaria, or Shemeron, of one She-

bable, that sineus founded sin, which Saint | mar, for two Talents of Silver, and built in the Hierome calls Sim: Ptolemy, Simyra: Mela, Mountain; and called the name of the City of the Mountain, Samaria. But of all these places I shall speak more at large in the Conquest of the Holy Land, by the children of Ifrael. Of whomfoever the Samaritans were descended, sure I am, that they were ever a perfidious Nation, and base : for as long as the state of the Jews stood up, they always called themselves Jems: when it suffered, or fank, they then utterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at such time as they were returned from their first captivity, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the Assyrians, and partly of the Naturals.

VII. of Hamathi.

He last of Canaans Sons was Hamatheus, or (according to the Hebrew) Ha-(the aspiration taken away) the same is propresent. Josephus, and Saint Hierome confound Emath with Antioch: not that Antioch which standeth on the River Orontes, on the frontier of Comagena, between the Mountain Cassius, and the Province of Pieria, and Selencis, of which Saint Peter was Bishop, and in which Saint Luke and Ignatius were born; but Antioch, furnamed Epiphania, as Beroaldus supposeth, which standeth between Apamea and Emefa in Cassiotis. Yet indeed, Emath cannot be taken for either: for both that Antioch upon Orontes, and that which neighboureth Emesa, are farther off seated from Canaan, than ever any of those Nations straggled. And whereas S. Hierom setteth Emath, which he confoundeth with Epipha-Epiphania belong unto them: for both the Provinces, Laodicea, and Libanica, are be-Land: and therefore Emath fo taken, could ing the Lands that remained unpossest, reckoneth all Mount Libanon towards the Sunrifing, from Baalgad under Mount Hermon, until we come to Hamath. And this reason (among others) is used that Emath was not

in Nephtalim, or any way belonging to the Hebrew, schin. sebathe eldest Son of Chush. 15 the prefents of Tohn King of Emath, and ma, posses d both the shores of Arabia feelix. Kings. Where is the God of Hamath?

§. XIII.

of the Sons of Chush (excepting Nimrod, of whom hereafter.)

The	Sheba	And the Sons Skeba, and
Sons	Havila,	(011
of	Sabt a,	And the Sons Skeba,
Chush	Kaama,	of Raama were, and Dedan,
were,	Niem I	Cours,

| I.

That most of the sons of Chush were seated in Arabia the Happy: and of the Sabaans that robbed Job: and of the Queen that came to Solomon.

Eba or Saba was the eldest fon of Chush, the eldest Son of Ham; to make a difference between Him and his Nephew Sheba,

children of Israel: because David accepted Regma his brother, and sheba the Son of Reg-(therewithal) conditions of peace: which Saba took that part towards the Red-Sea, he would not have done, if that Territory as neerest his Father Chush, and the Land of had ever belonged to the children of Ifrael, the Chustes: Regma and Sheba the East coast but would have recovered it without com- of the same Arabia, which looketh into the position, and by strong hand, as he did the Gulfe of Persta; of which Pling: Sabai, Arabum rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hatin populi, propter thura clarissimi, ad utraque mano great weight: For if the promise which ria porrellis gentibus habitant; The Sabeans, God made, be considered, as it is written in people of Arabia, famous for their Frankin-Deuteronomy, then might Emath be compre- cense, extending their Nations, dwell along hended, though seated altogether without both the Seas (to wit) the Persian, and the Athe bounds of the Land promised, according rabian or Red-Sea. This Country was afterto the description of Moses and Josua: for E- wards called Arabia, à populi mixtione, saith math is indeed fituated on the other fide of Postellus. To this agreeth Ptolemy, who the Mountain of Hermon, which joyneth to Libanus; and is otherwise called Iturea. or Red-Sea, and the City Rhegama towards But whereas Hamath is named in Josua 19. v. the Persian; with whom also we may leave 25. and written in the Latine conversion E- Sabta: for so much Montanns gathereth out math, therein (saith Beroaldus) was S. Hierom of Ptolemy, because he remembreth a Natimilfaken. Emath or Iturea is that over the on (called Stabet) near the Perlan Sea; and Mountains, and the City in Nephtalim should Majjabathae which descended of them. But bewritten Hamath: and so the Septuagint Montanus hath sent Regma, or (as he calls (understanding the difference) write it Am- him) Rhama, into Carmania, for which I see math and not Emath, the same which indeed no reason. Josephus, who only attended his belongeth to the Nephtalims, seated on the own fancies, hath banished Saba or Sebato Southfide of Libanus, to the East of Assedim : the border of Ethiopia. But Beroaldus which City S. Hierom writes Emath; Jose thinks it strange, that the Sabai, which stole phus, Hamah; others, Ematkin, or Amatheos, away Job's Cattel, should run through all and the people Amathein; of which (as I Egypt, and all Arabia Petrea, and find out take it) Rabsakeh vaunteth in the second of job in Iraconitis, between Palassina and Calosyria, 1200. miles off. Now, as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, so do I think, that neither the Sabai on the Red-Sea, nor those towards the Persian Sea, could by any means execute the stealth upon 706, which foever Beroaldus shall take for nearest. But these were the Sabai of Arabia the Desart. where Guilandinus Melchior affirmeth, out of his own experience, that the City Saba is feated: the same which Ptolemy calls Save, now Semiscasae: and from this Saba in Arabia the Defart, came those Magi or Wife-men, which worthipped christ, faith Melchior, whose words are these: The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia (as Chrysostom, Hierom, and Ambrose supposed) nor out of Arabia the Happy, as many wife-men do believe, but out of Sabain Arabia the Defart: which City, when my felf was there, was (as I judged it) called Semiscasac. And to approve this Opinion of Guilandinus, it appeareth that these Sabai were neighbours to Job, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the Persian Sea, as those the Son of his Brother Raama or Regma (or on the Red Sea) are so dif-joyned with large Ragma after Montanus) his name is written Defarts, as there is no pollibility for strangers with a fingle (8) samech, and sheba the Son to pass them, especially with any numbers of Regma, with an (s) afperat, which is the of Cattel, both in respect of the Mountains, of

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dentur, nec aves, imb nec arbores, nec gramen the great City of Saba; and the Nation adaliquod sed non nish montes saxosi, altissimi, asper- joining, Sabai; and to the South thereof rimi; Where there are found neither men, nor any pasture or grass, but onely sharp, and high, his brothers and nephews which were seated flony, and craggie mountains. Beroaldus and on the East side of Arabia, Hawilah by the Pererius conceive, that the Queen of Saba. bei, on the East side of Arabia felix; but the the City of Raama, or Rhegma, set neer the which came to visit solomon, was of the sacontrary seemes more probable, and that she River of Lar towards the mouth of the Perwas Queen of Saba towards the Red Sea; for | fian Sea, which ftood in Ptolemy's time. solomon at that time commanding all that part of Arabia Petrea, betwixt Idumea and the Red Sea, as far down as Midian, or Madian, and Ezion Gaber; and this Queen of Saba, which inhabited the West part of Arabia Falix, being his neighbour, might, without any far travel, enter his Territories, free from all danger of surprise by any other Prince or Nation.

But, to avoid tediousness, it is manifest that his Sons, Sheba and Dedan, and Sabteca, were West Athiopia, it is strange that Exaction all the possessor of Arabia the Happy, and the should couple Sheba, and Kaamah, and Dedan Defart: onely Havilah and Nimrod dwelt to- together; Dedan in the 15.Verfe, and Sheha gether on the East fide of Chush, who held and Raamah in 22. Verse, to be the Merchants . Arabia Petrea. Now, for Sabta, there is found of Tyre, if Dedan had dwelt in West Ethiof his Name, the City of Sbbatha, or Sabota opia, which is diftant from Raamah and She in the same Arabia: of which both Pling ba (the habitation of his father and brother) Pol. isk. and Ptolemy; who withall nameth Sabotale, above four thousand miles. Befides which, within the walls whereof there was some- the Merchandise that the Dedanites brought times found fixty Temples. Executel joineth to Tyre doth not make them naked Black the Father and the Son together, The Mer- Moors. For they of Dedan (faith Exechiel) chants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants. And that they were the Eustern Ara- thy Chariots; and these Western Athiopian bians, their Merchandise witnesseth, former- never faw cloth, till the Portugals, seeking ly repeated in the Chapter of Paradise. For those Coasts, traded with them: the Mer-Josephus his fancies, that Saba was the Parent | chandife of the Countrey being Hides, Eleof the Ethiopians about Meroe, and Sabta of phants Teeth, some Gold and Amber, Civetthe Ethiopians Astabari, they be not worthy Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any any farther Answer then hath already been manufacture: and all these they exchanged given: especially seeing these Cities, pre- for Linnen, or Iron chiefly. ferving the memory of the names of saba. and of Sabta in Arabia, were yet remaining within the body of the Land, was known in Ptolemy's time, though in some letters onely by imagination: and, being under the changed. As also in the coasts adjoining, the burnt Zone, was held uninhabitable. And names of other of the brethren of the Family of Chulb, with little alterations, are preserved. In Arabia the Defart, is found the City of Sabe, or save (now semiscasae) with the City in the bottom of the Mediterrane Sea, were of Rhegana for Rhegma; and the Nation by a strange, or rather a foolish sancy. Now, to Ptolemy himself called Raabeni of Raamab. In put it out of dispute, that Dedan also dwelt Arabia the Happy, is found the City of Rhe- by the rest of the children of Chush, which gama, and Rabana; which also keepeth the feats they held by that name in the time of found of Rhegma, the City of Saptha, or Sap- Hieremy the Prophet; let us hear Hieremy tab, not far from the East-coast of Arabia: as his own words: Fly, je inhabitants of Dedan,

the fands, and of the extreme want of water | out difference or alteration sabatha, and to in those parts: Ubi nec homines, nec bestia vi- the West of Sabatha towards the Red Sea, Red Sca, the Region of Sabe. To all these passage of Tygris was a neighbour, to whom he might pais by Boat, even unto Rhegma

[]. II.

Josephus his opinion of Dedan, one of the Ifue of Chush, to have been feated in the West Ethiopia, disproved out of Ezechiel and Hieremy.

Nd whereas Josephus (whom in this Saint Hierom followeth, as not curious here-Seba, or Saba, Sabia, Raama, or Regma, with in) fent Dedan the Son of Raamah into the were thy Merchants in precious cloaths for

But in those days, the West part of Africa, therefore, that the Negroes of the West Ethiopia, which inhabite about Serra Liona, of Niger, could either pass by Sea or Land to Tyre, also the Metropolis and chief City in the bo- for I have brought the destruction of Estim was a Neighbour to the Idumeans: and Idu- ther is it here to be omitted, that Pintus mea is a Province of Arabia Petrea : and Debourhood of Dedan and the Idumaans, is alout of it, and will make it desolate from Teman; and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.

6. XIII.

of the ishe of Mizraim: and of the place of Hieremie, Chap. 9. Verse 7.

A Fter Chuft, it followeth to fpeak of Miz-Thetermi-Augustine) were plural, to fignifie the Natifrom on which came of them. Luam, the elder have son of Mizraim, was the Father of the Lybibersas eim, dispersed themselves into all the Regions adjoining. Among the Sons of Shem, there is his; and either Opinion may be true. also Lud; but he is differenced from Lud the Son of Mizraim by the fingular number : the Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For, that Ludim the Son of Mizraim was the Parent of the Lybifrom Mizraim his Father, appeareth by the Prophet Hieremie, who joined them in this fort together: Come up ye Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-moores, and the Lybians which bear the shield: for those Nations affisted the Egyptians, being of one Parent descended. And in Ezechiel, Phut and Lud are joined together. Æthiopia (or Chush) faith Ezechiel, c. 30. v. 3. and Phut and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, shall fall with them by the sword: which is as much to fay, as the Sons of Chush (which were the Chusites) the Sons of Mizraim (which were the Egyptians) and the Lybians (defcended of his Son Lud) with other the Inhabitants of Egypt and Africa, shall fall together. Hierosolymitanus finds also in Africa a Nation of the Lidyans. And I believe it: because Hieremie joineth the Libyans and Lydians together in the place before remembred. But Libya in Africa is by the Hebrews called Ludim (faith Arias Montanus) though 2 Chron. 12. 3. they feem to be called Lubim, or Lubei, a name fomewhat neer the word Lybies, and by which it may seem that the

(upon the thirtieth of Ezechiel) understanddan, which dwelt on the North part of Ara- eth that which is spoken in the third Verse bia Felix, joined in that part to Petraa, the feat of his Grand-father Chush; which neighfor his for he will have this threatning to be meant against the people of Lyda, a City (saith he) fo confirmed by Ezechiel: I will fretch out my between Egypt and Palaftina, which opinion 10 Collision Edom, and destroy Man and Beast I could not missible, if the City of Lyda were fo feated. But Lyda (which should be written Lydda, with a double d, and is the same City which was afterward Diofpolio, in which S. Peter cured Enens of the Palley) standeth neer the Torrent Gass, not farr from Joppe the Port of Hierusalem. Yet it is not imposfible but that this City might have Lnd for the Founder: For there are many Cities of one name, founded in all the Regions of the A raim's Sons, whose names (faith Saint World, and farr asunder; as after the names of Alexander, Selencus, and Antiochus, many ons which came of them. Ludim, the elder Cities called Alexandria, Seleucia and Antiochia: fo of divers others. S. Hierome maketh Lehabim to be the Father of Libya, who was the third Son of Mizraim : and so doth Postel-

The rest of Mizraim's Sons have no proper Countreys given them in the Scriptures, Son of shem being written Lud; the Son of faving Cashim and Caphtorim, of whom Mizraim, Ludim: and yet these Names and came the Philistims, whom the Scriptures call Peleset.

These Casinhim inhabited Cassiotis, a Region lying in the enterance of Egypt from Palestina, in which the Lake Sirbonis, and ans in Africa, and that he was seated not far the Mountain Cassius are found, not far from whence Pompey was buried.

Caphtorim feated near Cassubim in that Tract of Egypt called Sethrotis, not far from Pelusium. Strabo calls it Sethrotis; Stephanus and Pliny, Sethroitis, of the City Sethron: which Ortelius takes to be the same which Ptolemy calls Hercules parva. Of the Casluhim and Caphtorim came the Philistims, which are called by the Septuagint Allophyli (which is) Alienigenæ, Strangers, or of a strange kindred. These Philistims inhabited the South part of the Holy Land towards Egypt, of whom Palestina took name. For the Hebrews (saith Isidore) do not use the letter (p) but infteed of it (ph.) Their principal Cities were Gaza, Afcalon, Azotus, Geth, and Accaron: and the people of them called Gasei, Ascalonita, Azotii, Gethai, and Accaronita: Isidore affirms that Ascalon was first called Philistim; and of that City the Countrey adjoining. But where Isidore had it, I know not.

The first known King of the Philistims was that Abimelech, who had a liking to Abrahams wife; with whom Abraham made a covenant and league. This Abimelech dwelt indeed at this time in Gerar; but it is writtruer writing is, not Libres, but Lybies. Nei-

dy of the South part of Arabia, called with- on him. Hereby it appeareth, that Dedit

in regard that this or some antienter Abime- be ambiguous, as well as he doth Cyrene: lech governed the Common-wealth greatly taking it here not for Cyrene in Africa but to his glory, the rest of his successors called for a place in Media. For it is written in the the Affrians carried away the inhabitants of same of the Affrians carried away the inhabitants of same of the Affrians carried away the inhabitants of same of the Affrians carried away the inhabitants of same of the Affrians carried away the inhabitants of same of the Affrians carried away the inhabitants of same of the Affriance of the Affricance of t the Mediterran Sea to the Northward, from Damajeus into Kir: and so Josephus seems to the Caute of ringrims Concern to Cagaren 1 a ing this Cyrene, Media Superior: for it was the lessina, or Stratons Tower) which was the Lagina, on our anous tower) which was the manner and policy of the Affyrians to trans-River of Egypt. The Anakims or strong Gyants were of these Philistims: and Goliah named. They had sometimes five Kings, saith called Syro-Media: because the Syrians by Lyranus. They mastered the Israelites at se- the Asyrians were therein captived. veral times above 150. years, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by sampson and samuel; but in the end, this yoke was taken off by David, and laid on

themselves. It is Objected, that because these Cities and the Countries adjoyning, were held by the Sons of Mizraim, therefore did the Ifraelites disposses the Sons of Mizrain, and not of Canaan, by forcing those places.

To this faith Pererius, that although the Palæstines or Philistims held it in the time of Josua, yet at the time of the Promise it was possessed by the Canaanites; as in the second of Deuteronomy. The Hevites dwelt in the Villages unto Gaza. And what marvel, if (the Canaanites being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the Philistims were of Caphtor, and so of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, befides Mofes, the Hier : 47. Prophet Jeremy witnesseth: The Lord will destroy the Philistims: the remnant of the iffire of Caphtor: and in like manner in the and Story of the Hebrews: (For of Sem was Amos 9 ninth of Amos, the Philistims are faid to be the reliques of Caphtorim: Have not I brought up Israel out of the Land of Egypt, and the Philistims from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir? fo I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, and Palastinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene, this conversion Beroaldus condemneth; where Caphtor is taken for Cappadocia, and Cyrene for Kir. For Cyrene is a City directly West from Egypt, between Ptolomais or Barce and Apollonia; but Kir in Asia under the Assprians: Junius hath it Kir, and not Cyrene; and so hath the Geneva. But Pere-Of which bable if he mean Cappadocia in Palefina, and and to whom Ophir and Havilah the Sonsof not that Cappadocia by the Sea Pontus in the

3-Stupon these words: Wherefore Isaac went to Abime-Istina, it is not certainly known. And sure in these words ... more space many this manner he may expound Cappadocia to lech King of the Philiftims unto Gerar. Now this manner he may expound Cappadocia to second of Kings, that Teglatphalasser King of con did the Samaritans or Israelites, and other Nations. And hereof it came that Kir was

> 6. XV. of the iffue of Sem.

| I. of Elam, Affur, Arphaxad, and Lud.

It remaineth lastly to speak of the Sons of sem, who are thefe:

- I. Alam, or Elam,
- 2. Afhur, 3. Arphaxad.
- 4. Lud, and
- 5. Aram.

He posterity of sem, Moses recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie Abraham descended.)

Of these five Sons, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of Arphaxad only, and only the Children of him and Aram; the rest are barely spoken of by rehersal of their names, faving that it may be gathered, that Assur (who was supposed to found Ninive) was also said to be the Father of the Affyrians, whose issues, and the issues of cham, instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the Afgrians, some times the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the virtue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth usthat rius calls Caphtorim Cappadocia, according all the East parts of the World were pco to the Vulgar translation, to which he is pled by Affur, Elam, and Lud (faving India) bound : and yet it is not altogether impro- which I believe Noah himself first inhabited Jostan afterward repaired: Hi filii Sem ab North of Afathe Lefs. For whether they in Euphrate fluvio partem Afiæ ufque ad Oceanum habited Setbreites , or Cappadocia of Pale Indicum tennerunt ; Thefe sons of Sem (faith (St. Hierom) held all those Regions from Eu- the Chustes, because he established the first phrates to the Indian Ocean.

Of Elam came the Elamites, remembred, Li. 1.7 Acts 2. v. 9. and the Princes of Persia; which name then began to be out of use and lost, when the Persians became Masters of Babypeople apart. But Susa (which the Scriptures hereafter. call Sulan) in Elam was the Kings feat of Perco 8 v 2 sia (witness Daniel) And I saw (faith he) in a

Vision, and when I saw it, I was in the palace of the common opinion, taken from Josephus Sulan, which is in the Province of Elam. This and Saint Hierom; but I fee not by what rea-Pol Afe City is embraced by the River Enleus (acpm. 8.1. cording to Ptolemy) in Daniel, Ulai: and feated in the border of Suliana.

Ashur (asmost Historians believe) the second Son of Sem, was Father of the Affrians, who disdaining the pride of Nimred, parted from Babel, and built Ninive, of equal beauty and magnitude with Babylon, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath been in this Story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speak much: for the Asyrians fo often invaded and spoiled the Israelites,

But howfoever Herodotus and D. Siculus extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the Affrians of any fuch power, after fuch Greeks Mesopotamia simply. time as Sardanapalus lost the Empire. For these vaunts of Senacherib in Esay the 37. whom my Fathers have destroyed: as Gozan, Aramenians and Arameans. and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden which were at Telassar? Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and of Eden: sephar, and others of this fort.

Empire: from whom the most memorable ftory of the World taketh beginning.

Of Arphaxad came the Chaldeans, faith Saint Hierom and Josephus; but it must be those Chaldeans about Ur: For the Sons of lonia: the East Monarchy being established Cham possess the rest. It is true that he was in them. Some prophane Writers distinguish the Father of the Hebrews: For Arphaxad Elam from Persia, and make the Elamites a begat shela, and shela, Heber, of whom

And that Lud, the fourth Son of shem, gave name to the Lydians in Alia the less, is fon he was moved to ftraggle thither from his friends.

| II.

Of Aram, and his Sons.

A Ram the first and last Son of shem was the Parent of the Syrians: of which Damascus was head. Their name was chang- Efty 7. 8. ed from Aram or Aramites by Syrus (faith Eusebius out of Josephus) which Syrus lived Euseb. p. before Moses was born; the same which o- 10. c. destroyed their Cities, and led them Cap- thers call the Son of Apollo. Mesopotamia tives, as both in Divine and Humane letters also, being but a Province of Syria, had the there is large, and often mention of this name of Aram Naharajim, which is as much to fay, as, syria duorum fluviorum; syria compassed with two Rivers, (to wit) Tygris and Euphrates. The Scriptures call it Mesopotamia, Syria, and Padan Aram: and the

Arise and get thee to Padan Aram (faith Isa- Gen. 18. Senacherib, who was one of the powerfullest ac to facob) to the house of Bethuelthy Mothers 2 fee Princes among them, had yet the Mountain Father, and thence take thee a wife. Strabo 10 allo Taurus for the utmost of his Dominion to- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Deut. 3, 4 wards the North-east, and Syria bounded ram, or Aramea, as these his own words conhim towards the West, notwithstanding verted witness: Quos nos Syros vocamus, ip-19. f Syri Aramenios & Arameos vocant; Those Pfal 59. Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them which we call Syrians (faith he) themselves call Snab. 1. 1.

Against this opinion, that Aram the Son of Sem was the Father and Denominator of the Syrians in general; (and not only of those the King of the City Sepharuaim, Hena and in Syria Inter-Amnis, which is Mesopotamia). lvah? All these were indeed but petty Kings | some read, Genes. 22. 21. Kemuel, the Father of Cities, and small Countries, as Haran in of the Syrians: where others out of the ori-Mesopotamia: Reseph in Palmyrena: Hamath ginal read Kemuel, the Son of Aram. Nei or Emath in Iturea, under Libanus: the Isle ther is it any inconvenience for us to understand the word (Aram) here, not for the Yea, Nebuchadonozor, who was most pow- Nation, but for the name of some one of erful before the conquest of Egypt, had but note; the rather, because in the History of Chaldea, Mesepotamia, and Syria, with Pale- Abraham and Isaac (which was in time long fina, and Phamicia, parts thereof. But in before Kemnels Posterity could be famous) this question of Assur, I will speak my opini- we find Mesopotamia called Aram; and that on freely when I come to Nimrod, whose with an addition, sometimes with Naharajim Plantation I have omitted among the rest of and sometimes of Padan, to distinguish it

fee in the fecond

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also was called Aram. For whereas Junius thinks, in his Notes upon Gen. 25. 20. that Padan-Aram ought to be restrained to some part of Mesopotamia (to wit) to that part which Ptolemy calls Ancobaritis (so called from the River Chaboras, which, dividing it, runneth into Euphrates) the promiseuous use of Padan Aram and Aram Naharajim (which latter appellation questionless comprehends the whole Mesopotamia) may seem to resute this Opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it fignifieth as much as the yoak of Syria, which name agreeth with this Region: because the two Rivers (as it were) yoaked together go along it. The Reliques of the name Padan appear in the name of two Cities, in Ptolemy, called Aphadana (as Junius hath well noted) the one upon Chaboras, the other upon Euphrates.

The Sons of Aramwere, Sether, and Mesch, or Mes.

in trad.

Uz, or Hus, inhabited about Damascus, and built that City, saith Josephus and Saint Hierom. But Tostatus mistaking this Opinion, both in them and in Lyra, who also followeth Josephus, affirmeth, that Abraham's Steward. Eliezer, was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that Hus, the eldest Son of Aram, dwelt neer unto his Father, who inhabited the same, adjoining to Arabia the Desart, and to Batanea, or Traconitie; whereof the Prophet Hieremy: Rejoyce and be glad, O Lam. chap: daughter of Edom, that dwellest in the Land 4. v. 21. of Hus. Hus therefore is seated beyond fordan, in the East Region of Traconitis adjoining to Basan, having Batanea Gaulonitis, and the Mountain Seir to the East, Edrai to the South, Damascus North, and Jordan West: having in it many Cities and People, as may also be gathered out of Hieremy: And all forts of people, and all the Kings of the Land of Hus. In this Region dwelt Job, descended of Hus, the Son of Nabor, the Brother of Abraham (faith S. Hierom) and married Dina the Daughter of Jacob, faith Philo.

Hul, the second Son of Aram, S. Hierom makes the Father of the Armenians; and Genot where to set him) I do not disprove, time was the Earth divided.

from another Aram, which (as it feems) then | though I fee no reason why Gether should leave the fellowship of his own Brethren, and dwell among strangers in Asia the less. Junius gives Hul (whom he writes Chul) the Defart of Palmyrena, as far as Euphrates, where Ptolemy fetteth the City of cholle.

Gether (faith Josephus) founded the Bactrians: but Josephus gave all Noah's children feathers, to carry them far away in all halt. For mine own Opinion, I always keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and think with Junius (to wit) That Gether feated himself neer his Brothers in the Body of Syria, and in the Province of Calliotis, and Selencis, where Ptolemy placeth Gindarus, and the Nation by Pliny called Gindareni.

Junius also giveth to Mes, or Mesch the North part of Syria, between Cilicia and Me-Sopotamia, neer the Mountain Masius. The certainty of those Plantations can no otherwise be known than by this probability, that Aram the Father (of whom that great Region took name) planted his Sons in the same Land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territory for himself and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them in the Desart parts of the World, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while; fo ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, set them asunder. For although these Sons of Aram, and the Sons of the rest of Noab's children, kept the body of syria. For Hus was a Region of themselves within the bounds of some one large Kingdom; yet therein every one also fought a Province apart, and to themselves; giving to the Cities, therein built, their own names, thereby to leave their memory to their Posterity: the use of letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this fort did the pride of the Spaniards in America cast them into so many Provinces: every one emulating and disdaining the greatness of other, as they are thereby to this day subject to invasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (Nova Hispania and Peru excepted, because those Countreys are unaccessible to strangers) an easie force wil cast them out of all the rest.

Mes, the fourth Son, is made the Parent of the Maonians: of whom fomthing hath been spoken already. Arphaxad, the third Son of ther, the third son, Parent to the Acarranians, Shem, begat Shelah, and Heber. Heber had confirm two Sons, Phaleg and Jostan: and in Phaleg's sati | III.

Of the division of the Earth in the time of Phaleg, one of the Sons of Heber, of the issue of Sem.

The many People which at the division ready remembred out of Ctessas) against Zo-(at Phaleg's birth) were then living and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were divided at not hapned before the death of Phaleg, there either. The Hebrews (faith Pererius out of had needed no division at that time at all. Sedar Holam, one of their Chronicles) affirm For some of them were so ill satisfied with that this partition hapned at the death of their portions, as they fought to be mafters Phaleg: and Phaleg was born in the year after of all, and greater Armies were there never the Floud 101. and lived in all 239. years, which numbers added, make 340. And wherefore in this Opinion there is little aptherefore was it fo many years after the Floud, ere the children of Noah fevered themselves. But to this Opinion of the Hebrews, and the doubt they make, how in fo few years as 101. (the time of Phaleg's birth) the Earth: It was never meant that the so many people could be increased, Pererius Earth could be filled every where at the vegives this Answer, That if 70 persons of the Family of Jacob increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. years (besides women, children and impotent persons) how much more is it likely, that fo foon after the Floud the children of Noah might, in a shorter time, bring forth many multitudes, having stantly upon the confusion of Languages, received the bleffing of God, Increase and multiply, and fill the Earth? What strength on; and so neither at the birth nor death of this Answer hath, let others judge : for the | Phaleg : for Phaleg was born in the year 101. children of Ifrael were 70. and had 215. years after the Floud, which was the year that time: and the Sons of Noah were but three, Nimrod came into Shinaar, or ten years after and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth | he arrived, faith Berofus.

Johl I. as Josephus and S. Augustine, who reason in the name had been given him at the time of Minguit, this manner. If the division were at Phaleg's this consusion and partition: to this Objethis manner. If the divition were at Protegs of this community and partition, the change of the case, death (which happened in the year, which the case is commonly held to be the 48. of Abraham, Asyrians, 80. years before this division (as changed, it is most probable. to. in Assirians, 80. years before this division (as for this, this division is placed by the Hebrews, Hie-

Pharms the King thereof, with his Wife and feven Children; vanquished all those Regions between Nilus and Tanais, the Egyptians, Phanicians, the Kingdoms of Syria, and all the Nations of Persia, to the Hyrcanian Sea. For the number which followed Ninus (alroafter and others: and Zoroafter on the other side, who made resistance with 400000 prove it sufficiently, that if the division had gathered than by Ninus and Semiramis : pearance of the truth.

But for that conceit, that if the division had been made at the birth of Phaleg, there were not then fufficient numbers born to fill ry instant, but by times and degrees. And furely, what soever mens Opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the division of Tongues and of Men must go neer together with the ceasing of the work at Babel: and that the enterprise of Babel was left off inwhere followed the execution of the divisi-

Now, if it be objected, That Phaleg (the Others conceive that Phaleg took that Etymologie of whose name signifieth Divisiname after the division, in memory thereof: on must have lived without a name, except but was, bymore likely, computation 12. years the Scriptures; for Jacob was called Israel before his birth) then was the divition 38. after he had wrestled with the Angel; Abrayears after Ninus, who governed 52. years: ham was first Abram; and Edom, Esau; and in the 43. year of whose Reign Abraham was that Phaleg being a principal man in this diborn. But when Ninus began to rule the vision, had his first name upon this accident

And lastly, whereas the Hebrews, Saint rom and Chrisostom) then was the Earth so Hierom, and Chrysostom, account Heber for peopled in all the East and Northern parts, a great Prophet, if that by giving his Son as greater numbers have not been found at the name Phaleg, he foretold the division any time fince. For Ninus, affociating to him- which followed: to this I fay, I do not find felf Arians King of Arabia, a People who at that Heber deserved any such honour, if he that time (faith Diodorus Siculus) plurimum had thereupon so called his Son: for diviopibus atque armis prastabant, Exceeded both sion and dispersion followeth increase of in riches and bodies of men, subdued many people of necessity; and this Prophecy Cities in Armenia; received Barzanis into (if any fuch had been) might also have grace; then invaded Media, and crucified reference to the divition, which after

11. III. of

thing either curious or monstrous.

The first Book of the first Part

N. IV.

of the sons of Joctan, the other son of Heber.

[I. Elmodad. 2. Saleph, or Salep, or Sheleph. 2. saleph, or satep, or sateph.
3. Afamath, or Chatzar.
4. Jare, or Jaraah, or Jerath.
5. Hadoram.
6. Uzal, or Uxal.
7. Dicklach, or Dicla.
8. Obal, or Ebal, or Hobal.
9. Abimael.
9. 10. Sheba, or Seba. 11.Ophir, or Opir. 12. Havilah, or Chavila, and 13.Jobab.

Lithofe Sons of Jolian (according to A Saint Hierom) dwelled in the East parts

or heads of Indus.

But the certain places of those thirteen Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of Moses being general: Gen. to 30. And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest unto Separ a Mount in the East. Of all | ther East. these thirteen Sons, there were only three memorable, (to wit) sheba, Ophir, and Havilab. Concerning whose names, to avoid confusion, it is to be observed, that among the Sons of Chulb, two of them had also the names of Sheba and Havilah. Abraham had by his wife Ketura. But Sebathe Son of Chuft, have left in Arabia falix; and Havilah the the Father of the Sabaans in Persia: of which Nations Dionysius de Orbis situ maketh mention; Primum Sabæi; post hos sunt Passanear these the Tasci. And whereas it is writ-Gen. 15. 6. ten: But unto the Sons of the Concubines | the Temple. which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and

wards fell amongst the Hebrews themselves | Hereupon it is supposed, that this Saba the But if we give a reasonable time to the Son of Abraham wandered into Persia: for Building of the Tower and City of Babel, in Persia was accounted the furthermost Eastwhich time many people (by reason and by Country in respect of Judea; which also which time many people by reason and by demonstrative proof) might be increased: Ovid setteth under the Sun-rising. Yet see-Mag. and that upon the fall thereof the confution ing the rest of Abraham's Sons seated themand division followed (whereupon Phaleg selves on the borders of Judga: Irather took name) then in this opinion there is no-choose to leave Saba the Son of Abraham in City of that name.

But Saba, the Son of Jostan, the Son of Heber (as I conceive) inhabited India it self. For Dionysius Afer in his Periegesis (or description of the World) which he wrote in Greek with Verse, among the Regions of India findeth outs Verle, among the Regions of Indian indetti and a Nation called the Sabei. Taxilis hos inter medios habitatque Sabæus; In the middest of and these dwell the Sabai, and the Taxili, saith

||. V.

of Ophir one of Joctan's Sons, and of Peru, and of that voyage of Solomon.

Phir also was an inhabitant of the East India, and (as St. Hierom understands it) in one of the Islands plentiful with Gold. which are now known by the name of Molucca. Josephus understands Ophir to be one of those great head-lands in India, which by Cophe or Choos, which is one of the branches a general name are called Chersoness, or Perious; Callecut and Malacon. Pererius takes it rightly for an Island, as St. Hierom doth, but he sets it at the head-land of Malacca. But Ophir is found among the Moluccas far-

Arias Montanus, out of the second of Chronicles, the third Chapter and fixth Verse, gathers that Ophir was Peru in America, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called Mare del Sur, or the South Sea; by others, Mare pacificum. The words, in the fecond of also a third Saba, or Sheba, his Grand-child the Chronicles, are these: And be over-layed the house with precious stones for beauty; and and Sheha the Son of Rhegma his Nephew we the gold was gold of Parvaim. Junius takes this gold to be the gold of Havilah, remem-Son of Chush upon Tygris. Saba the Grand-bred by Moses in the description of Paradise: child of Abraham was (as some have thought) And the gold of that Land is good: finding a gin Town in Characene, a Province of Sustana, Phil called Barbatia; so called (as he thinks) by " corruption for Parvaim: from whence those gardæ; prope vero hos funt Tafci: The first Kings subjected by David, brought this are Sabaans, after their be Paffægarde; and gold, with which they presented him ; and which David preserved for the inriching of

But this fancy of Peru hath deceived mafent them away from Isac his Son (while he ny men, before Montanus, and Pleffis, who yet lived) Eastward to the East-Country: also took Ophir for Peru. And that this Quewhich Atabaliba commanded (a Prince of firmed to be. magnificence, riches, and dominion inferior to none) some of the Spaniards, utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by fignes (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a the name of Peru, which hath continued eassured me; which also Acosta the Fesuite in his natural and moral History of the Indies confirmeth. And whereas Montanus also findeth, that a part of the Indies (called Juyou? For when the spaniards ask'd the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the Salvages answered Judiscovered, pointed to the Hills afar off, to have guided him. one of the people answered, Paria, which is as much to fay, as, high Hills or Mountains. ed to the Strait of Magellan, from eight dethe name of Paria.

flion may be a subject of no further dispute; the name of that felf place which the Sea it is very true that there is no Region in the encompassed, they answered, Caeri, which World of that name: fure I am, that at least, fignifieth an Island. And in this manner have America hath none, no not any City, Village many places, newly discovered, been entior Mountain fo called. But when Francis tuled, of which Peru is one. And therefore Pilarro first discovered those Lands to the we must leave Ophir among the Moluccas, South of Panama, arriving in that Region whereabout such an Island is credibly af-

of the History of the World.

Now, although there may be found Gold in Arabia it felf (towards Persia) in Havidah, now Susiana, and all alongst that East Indian shore; yet the greatest plenty is taken up at the Philippines, certain Illands planted River, or Torrent, or Brook that ran by, the by the Spaniards, from the East India. And Indians answered Peru, which was either the by the length of the passage which solomons name of that Brook, or of Water in general. Ships made from the Red-Sea (which was The spaniards thereupon conceiving that three years in going and coming) it feemeth the people had rightly understood them, set they went to the uttermost East, as the Moit down in the Diurnal of their enterprise, luccas or Philippines. Indeed these that now and so in the first description made, and sent | go from Portugal, or from hence, finish that over to charles the Emperor, all that West | navigation in two years, and sometimes less: part of America to the South of Panama, had and Solomon's Ships went not above a tenth part of this our course from hence. But we ver fince, as divers spaniards in the Indies must consider, that they evermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the use of the compass was known, it was impossible to navigate a-thwart the Ocean; catan) took that name of Jostan, who as he and therefore solomon's Ships could not find supposeth navigated from the utmost East of | Peru in America. Neither was it needfull India to America: it is most true, that Juca- for the Spaniards themselves (had it not tan is nothing else in the language of that been for the plenty of Gold in the East In-Country, but [What is that?] or [What say | dia Islands, farr above the Mines of any one place of America) to fail every year to the West part of America thither, and there to have strongly planted, and inhabited the catan (which is) What ask you, or What Jay | richeft of those Islands: wherein they built you? The like happened touching Paria, a City called Manilia. Solomon therefore a Mountainous Country on the South fide of needed not to have gone farther off than Trinidado, and Margarita: for when the Ophir in the East, to have sped worse: nei-Spaniards inquiring (as all men do) the ther could he navigate from the East to the names of those new Regions which they West in those days, whereas he had no coast

Toftatus also gathereth a fantastical Opinion out of Rabanus, who makes Ophir to be For at Paria begins that marvellous ledg of a Countrey, whose mountains of Gold are Mountains, which from thence are continu- kept by Griffins: which mountains Solinus affirmed to be in Scythia Aliatica, in these grees of North latitude to the 52. of South: words: Nam cum Auro & Gemmis affluant, and so haththat Country ever fince retained Griphes tenent universa, alites ferocissima, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c. For where-The same happened among the English, as these Countreys abound in Gold and rich which I fent under Sir Richard Greenevile to Stones, the Griffins defend the one and the inhabit Virginia. For when some of my other: a kind of Fowl, the fiercest of all other; people asked the name of that Country, one with which Griffins a Nation of people, called of the Salvages answered, Wingandacon, Arimaspi, make Warr. These Arimaspi are said which is as much to fay, as, Ton wear good to have been men with one eye onely, like cloaths, or gay cloaths. The same happened unto the Cyclops of sicilia : of which Cyclops, to the spaniard in alking the name of the Herodotus, and Ariftens make mention: and Island Trinidado: for a Spaniard demanding so doth Lucan in his third Book: and Valerius

Flaceus:

Flaccus

on) I believe none of them. And for these ophir past into the Islands adjoining. And Arimaspi, I take it that this name signifying one-eyed, was first given them, by reason that took name of Havilah the Son of Jostan: but one fight in the middle to ferve both eyes; and not that they had by nature any fuch defect. But solinus borroweth these things out of Pliny, who fpeaks of fuch a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called Gisolitron, or Shur, which is before Egypt. But, that sant we the Cave of the North-east wind. For the rest, as all Fables were commonly grounded hath suspected. For an end we may conupon some true Stories, or other things done: so might these tales of the Griffins receive this moral: That if those men, which fight at the first feated by their Brethren about against so many dangerous passages for Gold, the Hill Massus, or Mesh, Gen. 10.30. (to wit) or other riches of this World, had their perfect fenses, and were not deprived of half length, either themselves, or their issues retheir eye-fight (at least of the eye of right moved into the East-India, leaving the other reason and understanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not suject themselves to famine, corrupt air, violent heat and cold, and to all forts of miserable diseases. And though this Fable be feigned in this place, yet, if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wilde Beafts or Serpents defend mountains of Gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the World, especially in America, many high and impasfable mountains, which are very rich, and full of Gold, inhabited onely with Tygers, Lions, and other ravenous and cruel Beafts: unto which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to find the fame warr which the Arimaspi make against the Griffins: not that the one or other had any themselves or their young ones, they grow inraged and adventurous. In like fort it may be faid that the Alegartos (which the Egyptians call the Crocodyles) defend those Pearls which lie in the Lakes of the In-land: for many times the poor Indians are eaten up by them, when they dive for the Pearl. And though the Alegartos know not the Pearl yet they find favour in the flesh and bloud of the Indians, whom they devour.

||. V I.

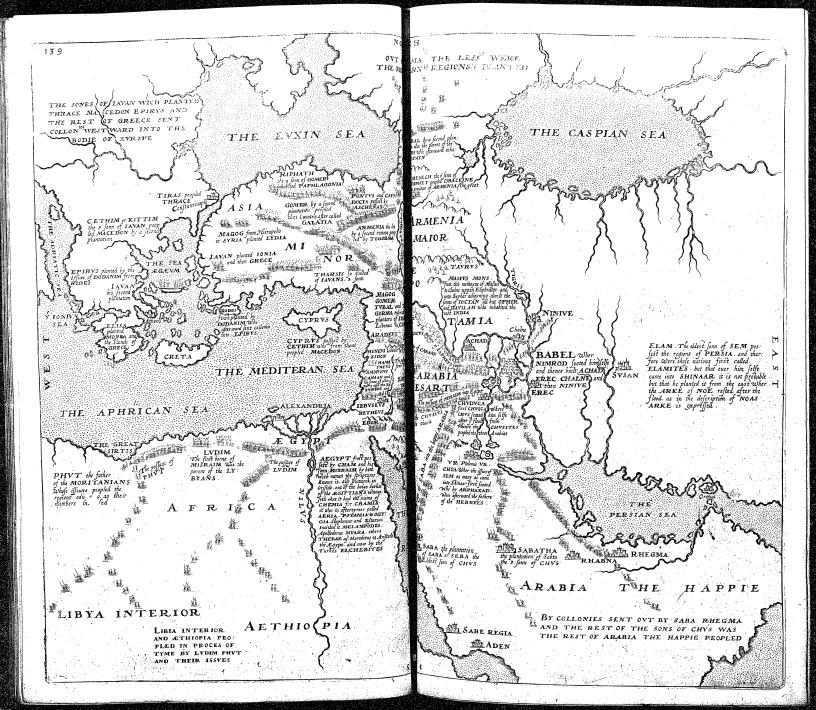
of Havilah the Son of Joctan, who also passed into the East-Indies : and of Mesha and Sepher named in the bordering of the families of Joctan: with a Conclusion of this Difcourse touching the plantation of the World.

F Havilah the Son of Jostan, there is nothing else to be said, but that the gene-

Flaccus: and D. Siculus, in the Story of Ale- ral Opinion is, that he also inhabited in the raccus, and b. cremms, in the conjunction of the continent, from which xander Macedon, But (for mine own Opinimeant by Havilah in the East-India, which Havilah which Pifon compasseth, was so called of Havilah, the Son of Chus, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture: & aul smote clude, that of the thirteen Sons of Jostan, these three, Saba, Havilah, and Ophir; though Families of Jostan, to fill the Countreys of their first plantations, which the Scripture defines to have been from Mesh unto sephar. And although S. Hierome take Mesh to bea Region of the East-India, and Sephar a Mountain of the fame (which Mountain, Montanus would have to be the Andes in America) those fancies are farr beyond my understanding. For, the word (East) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to Judea, is never farther extended than into Persia. But Mesch is that part of the Mountain of Masins in the North of Mesopotamia, out of which the River Chaboras springeth, which runneth by Charran: and in the same Region we also find for sephar (remembred by Moses) Sipphara by Ptolemy, standing to the East of the Mountain Masius; from whence, fense of the Gold, or feek to defend that me- Jost an having many Sons, some of them tal, but being disquieted, or made afraid of might pass into India, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in process

The other fashion of Planting I understand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this Mountain in the East was no farther off than in those Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is used: as in Numbers 23. Balac the King of Moab 10/11. hath brought me from Aram, out of the Monttain of the East; which was from the East part of Mesopotamia. For Balac brought Balaam out of Mesopotamia (witness this place of Deuteronomy:) Because they hired Balaam the son of Beor, of Pethor in Aram Naha con rajim, to curse thee: for Aram Naharajim was soft Syria fluviorum, which is Mesopotamia, as

This plantation of the World after the



Floud doth best agree (as to me it seems) | darkest forgetfulness ought to have buthese later Times) have, by their many Vo- Medes, Hibernian, Cappadocians, Phrygians, statues and Trophies to those, whom the Founders and true Parents.

with all the places of Scripture compared ried, and covered over for evermore. And together. And these be the reports of rea- although the length and dissolving nature of fon and probable conjecture; the guides time hath worn out or changed the names which I have followed herein, and which and memory of the Worlds first Planters af-Thave chosen to go after; making no valu- ter the Floud (I mean the greatest number, ation of the opinions of men, conducted by and most part of them) yet all the footsteps their own fancies, be they ancient or mo- of Antiquity (as appears by that which hath dern. Neither have I any end herein, pri- been spoken) are not quite worn out, nor vate or publick, other than the discovery of over-grown: for Babylon hath to this day the truth. For as the partiality of man to himself found of Babel; Phanicia hath Zidon, to which hath difguifed all things: fo the factious and City the eldeft Son of Canaan gave name; fo hireling Historians of all Ages (especially of hath Cilicia, Tharsis; and the Armenians, himes of untrue reports, left Honour with- the Syrians, Idumaans, Libyans, Moors, and out a Monument, and Virtue without Memo- other Nations, have preferred from the ry: and (in stead thereof) have erected death of forgetfulness some signs of their first



CHAP. IX.

Of the Beginning and Establishment of Government.

§. Ï.

of the proceeding from the first Covernment under the eldest of the Families to be Regal and from Regal absolute, to Regal tempered with Laws.

"I followeth now, to intreat how the the chief Magistrates, as they were, so they are then as Kings, and the eldest of Families as | Councel by the name of Senate. Princes. Hereof it came, that the word | But, though these reasons may well be bers, God commanded Moses to gather toge them the eldest Sons. And from thence did Then the Assembly believed them as those that proper power. The kinds of this seignourie; God hath given thee the Office of an Elder. De- Ship: The correlative of the one is the Submosthenes useth the same word for the Ma- ject; of the other, the Slave. Ad Casarens giltrate among the Grecians. Cicero in Cato (faith he) potestas omnium pertinet; ad singiveth two other reasons for this appellati- gulos proprietas 3. Casar hath power over all,

World began to receive Rule and called, Eldermen: And again, Ratio & pru-Government, which (while it had dentia nife effent in senibus, non summum Conscarcity of people) under-went no cilium Majores nostri appellassent Senatum; if other Dominon than Paternity and reason and advisement were not in old men; Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were our Ancestours had never called the highest

(Elder) was always used, both for the Ma-given, yet we doubt not, but in this name of gistrate, and for those of Age and Gravity: (Elders) for Governours, or Counsellours of the same bearing one fignification almost in State, there is a sign that the first Governours all Languages. For, in the Eleventh of Num- were the Fathers of Families; and under ther 70. of the Elders of the people, and the French, Italian, and Spaniard, take the Governours over them: the Hebrew bearing word (signor) and out of it (seignourie) for the same sence which the Latine word Senes, Lordship and Dominion: signifying (accordor Seniores doth. So it is written in Susanna, ing to Loyseau) puissance in propriety, or were the Elders and Judges of the people. And Seneca makes two: The one; Potestas aut so in the words of those false Judges and imperium, Power or command: the other, Winefes to Daniel, Shew it unto us, feeing Proprietas aut dominum; Propriety or maferon: And Lacedamonios qui amplissimum and every man propriety in his own: And Magiftratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam appelagain, Casar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dolantur, Senes; Among the Lacedamonians, minio; Casar holdeth all in his power, and nature but the immortal) made both the wife and foolish understand at once, that far more miserable than that of beasts, and that a general floud of confusion would a

(by interchange of times) more mighty than themselves: the feeble fell under the forequal harms. Infomuch, that the licentious that first kindled this light in the minds of disorder (which seemed to promise a liberty upon the first acquaintance) proved, upon a better trial, no less perillous than un-

fecond time over-flow them, did they not,

by a general obedience to Order and Domi-

nion, prevent it. For the mighty, who trust-

indurable bondage.

These Arguments, by Necessity propounwhich approved, Sovereign power, bethought it self of certain equal rules, in except it were given thee from above. which Dominion (in the beginning boundless) might also difeern her own limits. For that the World hath been governed from before the invention of Laws, private affections in supream Rulers made their own fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen; measuring by this Yard, and weighing in this Ballance, both good and evil.

For as wisedom in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings; fo the will of Kings forelegibus tenebatur: arbitria principum prole- And lastly, by a Justice civil, begottenby

every man possessition. But as men and gibus erant; The people were not governed by vice began abundantly to increase: so obe- any other laws than the wills of Princes. Hereof vice began abundancy to increase to be dience (the fruit of natural reverence, which it followed, that when Kings left to be but from excellent feed feldome ripeneth) good, neither did those men's Virtues value being exceedingly over-shadowed with them which were not fancied by their Kings, pride, and ill examples, utterly withered nor those men's Vices deforme them that prince, and in examples, access, while the following and fell away. And the foft weapons of Pa-were. Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum ternal persivasions (after man-kind beganto nihil videt 3. Love secs one while too much, anoneglect and forget the Original and first ther while flark nothing. Hence it came to giver of life) became in all over-weak, ei-palle, that after a few years (for direction ther to refift the first inclination of evil, or and restraint of Royal power) Laws wereeafter (when it became habitual) to conftrain thablished: and that Government which had it. So that now, when the hearts of men this mixture of equality (holding in an even were onely guided and freered by their Ballance supreme power and common right) own fancies, and toftto and fro on the temore acquired the title of Regal: the other peffuous Seas of the World, while Wifdom (which had it not) was known for Tyranniwas severed from power, and strength from cal: the one, God. established in favour of charity: Necessity (which bindeth every his people; the other he permitted for their

In the infancy of this Regal authority, wine and rooms undertained at older, that the effact of reasonable men would become Princes as they were chosen for their virtues great deal of moderation. And therefore faith Fabius Pictor) Principes, quia justi erant, Deuts 🕉 religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dii 🔗 ditti, 🎮 Princes because they were just and religious, part ed in their own strengths, found others again were rightly accounted and called Gods.

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed toReacible; and the equal from equal received fon and Necessity; yet it was God himself live and be preserved without a Ruler and Conductor: God himself by his eternal providence having ordained Kings; and the Law of Nature, Leaders, and Rulers overoded, and by Reason maintained and con- thers. For the very Bees have their Prince; firmed, perswaded all Nations which the the Deer their Leaders; and Cranes (by Heavens cover, to subject themselves to a order imposed) watch for their own safety. Malter, and to Magistracy in some degree. The most High beareth rule over the Kingdom; but Under which Government, as the change of Men; and appointeth over it whomspeed (which brought with it less evil, than the he pleaseth. By me (faith Wisedom, ipoken rat former mischies) was generally pleasing: by the Son of God) Kings reign; By men fo time (making all men wife that observe it) Princes rule. And it is God (saith Daniel) part found some imperfection and corrosive in that setteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings. this cure. And therefore the same Necessia- And that this power is given from God, ty which invented, and the same Reason Christ himself witnesseth, speaking to Pilats, Thou couldest have no power at all against me,

It was therefore by a threefold Justice the beginning (to wit) by a Justice natural; by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephewes, and Families; in which government the Obedience was called natural Piety: Againe, by a Justice divine, drawn from the Laws and Ordinances of God; and the Or went the inventions of Laws. Populus nullis bedience hereunto was called Conference:

both the former; and the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three, those of ment of the people) called Democratia, to the eldest times were commanded, and that the rule in general was Paternal, it is most evident: for Adam, being Lord over his own Children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator; as we read, Cain and Abel brought Oblations before God, as they had been taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankind.

6. II.

of the three commendable forts of Government, with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane society.

Hat other Policy was exercised, or State sounded, after such time as mankinde was greatly multiplied before the Floud, it cannot be certainly known, though it feem by probable conjecture, that the fame was not without Kings in that first Age: it being possible that many Princes of the Egyptians (remembred among their antiquities) were before the general Floud; and very likely, that the cruel Oppressions in that Age proceeded from fome Tyranny in Rule, than the Paternal.

Berofus ascribeth the rule of the World in unfitly. those days to the Gyants of Libanus, who mastered (saith he) all Nations from the Sunrifing to the Sun-fet. But in the fecond Age of the World, and after fuch times as the rule of Eldership failed, three several forts of Government were in feveral times divers natures of Places and People.

The first, the most ancient, most general, the people with righteous judgment.

ruling by Laws, called Aristocracy, or Optimatum potestas; to which Oligarchia (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great-ones) is opposed: as the Decem vini, or Trium viri, and the like

The third is a State popular, (or Governwhich is opposed ochlocratia, or the turbulent unjust ruling of the confused multitude, feditiously swaying the State, contrary to their own Laws and Ordinances. These three kinds of Government are briefly exprest by Tholosanus; unius, paucorum, & multorum; Of one, of few, of many.

Now as touching the beginning and order of Policy fince the second increase of mankind, the same grew in this fort: First of all, every Father, or eldest of the Family, gave Laws to his own iffues, and to the people from him and them increased. These, as they were multiplied into many housholds (man by nature loving fociety) joyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call Vicus; of the Greek ours, which fignifies a House; or of the word (Via) because it hath divers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, fo the Village into that which is called Pagus (being a fociety of divers Villages) so called of the Greeks myn which fignifieth a Fountain: because many people (having their habitations not far afunder) drank of one Spring or Stream of Government, or from some rougher form of Water. To this word the English Hundreds, or (as some think) Shires, answereth not

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride, between the Race of the one and the other, daily increased: so both to defend themselves from out-rage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they began to established among men, according to the joyn and set together divers of their Villages, invironing them first with Banks and Ditches, and afterwards with Walls: which, and most approved, was the Government of | being so compassed, were then called Oppida; one, ruling by just Laws, called Monarchy: either ab opponendo se hostibus, Because walls to which Tyranny is opposed, being also a were opposed against Enemies; or ab opibus, fole and absolute Rule, exercised according because thither they gathered their riches for to the will of the Commander, without re- fafety and defence: as also they were called spect or observation of the Laws of God, or | Trbes, ab orbe; because when they were to Men. For a lawful Prince or Magistrare build a City, they made a Circle with a (faith Aristotle) is the Keeper of Right and Plough (faith Varro) therewith measuring Equity: and of this condition ought every and compaffing the ground which they went Magistrate to be, according to the rule of to inclose or fortifie. And although Orbs Gods word: Judges and Officers shalt thou and Civitas be often confounded, yet the make thee in thy Cities: And these shall judg difference was antiently in this, that Orbs fignified no other than the very walls and The fecond Government, is of divers buildings, and Civitas was taken for the Ciprincipal Persons established by Order, and tizens, inhabiting therein: so called of Civis, and that, ab eo quad multitudo coivit, of comming together. But all inhabitants within these walls are not properly Citizens, but only fuch as are called Free men; who bearing proportionably the charge of the

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City, may by turns become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest go under the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the same general name of Subjects are also known. For every Citizen is a Subject, but some Citizen (as the chief Magistrate, if he be to be tearmed one of the Citizens) is no Subject; but of this we need not stand to in-Magistro, from a Master, and the word (Master) from the Adverb Magis (as also Magisteria, Precepts of Art) or else from the Greek word (Megistos) and so the Greeks call them Megistanes, whom the Latines call Magnates, or Magistratus.

The Office and Duty of every Magistrate, Ethio. 5. Aristotle hath written in few words. A Magistrate or Prince (faith he) is the keeper of right and equity; but the same is best taught by Saint Paul, who expresses both the cause efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together Rom 13.4. With their Duties and Office. A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth; but if

thou do evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil. He also Ver. 1.2. teacheth in the same place ; That every Soule ought to be subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained, and that mhosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God, the giver and fountain thereof: and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgment and condemnation of Man, but of God : For ye must

be subject (saith he) not because of wrath only. but also for conscience sake.

Hierem.

Gods punishments, upon those that have refifted Authority, by God ordained and e- by Magistrates; sometimes by the People stablished. Neither ought any Subject themselves. therefore to refift the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty: for it pleafeth God fometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without distinction. The Prophets and Christ himself subjected themselves to the power of payed Tribute for himself and Peter. Hiere-17.0 27 to pray for them and for the peace of Baby- and effects whereof were as yet but poten-Paul) that ye make Supplications and Prayers

much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did Saint Chrysoftom. in his Homily to the people, prefer Monarchical Government, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that not every Subject a Citizen: perhaps also they should be wanting: Prestat Regem tyrannous King, than no King: to which also Tacitus subscribeth: Prastat (faith Tacitus in ounce. The word (Magistrate) is taken à the first of his History) sub malo principe ese, than none at all. And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more fafe, than to ferve them: Neque enim libertas tutior ulla est (faith Claudian) quam Domino servire bono; Noliberty (faith he) more safe for us than to be servants to the virtuous. And certainly, howfoever it may be disputed, yet it is safer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000. Tyrants: under a wife man that is cruel, than under the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as Agesilaus answered a Citizen of sparta, that desired an alteration of Government, That kind of rule which a man would disdain in his own house, were very unfit to govern great

Regions by. Laftly, as many Fathers erect many Cotages for their many Children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Housholds joyned themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: fo when these Cities and Citizens joyned together, and established Laws by consent, associating themselves under one Governour, and Government; they, so joyned, were The examples are not to be numbred of called a Common-Wealth: the same being fometimes governed by Kings; fometimes

§. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

Ow this first Age after the Floud, and after such time as the people were in-Magiftracy. Chrift commanded that all due creafed, and Families became ftrong, and they to Cefar should be given unto him: and he dispersed into several parts of the world, was by antient Historians called Golden: my commanded the Ifraelites (even those Ambition and Covetousness being as then that were Captives under Heathen Kings) but green, and newly grownup, the feeds lon. So Abraham prayed for Abimelech; tial, and in the blowth and bud. For while and Jacob bleffed the King of Egypt: And it the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, is acceptable in the fight of our Saviour (faith they then fought for no larger Territory than themselves could compass and manure: for Kings, and for all that are in authority: they erected no other magnificent Buildings than sufficient to defend them from cold and and if for fuch Kings as were Idolatrous,

tempest: they cared for no other delicacy | Solomon: Say not then, Why is it that the former Eccles 1. of fare, or curiofity of dyet, than to mainrain life: nor for any other apparel, than to inquire wifely of this thing: to which purpose cover them from the Cold, the Rain and the

then truly be cast upon those elder times: time than to another (I mean to one limited time and none else) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times have brought might be called the Golden Age; fo may the beginning of all Princes times be truly called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good defervings have commonly the least impediments: and if ever Liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the same is then best warranted under the Sun whose means are answerable all things by their own respects, do no sooner find their appetites unanswered, but they out in the Reign of every King, so doth it is rooted in the will or dispositions of men. in the life of every man, if his daies be many: for our younger years are our Golden Age; which being eaten up by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grievous alterations in our selves, and the pains and diseases which never part from us but at the grave, make the times feem so differing and displeafing: especially the quality of man's nature being also such, as it adoreth and extolleth the present state how just soever: Fit humane malignitatis vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, prasentia in fastidio sint; It comes to pass (faith Tacitus) by the vice of our malignity, that we alwaies extol the time past, and hold the present fastidious: For it is one of the errors of wayward Age: Quod fint laudato-

daies were better then these ? For thou doest not Seneca; Majores nostri questi sunt & nos querimur,posteri querentur,eversos esse mores, regnare And fure if we understand by that Age nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne. (which was called Golden) the antient fim- nefaslabi: Our ancestors have complained we do plicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may complain, our Children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickedness doth reign, but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether and all things grow worse and worse, and fall the same may be attributed more to any one into allevil. These are usually the Discourfes of Age and Misfortune. But hereof what can we add to this of Arnobius ? Novares lib. 2. quandoque vetus fiet, & vetus temperibus; quibus capit nova fuit & repentina. Whatfoforth of both forts. And as the infancy of ever is new, in time shall be made old: and Empiry (when Princes played their Prizes, the antientest things when they took beginning and did then only woo men to obedience) were also new and sodain. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentment of present times have made Golden, this we may fet down for certain, That as it was the virtue of the first Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns: fo the love of their people thereby purchafed, held the same Crowns on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of Subjects both by policy and example. But Age and to Princes: fo (relatively) he gave the Time, do not only harden and shrink the care and justice of Kings to the Subjects; openest and most Jovial hearts, but the ex- having respect, not only to the Kings themperience which it bringeth with it, layeth felves, but even to the meanest of his Crea-Princes torn estates before their eyes, and tures: Nunquam particulari bono servit omne wifa.6.72 (withal) perswadeth them to compassionate | bonum: The infinite goodness of God doth not atthemselves. And although there be no Kings | tend any one only: for he that made the small and great, careth for all alike: and it is the unto other mens defires: yet fuch as value care which Kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a general love it is, that Princes hold a general complain of alteration, and account the obedience: For, Potestas humana radicatur times injurious and Iron. And as this falleth in voluntatibus hominum: All humane power

5. I V.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vain vaunt thereof without virtue.

A Nd with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority, began also other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, the passages of the former, and condemneth by which themselves were chosen; unto whom they gave place, truft, and power, From which imployments and Offices fprung Verus Med those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, bilia non which have continued from Age to Age, to nascitur these daies. But this Nobility, or difference fed fit. from the vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the Succession of Bloud, but to res temporis acti; That they are praisers of Succession of Virtue, as hereaster may be fore-paffed times, forgetting this advice of proved. Though at length it was sufficient

be known for the Sons of such Fathers: and natural, then is the personal and acquired fo there needed then no endeavour of well- Nobility, by many degrees, to be preferred: doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, upon whom glory or worldly Nobili-Descent, may light upon such a one, as in his ty necessarily descended. Yet hereof had own nature is a true Villain. There is also Nobility denomination in the beginning, a third Nobility, which he calleth Nobility That fuch as excelled others in virtue, were in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour. fo called: Hinc didus Nobilis, quast virtute and these be indeed but Honours of affectipre aliis notabilis. But after such time as the on, which Kings, with the change of their deferved Honour of the Father was given in Fancies, with they knew well how to wipe reward to his Posterity, Saint Jerom judged off again. But surely, if we had as much of the Succession in this manner: Nihil alind fense of our degenerating in worthiness, as video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Norant men worship in stead of christ, our Lady, and other Saints: men in whom there remain but the dregs and Vices of antient Vir-Weeds. For what is found praise-worthy and not to honour. in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains, if in all the rest of ter of Nobility) call the Race and Linage cunning of his Creatour. but the matter of Nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Virtue, and Quality, profitable to the Common-weal. For he istruly and entirely Noble, who maketh a fingular profession of

which is both natural by Descent, and also

for those whose Parents were advanced, to | Personal; yet if Virtue be wanting to the we have of vanity in deriving our felves of biles quadam necessitate confiringantur, ne ab such and such Parents, we should rather antiquorum probitate degenerent; Isee no other know such Nobility (without Virtue) to be thing to be affected in Nobility, than that Noble- shame and dishonour, than Nobleness and men are by a kind of necessity bound, not to deglory to vaunt thereof. What calamity is men are vy a since of necessary connections, wanting (faith Bernard) to him that is born make generate from the virtue of their Ancestors, wanting (faith Bernard) to him that is born make For if Nobility be Virtus & antique divitie; in sin, of a Potsbare body and barren mind? FOUR INCOMING DE VITING COMMINGER OF ACCORDING TO THE FATHER) Dele Equals Virtue and antient riches, then to exceed in For (according to the fame Father) Dele Equals all those things which are extra hominem, as fucum fugacis honoris hujus, o male coronate riches, power, glory, and the like, do no o- nitorem gloria, Gre. Wipe away the painting therwise define Nobility, than the word of this secting honour, and the glittering of the (animal) alone doth define a reasonable man. ill-crowned glory, that then thou mayeft conf-Or if honour (according to L. Vives) be a derthy felf nakedly: for thou camel naked witnessof virtue and well-doing: and No- out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence bility (after Plutarch) the continuance of with thy Mytre, or glistering with Jewels, or Virtue in a Race or Linage: then are those garnified with Silks, or adorned with Feathers, in whom Virtue is extinguished, but like un- or finffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow to Painted and Printed Papers, which igno- away all these by thy consideration, as certain morning clouds, which do or will foon pass over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miserable man, and blushing, tue: Flowers, and Herbs, which by change because he is naked, and weeping, because he h of foile and want of manuring are turned to born, and repining, because he is born to labour,

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between it and dust: their course they run foule, filthy, and de- which if thou dost not believe (faith St. Chry closs filed? Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando (ostom) look into the Seputchres and Monne has 1 Cicuta venenosa, exterra sterili pretiosum Au-ments of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily pro-dient run; Out of finitful ground ariseth sometimes swade thee by their own example, that thou at mena possening Henbane, and out of barren soyle pre- dust and dirt: So that if man seem more noble s. cious Gold. For as all things confift of mat- and beautiful than dust, this proceedeth not ter and form, fo doth Charron (in his Chap- from the divertity of his Nature, but from the

> For true Nobility standeth in the Trade 1861 Of virtuous life; not in the fleshly Line: For bloud is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

And howfoever the cuftom of the World publike Virtue, ferving his Prince and Country, and being defcended of Parents and Anceftors that have done the like. And alwice as any King) reprehendent the fame in though that Nobility, which the same Au- his fellow-Princes: There is an evil (faith he) to the control of the thor calleth personal (the same which our that I have seen under the Sun, as an errour felves acquire by our Virtue and well de- that proceedeth from the face of him that fervings) cannot be ballanced with that ruleth: Folly is set in great excellency.

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CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus: and of memorable things about those times.

§. I.

That Nimrod was the first after the Floud that reigned like a Sovereign Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to have been of just authority.

fes from the rest (according to the builders of Babel. S. Angustine) in one of these two respects: The same is also confirmed by divers Hickher for his eminency, and because he was storians, that Nimrod, Suphne, and Jostan, the first of fame, and took on him to com- were the Captains and Leaders of all those mand others: or elfe in that he was begotten, which came from the East. And though by Chulb, after is other children were also Sem came not himself so farr as Shinaar (his become Fathers; and of a later time than lot being cast on the East parts) yet from some of his Grand-children and Nephews. his Son's Nephew Heber, the name and Na-

and many later Writers call tyrannical: the thence into Canaan, fame beginning in Babel (which is) confusiaffirming therein, that Nimrod was a mighty tongue. Hunter against God: Sic ergo intelligendus We know that Goropius Becanus followthe Lord

found, that Noah himself, or any of the Sons rity, than violence of usurpation. of his own body, came with this troop into

He first of all that reigned as Babylon: no mention at all being made of Sovereign Lord, after the Noah (the years of his life excepted) in the Floud, was Nimrod, the Son succeeding Story of the Hebrews; nor that of chulb, distinguished by Mo- Sem was in this disobedient troop, or among

Howsoever, seeing Moses in express words, tion of the Hebrews (according to the gecalleth Nimrod the Son of Chush, other mens nerall opinion) took beginning, who inhaconjectures to the contrary, ought to have bited the Southermost parts of chaldea, about the City of Ur; from whence Abra-This Empiry of Nimrod, both the Fathers, ham was by God called into Charran, and

And because those of the Race of sem on. But it seemeth to me, that Melanethon which came into Chaldea, were no partners conceived not amis hereof: the same ex- in the unbelieving work of the Tower: position being also made by the Authour of therefore (as many of the Fathers conjethat Work, called Onomasticum Theologicum, cture) did they retain the first and most anwho affirms that Nimrod was therefore cal- cient language, which the Fathers of the first led Amarus Dominator, A bitter, or severe Age had left to Noab; and Noab to Sem and Governour, because his form of Rule seemed, his ssues: In familia Heber remansst bac linat first, farr more terrible than Paternal au- gua; In the family of Heber this language rethority. And therefore is he in this respect mained (saith Saint Augustine out of Epiphaalso called A mighty Hunter: because he nim) and this Language Abraham used; took and destroyed both beasts and thieves. yea, it was anciently, and before the Floud, But S. Augustine understands it otherwise, the general speech and therefore first called and converts the word (ante) by (contra) (faith Calestinus) lingua humana: the humane

est Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum; So is ing Theodoret, Rabbi Moses, Ægyptius, Vergara, that Giant to be understood, a Hunter against and others, is of another opinion; but how soever we determine of this point, we may with But how soever this word (A mighty Hun- good probability resolve, that none of the ter) be understood; yet it rather appeareth, godly seed of sem were the chief Leaders of that as Nimrod had the command of all those this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it which went with him from the East into shinaar: 10, this charge was rather given him, appointed for this charge, we may imagine than by him usurped. For it no where is that Nimrod rather had it by just autho-

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CHAP. X.

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That Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus were three distinct Persons.

 $B_{\text{others},\ \text{make many Nimrods}}^{\textit{Enzo}}$, and out of him Nauclerus, with confounds him with Belus, and so doth Saint Hierom upon Ose; and these words of Saint Augustine seem to make him of the same Opinion: Ibi autem Ninus reanabat post mortem patris sui Beli, qui primus illic regnaverat 65. annos; There did Ninus reign after the death of fall from his obedience, whom he reof his father Belus, who governed in Babylon | covered again by strong hand; which was fixty five years. But it could not be unknown to Saint Augustine, that Nimrod was the Establisher of that Empire: Moses being plain and direct therein. For the beginning of Nimrods Kingdom (faith he) was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinaar; wherefore Nimrod was the first King of Babel. And certainly, it best agreeth with reason, that Ninus was the third, and not one with Nimrod, as Mercator (led by clement) supposed: for in Ninus his time, the World was marvellously replenished. And if S. Augustine had undoubtedly taken Belus for Nimrod, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authours. And for those words of S. Augustine (qui primus illic regnaverat; Who was the first that reigned there) supposed to be meant by Belus: those words do not disprove that Nimrod was the Founder of the Babylonian Empire. For although Julius Casar overthrew the liberty of the Romane Common-wealth, making himself perpetual Dictator; yet Augustus was the first established Emperour, and the first that reigned abfolutely by foveraign Authority over the Romans, as an Emperour.

both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. years after the Floud (as they account) that proves it not. For, so Edward the third, and erected to his hand. his Grand-child, Richard the fecond, were Kings both in one year: the one died; the other in the same year was crowned King.

Belus were one) is farr more probable than gint calls Archard; and Epiphanius, Arphal; that of Mercator; who makes Ninus and Junius takes it to be Nisibis in Mesopotamia:

Nimrod to be the same. For, it is plain, that the beginning of Nimrod's Kingdom was Babel, and the Towns adjoining: but the first, and most famous work of Ninus, was the City of Ninive.

Now, whereas D. Siculus affirmeth, that Ninus overcame and supprest the Babylonians, the same rather proveth the contrary. than that Ninus and Nimrod were one Perfon. For Ninus established the seat of his Empire at Ninive in Asyria, whence the Babilonians might (perchance) in disdain thereeasie: Babylon being not walled till Semiramis time.

—Dicitur altam Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis Urbem. Semiramis with walls of Brick, the City

did inclose.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call Nimrod mighty; so Justine hath the same of Ninus, which is one of Mercator's Arguments; it may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other Kings as well. For, if we may believe Justine; then were Vexoris King of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia, mighty Kingsbefore Ninus was born. And if we may compare the words of Moses (touching Nimrod) with the undertakings of Ninus, there will be found great difference between them.

For whereas Mercator conceiveth, that it was too early, for any that lived about the time of the confusion of Languages, to have invaded and mastered those Cities so farr removed from Babel, namely, Erech, Accad, and and Chalne: which work he therefore ascribeth to Ninus, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have The like may be faid of Nimrod, that he Nimrod to have been long after the time, in first brake the rule of Eldership and Pater- which we suppose he slourished; and both nity, laying the foundation of foveraign those names of Nimrod and Ninus to belong rule, as Cefar did; and yet Belus was the to one Person, to wit, to Ninus: to these first, who peaceably, and with general al- things to make some answer. First, I do not lowance, exercised such a power. Pererius is find that supposition true, That ever Nimof opinion, that Belus and Nimrod were the rod invaded any of these Cities; but that he same, because many things are said of them, founded them, and built them from the ground, being the first after the Floud, that conducted the children of Noah into those Belus reigned; but fuch agreement of times parts: and therefore had nothing built or

Befides, whereas these Cities, in many mens opinions, are found to stand farr away from Babylon, I find no reason to bring me to that And yet the opinion (that Nimrod and belief. The City of Accad, which the Septuafor the Region thereabout, the Cosmogra-tinue in our opinion, That Nimrod, Belus, and phers (faith he) call Accabene for Accadene. Ninus, were diffined and successive Kings. Others understand Nilibis and Ninive, to be one City: fo do Strabe and Stephanus confound it with Charran, but all miftaken. For Nilibis, Accad, and Charran, are diffinet places. Though I cannot deny Accedene to be a Region of Mesopotamia, the same which Arias Montanus, cut of S. Hierom, calls Achad: and to do the Hebrews also call Nisibis, which feemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the City of Eree, which the septuagint call touching the beginning of that great State orech; S. Augustine, Oreg; and Pagninus, Erec; of Babylon and Assyria: a controversie weathis place Junius understands for Aracca in risomly disputed without any direct proof, sustana: but there is also a City in Camagena, conclusion, or certainty. But to me(of whom, called Arace; and indeed, likelihood of name where the Scriptures are filent, the voice is no certain proof, without the affiltance of of reason hath the best hearing) the Interother circumstances.

Concerning the third City(called Chalne) fome take it for Calinifis: of which Am. Mercellinus. S. Hierom takes it for Seleucia; Hierosolymitanus, for Cteliphon: others do think For in this fort he converteth the Hebren it to be the Agrani upon Euphrates, destroyed and razed by the Fersians. But let Moses be the Moderator and Judge of this Dispute, who teacheth us directly that these Cities are not feated in fo diverfe and diftant Regions, for these be his words : And the beginning of bis Kingdom (speaking of Nimrod) was Babel, Erec. Accad, and Chalne in the Land of Shinaar: fo as in the Valley of Shinaar, or Bafour made but one Babylon, than that they were Cities farr removed, aud in feveral Provinces, did not the Prophet Amos precifely distinguish Chalne from Babylon. Co you (faith Amos) to Chalne, and from thence go you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Phi-Shinaar was here named, not that all these For fire I am, that in the beginning of Nimany City-at all to be found in Egypt: Babylon of Egypt being all one with the great City of Cairo, which was built long after, not the ancient City, but not for ancient as Babylon upon Euphrates. Now, that Chalme is fittiate in the valley of shinaar, it hath been formerly proved in the Chapter of Faradise. So

6. III.

That Nimrod, not Affur, built Ninive; and that it is probable, out of Elay 23. 12. that Affur built Ur of the Chaldees.

Ow, as of Nimrod; so are the Opinions of Writers different touching Affir, and pretation of Junius is most agreeable; who, besides all necessary consequence, doth not dif-join the sence of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the understanding thereof. Text : Erat enim principium Regni eius Babel, & Erec, & Accad, & Chalne, in terra Shinaaris: e terra hac processit in Astyriam, ubi ædificavit Niniven (which is) For the beginning of his Kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinaar : and he went forth of this Land into Assyria, and built Ninive. So as Junius takes Affur in this place, not for any Person, belonia, or Chalden (being all one) we must but for the Region of Affria; the Land befind them. And therefore I could (tather ing so called in Molectime, and before it. For of the two) think, with Viterbienfir, that these certainly, the other construction (where the word Affur is taken for Affur the Son of shem) doth not answer the order which Mafes obferveth through all the Books of Genesis, but is quite contrary unto it. For in the beginfiling of the tenth Chapter, he fetteth down the Sons of Noah, in these words: Now these listims. The Geneva Translation, favouring are the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem, the former Opinion, to fet these Cities out of Ham, and Japheth, unto whom sons were born shinaar, hath a marginal note expressing that after the Flund: then it followeth immediately; The Sons of Japheth were Gomer, cities were therein feated, but to distinguish &c. fo as Japheth is last named among Babylon of Chalda, from Babylon in Egypt: Noah's Sons, be he eldeft or youngest, bebut I find little substance in that conceit: cause he was first to be spoken of: with whom (having last named him) he prorod's Empire, there was no fuch Babylon, nor ceeds and fets down his Islue, and then the Iffue of his Sons: first the Mue of Gomer, Tupbeth's eldeft Son 3 and then speaks of Thoun and his Sons of for of the fell of farrfrom the place where flood memphis that Family he is filent. Anon after, he numbereth the Sons of Ham, of Which Chufb was the eldest and then the Sons of chill and Mizrain; and afterwards of Candan; leaving shem for the laft, because he would not difas for any argument that may be brought to Join the Story of the Hebrer Bur after he the contrary, from the remote fituation of beginneth with sheet, he continueth from these three Cities from Babylon, we may con- thence by Arghanad, Shela; and Heber,

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thers of that Nation. But to have brought place with Comeftor, or Comeftor with in one of the Son of shem, in the middle of him, agreeing in substance with that Transthe Generations of Ham, had been against lation of Junius: to which words of Moses order; neither would Moses have past over he giveth this sence: De hac terra Assyriofo sleightly the erection of the Asyrian Em- rum pullulavit imperium, qui ex nomine Nipire in one of the Sons of shem, if he had had ni, Beli filii, Ninum condiderunt, urbem ma. any such meaning: it being the Story of gnam, &c. Out of this Land grew the Emshem's Sons which he most attended. For pire of the Assyrians, who built Ninus the he nameth Nimrod apart, after the rest of the great City, so named of Ninus the Son of Be-Sons of Chulb, because he founded the Eaby- lus. On the contrary, Calvin object eth this lonian and Affrian Empire: and in the ele- place of Esay: Behold the Land of the Chaldaventh Chapter, he returns to speak of the ans, this was no People, Assur founded it by 13.18 building of Babel in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which Nimrod founded in hath a greater diversity in the Translation Shinaar. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, fo also in the eleventh he maketh no report of shem, till such time as he had finished so much of Nimrod as he meant to touch: and feemeth hereby to inferr, that because Affin then he beginneth with the Islue of shem, which he continueth to Abraham and Ifrael. And of Junius opinion touching Assur, was Calvin: to which I conceive P. Comeftor, in historia scholastica, gave an entrance, who, after he had delivered this place in some other sence, he useth these words: Vel intelligendum non est de Assur, filio Sem, &c. sed Affur (id eft, Regnum Affyriorum) inde egref-Sum est, quod tempore Sarug proavi Abrahami factum est; (which is) Or else it is not to be understood of Assur the son of Sem, Oc. but Assur (that is, the Kingdom of the Assyrians) came from thence (videlicet, from Babylon) or was made out of it: which happened in the time of Sarug the great Grand-father of Abraham. After which he reconcileth the difference in this fort: If you take the ancient Belus (meaning Nimrod) to be the first Ercder thereof, it is true, Quantum ad initium; Respecting the beginning; but others con-Torniel.

unto Abraham, and so to Jacob, and the Fa- cient and Learned Writer, understands this there is no one place in the Scriptures, that and Understanding; insomuch as Michael de Palatio upon Esay (though in all esseven ry diligent) passeth it over. But Calvin founded the State of the Chaldeans, therefore also Assur, rather than Nimred, established the Asyrian Empire, and built Nineve: contrary to the former translation of Junius, and to his own Opinion. Now, out of the Vulgar (called Hierom's Translation) it may be gathered, that Assur both founded and ruined this Estate or City of the Chaldeans, by Esay remembred: unto which City, People, or State, he plainly telleth the Tyrians, that they cannot trust or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this City of Chaldaa, and that Estate, an example unto those Phanicians, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which City of Chaldea, being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the Asyrians utterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and ctor of the Affrian Empire, or the first Foun-fore-telleth them, that their own City of Tyre (invincible, as themselves thought) should alfo foon after be overturned by the same Alfceive that it had beginning from Ninus, vians: as (indeed) it was by Nebuchodonfor. which is also true, Quantum ad Regni amplia. And these be the words after Hierom: Ecc tianem; Regarding the inlargement of the Emterra Chaldworum, talis populus non fuit, Af pire. To this I may add the opinion of Epi- fur fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduce phanius confurmed by Cedrenus, who takes runt robultos ejus, suffoderunt domos ejus, po-Affur tobe the Son of Nimrod: and so doth sucrunt eam in ruinam (which is) Behold the Methodius, and Viterbienste, Saint Hierom, and Land of the Chaldwans, Such a People there Cyrillus, and now lattly, Torniellus: who were not (or, this was no People, after the Ge-(laith he) took upon him that name of Affur neva) Affur (or the Affyrians) founded it, after he had beaten the Afgrians, as Scipio they carried away their frong men captions they did of Africanue, after his Conquest in Afri- undermined their Houses, and ruined their Cica: and that Affur was a common name to ty. The Septuagint, express it but in a part the Kings of Aspria, as it appeareth by ma- of another Verle, in these words: Et interny Scripturcs, as Pfal. 81. Efay 10. Ofc. 5. Sec. ra Chaldworum, & hae defolata eft ab Allye But to help the matter, he makes Nimrod of rils, quoman murus oins corrnit, making the the race of shem, and the Son of Irari. But fence perfect by the preceding verfe, which Rabanus Maurus, who was Archbishop of altogether may be thus understood: If thouse Mentz, in the year of Chrift 854. an an over to Chittim (which is Macedon, or Greece)

neither in the Land of the Chaldwans, for this is made desolate by the Affyrians, because their Vatablus convert it thus: Ecce terra Chasdiim, ifie populus non erat illic olim; nam Affur fun-davit eam navibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriverunt ades ejus, posuit eam in ruinam: which may be thus Englished: Behold the Land of the Chaldwans, this People was not barbour for Ships, they erected the Towers thereandruinated it. Junius, in the place of Ships, fets the word (pro Barbaris) that is, for the Barbarians: and the Geneva, by the Barbarians. But this is undoubted, that the Prophet the Chapter) did therein affure the Tyrians of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those places, Cities, and Regions, by Tyrians was maintained; as by the Cilicians from Tharfis, from the Macedonians, and City Ur, or Urchoa in Chaldea, where the body or chief stream of Euphrates (even that xime barbaros. stream which runneth through Babylon and Otris, which now falleth into Tygris) had his noted, the Arabians (that descended from So then Vr of the Chaldees was a Port Town, and one of those Cities which had Intelligence, trade, and exchange with the Tyrians: for it stood by the great Lakes of chaldea, passage is now stopt up. Ejus cursum vetustas abolevit (faith Niger.) And Pliny: Locusubi worn away the channel of Euphrates: the place

yet thou shalt not rest (speaking to the Tyrians) the City of the Chaldees, whose calamities Esay here noteth for terrour of the Tyrians, to be the City anciently called Ur; and by He walls fell together to the ground. Pagninus and cateus, Camerina; by Ptolemy, Orchoa; and by the Greeks, Chaldaopolis, the City of Chaldaa: which the Sons of Shem, until Abrahams time. inhabited. And whereas, in all the Translations, it is said, that Assur both founded it and ruined it: it may be understood, that Assur the Founder was the Son of shem; and Affur once therein inhabiting: for Assur built it a the destroyers were the Assyrians, by whom those that inhabited Vir of Chaldea, were at of; and again brake down the houses thereof, length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-feeing, commanded Abraham thence to Carran, and fo into Canaan. And if the Hebrew word by Vatablus and Pagninus converted (by Ships) do bear Elay (as may be gathered by all the sence of that sence, the same may be the better approved, because it was a Port Town: and the River so farr up as this City of Ur was in ancient time navigable, as both by Pling and Niger appeareth. And if the word (for the Barbarians) or (by the Barbarians) be alwhose trade the state and greatness of the so in the Hebrew Text, it is no less manifest; that the most barbarous Arabians of the Defart were and are the confronting, and next other Grecians, under the name of Cittim; al- People of all other unto it. For Chaldeais so by the Egyptians, the Chaldwans, and the now called Arachaldar, which signifieth Derest. For Tyre was then the Mart Town of fart Lands, because it joineth to that part of the World most renowned. And (as it appears | Arabia so called: and Cicero (calling those in our Discourse of Paradise) not the least Arabians by the name of Itureans) addeth, part of her chief merchandize came in by the that they are, of all other People, the most Salvage; calling them, Homines omnium ma-

So as this place of Esay, which breedeth some doubt in Calvin, proveth in nothing passage into the Persian Gulf: though now it the contrary Opinion, nor in any part be stopped up. For, as we have heretofore | weakneth the former Translation of Junius, nor the Interpretation of Comestor and Rasheba and Raamah) dwelling on the East | banus. For though other men have not conbanks of the Persian Gulf, trading with the ceived for any thing that I have read) that Tyrians (asthole of Eden, Charran, and Chalne | Affur is in this place diversly taken (as for the did) transported their merchandize by the Son of shem, when he is spoken of as a Builmouth of T_{jgris} , that is, from T_{eredon} ; and of $|\det \operatorname{of} \mathcal{V}_r|$; and when as a Destroyer thereof; Emphrates, that is, from Ur, or Orchoa: and then for the Affgrian Nation) yet certainly and then by Babylon, and thence by River the evidence of the truth, and agreement of and over Land, they conveyed it into spria, circumstances seem to enforce it. And so this and so to Tyre; as they do this day to Aleppo. Founding of the City of the Chaldees by Affar (into which the most of the Posterity of shem that came into shinaar, and were separate for the Idolatry of the Chustes and Nimrodians, retired themselves) hath nothing in through we that part of Euphrates ran, which it to prove the same Affar built Nineve, or that the fame Affar was all one with Ninus Euphratis oftim full, flumen fullum, Time hath Son of shem, both an Idolater, and the Son except we will make Afur, who was the where the month thereof man, wa may of fall first notorious lacrificer to Idols; and the first of Belus. For (out of doubt) Ninus was the water. There things being thus, certainly (not that fet up a Statue of Image to be honour without good probability) we may expound ed as God. Now, if Affir must be of that

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150 must be, if he founded Ninive, then all those which feek to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thousand parts more injury, by taking from him his true Parent

with Nimus; then what became of him? materials, and with other impediments) were feure, and not like to be the Founder of ed by his Suceffours in many years after: to Certainly, he was very unworthy, and obfuch an Empire, and fuch a City, if no man whose undertakings time had given so great pulfion thence, and how he loft that Empire and patterns of his beginning, so great adhave vouchsafed to leave to Posterity his exagain, or quitted it to Ninus: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farr differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the Story of that Age written by prophane Authours, that Nimrod founded Babel, Erech, and Accad, and Chalne, the first works and beginnings of his Empire, according to Moses; and that these works being finished within the Valley of Shinaar, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the work of Ninus, lying neer unto the same stream that Babel and Chalne did: which work his Grand-child Ninus afterward amplified and finished, as Semiramis (this Ninus his wife) did Babylon. Hence it came to pass, that as Semiramis was counted the Foundress of the City which she onely finished: so also Ninus of Ninive: Quam quidam Babylonem potuit instaurare; She might repair or renew Babylon, faith S. Augustine. For fo did Nebuchodonosor vaunt himself to be the Founder of Babylon also, because he built up again some part of the wall, over-born by the fury of the River: which work of his stood till Alexander's time, whereupon he Dan 4, 27. vaunted thus: Is not this great Babel which I have built?...

of the Acts of Nimrod and Belus, as farr as now they are known.

Ult to return to the Story, it is plain in Mofes, that Nimrod (whom Philo interpreteth transfugium, and Julius Africanus furnamed Saturne) was the establisher of the the Babylonian Monarchy, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning confifted of those four Cities before remembred; Babel, Erech, Acpropagated his Empire into Affria, and in them, held the power which they possess

Race, and not of the Family of Shem, as he Albria built four more Cities (to wit) Ninive, he spent much time in building Babel it self, and those adjoining; and that his travels were many ere he came into Shinaar: that work of Babel (fuch as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of Nimake the Founder of Ninive (and so the Son nive, and the other Cities of Asspria which vancement and encouragement: in whose time (faith Glycas) all these Nations were called Meropes, à sermonis linguarum terraque divisione; By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.

Belus, or Bel, or Jupiter Belus, succeeded Nimrod, after he had reigned 114. years; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low Lands of Babylon, and drying and making firm ground of all those great Fens and overflown Marishes which adjoined unto it. For any of his Warrs or Conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against Sabatius King of Armenia, and those parts of Scythia, which Berofus calls Scythia Saga, whose Son and Successour Barzanes became subject and Tributary to Ninus, that followed the Warr to effect, which was by

his Father Belus begun.

6. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many Kingdoms could be erected about these times! and of Vexoris of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia.

Hat so many Kingdoms were erected in all those Eastern parts of the World fo foon after Nimrod (as by the Story of Ninus is made manifest) the causes were three fold (namely) Opportunity, Example, and Necessity. For Opportunity, being a Princels liberal and powerfull, bestoweth on her fust Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wisdom ought; by whose presence alone the understanding minds of men receive all those helps and fupplies, which they either want or with for: fo as every Leader of a troop (after the division of Tongues, and dispersion of People) finding these fair offers made unto and governed by discretion all those People, whom they conducted to their deflined places. For, it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was first divided, mankind ftraggled abroad like Beafts in a Defart; but that by agreement they disposed themselves; and undertook to inhabite all the known parts of the World, and by difinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from Babylon and Shinaar, which had Kings, and were Peopled in Ninus himfelf. his time, would not have been possest in many hundreds of years after, as then they travelled farr off (order being the true Pastrength, secure themselves against forcible rians have conceived. violence; nor those which sought after any fame in quiet, or rule and order their own. Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these ef-Ninus (the Son of Belus) made it apparent; for he found every where Kings and Mo-

him in the Warrs.

But Nimrod (his Grand-father) had no took on him Soveraignty and fole comfeems to me, righty accounted by the Judicommon account,

6. VI:

Of the name of Belus, and other names affines

Hence this fecond King and Successor of Nimrod had the name of Bell, or Belus, question hath been made; for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by Ninus, than affumed by Belus

Cyrillus against Julian calls the Fathen of Ninus, Arbelus, affirming that he was the first were; neither did those that were sent, and of all men that caused himself to be called a god: which were it so, then might the name rent of prosperous success) undertake so of Belus be thence derived. But Bel, as madifficult enterprises without a Conductor or ny Writers have observed, signifieth the Sun Commander. Secondly, the example of in the Chaldean Tongue; and therefore did Nimrod, with whom it succeeded well, Ninus and Semiramis give that name to their ftrengthened every humour that aspired. Father, that he might be honoured as the Thirdly, Necessity resolved all men by the Sun, which the Babylonians worshipped as arguments of common miseries, that with a god. And as this Title was assumed in afout a Commander and Magistrate, neither ter-times by divers others of the Chaldean could those that were laborious, and of Princes and Babylonian Satrapa: so was it honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their | used (in imitation) by the chief of the Carown Travels; nor those which were of little | thaginians and other Nations, as some Histo-

To this Bel, or Belus, pertain (as in affinity) proportion of greatness, either possess the those voices of Baal, Baalim, Belphegor, Beelphagor, Belfebub, and Beelfephon. Those that that are learned in the Hebrew and Chaldaan, convert the word Baal by the Latine, fects, the undertakings and Conquests of Princeps militia, Chief in the Warr; though Daniel was fo called (faith suidas) Ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum; In Hier. in narchies, what way foever his Ambition led honor of his expounding fecrets. Saint Hierom Ofe. c. 2. makes Bel, Beel, and Baal, to have the same fignification: and faith, that the Idol of Bacompanion King, to us known, when he first | bylon was so called, which Ninus in memory of his Father fet up to be worshipped: to mandment of all those the Children of which, that he might add the more honour Noah, which came from the East into Baby- and reverence, he made it a Sanctuary and Lyr. in lonia: though in his life-time others also refuge for all offenders. Hence (faith Ly-Septem. raised themselves to the same estate; of ranus) came Idolatry, and the first use of salom. which hereafter. Belus (his Son and Suc- Images into the World Indore doth interpret 16d. 1.8: cessour) found Sabatius King of Armenia and Bel by Vetus, old, or ancient; adding, that c. 11. Scythia, sufficiently powerfull to resist his at- as among the Assyrians it is taken for Saturn, tempts; which Sabatius I take to be the same, and the Sun: so, in the Punick or Carthawhich Justine calls Tanais; and should con- ginian Language, it signifieth God . Glycas jecture, that Mizraim had been his Vexoris, makes it an Affyrian name properly; and were it not that I vehemently suspect some Tosephus a Tyrian. He also affirmeth, that the errour (as Justine placeth him) in the time of Idol which the Moabites worshipped (by that Vexoris, who by many circumstances them erected on the Mountain Phegor, or Peor, and called Baal) is the same which clous and Learned Reineccius, all one with the Latines call Priapus, the god of Gar-Hieron. in the great sefostris, that lived certain Ages dens; which also was the Opinion of Saint ofe c. 4. after Ninus. This Belus, the second King of Hierom. But, that the word Bel, or Beel, & 9. Babylan, reigned 65. years, according to the was as much to fay, as God, appeareth by the word Beelzebub, the Idol of Accaron. For Bel, or Beel foundeth (God) and Sebub

(Flics or Hornets) by which name (notwithstanding) the Jews express the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet Ofe teacheth us the propher fignification of this word from the voice of God himself; And at that day (faith the Lord) thou Shalt call me Ishi, and Shalt call me no more Baalim: for I will take away the name of Baalim out of their mouths. For, although the name of Baal, or Bahal, be justly to be used towards God; yet in respect that the same was given to Idols, God hath hated it, and forbad it. And the using of the word Bel among the Chaldmans for the Sun, was not, because it properly fignifieth the Sun, but because the Sun there was worshipped as God: as a also the Fire was; tanquam solis particula. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as Belphegor, and Belsephon; Belsephon is expounded out of Facius; Dominus specula, vel custodia: The Lord of the Watch-tower. or of the Guard: the other word noteth the Idol, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is written Belpeor, or Baalpeor: and Peor (they fay) is as much as Denudavit; and therefore the word joined, expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this Belus, the Son of Saturn: for first of all men that was ever honoured by their it was used among the Ancients, to name subjects with title of Deity 5 (or with the name the Father Saturn, the Son Jupiter, and the of God) the Afgrians therefore, and the bor-Grand-child Hercules. Saturni dicuntur faaquit.l.1. miliarum Nobilium, Regumque qui urbes con-& Junones; Hercules vero nepotes corum fortilfimi. The ancientest of Noble Families and dit Suidas. Kings which founded Cities, are called Saturns; their first-born, Jupiters and Junoes; their valiant Nephems, Hercules. But this Belus (faith L. Vives) was famous by reafon of his Warlike Son, Ninus, who caused his Father to be worshipped as a God by the name of Jupiter Babylonius, whom the Egyptians (transported by Dreams of their Antiquities) make one of theirs, For Neptune (say they) upon Lybia the Daughter of Epaphus, begat this Jupiter Belus, who was Father to Egyptus. They add, that this Belus, carrying a Colony to the River of Euphrates, there built a City, in which he ordained Priests after the Egyptian manner. rather some other Belus, of whom the Egy-

ptians so much vaunted.

6. VII.

of the worshipping of Images, begun from Belus in Babel.

A S for the Babylonians Belw, he was the most ancient Belus, and the Inventor of Astronomy, if Pliny say true: from whence the Egyptians might borrow both the name and doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his statue or Image was honoured as a God, the same Author affirmeth, that it did remain in his time.

Of the Sepulchre of Belus, Srabo writeth Of the Sepulcine of Beling, there are Gar13.6 File 18. dens, where they say the ruines of Belus his Tomb, which Xerxes brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Fyramis made of Brick, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth. It appears by Cyril against Julian, L. 1.08 that he obtained divine worship yet living: Julia for fo he writes of him (calling him Arbelm.) Arbelus vir superbus & arrogans primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse : Perseverårunt igitur Assyrii, & sinitimæ illis gentes sacrificantes ei. Arbelus, a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the dering Nations have persevered, sacrificing to him. Even Arius also, whom Suidas calls Thudiderunt schissimi; primogeniti corum Joves ras, who succeeded next after Ninus, was made an Idol-God among them, if we cre-

After Ninus (that is, after Ninias) Thuras reigned (faith Suidas) whom they called after the name of the Planet Mars; a man of sharp and sierce disposition, who bidding battel to Caucasis, of the stock of Japheth, slew him. The Assignment worthipped him for their God, and called him Baal, that is) Mars; thus far Suidas. Neither is it unlikely but that any among Idolatrous Nations were Deified in their life-times, or foon after: though I deny not, but that the most of their Images and Statue were first erected without divine worship, onely in memory of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as Glycas rightly conceiveth; and so afterward the Devil crept But, were there any Belus the Son of Epa- into those wooden and brazen carcasses, phus and Isis, or of Neptune and Lybia, or when Posterity had lost the memory of their (with Englishus) of Teglomus, who after the first invention. Hereof Islave speaketh in death of Apis married Iss (Cecrops then this manner: 2nos autem Pagani Deos Afreigning in Athens) the same was not this runt, homines fuerunt, & pro uningcujugue vi-Balylonian Belus of whom we speak, but ta meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud sos post mortem cœperunt : sed (Damonibus persuaden tibus) quos illi pro sua memoria honoraverunt, minores Deos existimârunt : ad ista vero mi gis excolenda accesserunt Poetarum figmenta; firmed to be gods: and every one for his merits they continue for ever. or magnificence, began after his death to be hoperstitious.

rowed of the Heathen. The like faith S. Augustine against Adimantus. Et verentur (faith

Lactantius) ne Religio vana fit, fi nihil videant anod adorent; They fear their Religion would be vain, should they not see what they

And (out of doubt) the Scholemen shift this fearfull cultom very strangely. For feeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wife Christian satisfy it self with the diffinction of Doulia, and Hyperdoulia, which can imply nothing but some difference of worthipping of those Images afmany places forbidden, and curfed the practicers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Devil was fo strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither express the Commandment of God himfelf, Thou shalt not make any graven Image, nor all the threatning of Moses and the Prophets after him, could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any perswasions lead the hearts of men fromit. For, where shall we find words of greater weight, or plainer instruction than these? Take therefore good heed to your selves (for ye saw no Image in the day that the Lord Pake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your selves, and make you a graven Image, or representation of any Figure, whether it be the likeness of Male or Fe-

And, besides the express Commandment, Thou shalt make thee no graven Image, and the prohibition of many Scriptures; fo it is written in the Book of Wisdom, That, the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredom: and the finding of them the corruption of life; for

They were men (laith he) whom the Pagans af- | they were not from the beginning, neither shall

And whereas the Scholemen affirm, that youred of his own: But, at length (the De- the Prophets spake against the Worshipping vils persuading) they accounted them lesser of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest, that Moses gods, whose memories they honoured: and the spake of Images of the living God, and not Fillions of the Poets made the Opinions (con- of Baal, and the rest of that nature, For you cerning the honour of the dead) much more su- Saw no Image (faith Moses) that day that the Lord pake unto you in Horeb. Surely it was And, that the worthipping of Images was excellently faid of Bafil; Noli aliquam in illo brought in by the Pagans, and Heathen Nati- formam imaginari, ne circumscribas eum menons it is not Isidore alone that witnesseth; but | te tua: Do not imagine any form to be in God. Greeory: Gentilitas (faith he) inventrix & left thou limit or circumscribe him in thy mind caput oft Imaginum; Gentilism is the inventres too. Now, if the great Basil thought it a preand ground of Images: and Ambrose; Gentes | sumption unlawfull to represent a pattern of lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei; The | the infinite God to our own thoughts and Gentiles adore wood, as it were the Image of minds, how farr do those men prefume that . God. Eusebius also affirmeth as much, and cal- put him under the greasse Pencil of a Painleth the worshipping of images, a custom bor- ter, or the rusty Axe or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Carver?

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God, began in Babel: fo did the Devil transport and spread this invention into all the Regions adjoining, and

into Egypt and Greece.

The Romans, for a while, refisted the erection of these Idols and Images, refusing to fet them in their Temples for 170 years; obferving the Law of Numa, who thought it impiety to refemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But, Tarquinius Priscus afterwards prevailing, and following the vaniter they are made? And it is of all things ty of the Grecians (a Nation of all others unthe most strange, why religious and learned | der the Sun most deluded by Satan) set up men should strain their wits to defend the the Images of their gods; which (as S. Au- Aug. de use of those things, which the Scriptures have gustine witnesseth) that learned Varro both civil. 1.4. not only no where warranted, but expressly in bewailed, and utterly condemned: and c. 31. which Seneca thus derideth; Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicant, genu posito illa adorant; & cum hac suspiciant, fabros, qui illa fecere, contemnunt; The Images of the gods are worshipped, those they pray unto with bended knees those they adore; and while they so greatly admire them, they contemn the Handicraftsmen that made them : which also sedulius the Poet in this fort scoffed at:

> Heu miseri qui vana colunt qui corde sinistro Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, suumque Factorem fugiunt & qua fecere verentur! Quis furor est? que tanta animos dementia ludit ?

Ut volucrem, turpemque bovem, torvumque Draconem.

Semi-hominemque-canem supplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worship vanities, And confecrate dumb Idols in their heart, Who their own Maker (God on high) despise, And fear the work of their own hands & art !

CHAP.

Снар. Х.

154

Half-dog-half-man on knees for aid im-

And though this device was barbarous, and of fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite first, and many years practifed by Heathen | multitude of gods, that they were forced to Nations onely, till the Jews were corrupted distinguish them into degrees and orders; in Egypt, yet it is not Seneca alone that laugheth to scorn the ignorant stupidity of his Nation: but Justin Martyr remembreth how the Sybils inveighed against Images: and Hospinian, how Sophocles taught, that it was pernicious to the fouls of men to erect and adore those bables. Strabo and Herodotus witness, that the Persians did not erect or set up any Statue of their Gods. Lycurgus never taught it the Lacedamonians, but thought it impiety to represent immortal natures by mortal Fi- more like to their Idols, did Epimenides Cregures Eulebius also witnesseth, in his Sixth tensis (by what good Angel moved I know Book, de praparatione Evangelica, that it was not) erect in the Atherian Fields, Altars to forbidden by a Law in gerica, or among the the unknown God, which stood with the Brackmans in India, that Images should be same title and dedication, even to the times worshipped. The same do Tacitus and Crinitus report of the antient Germans. Many whom these Altars belonged, and opened other Authours might be remainbred that cheir eyes which were capable of grace, that witness the disdain which the Heathen themfelves had of this childish Idolatry: of which Hospinian hath written at large in his Tract. de origine imaginum. And it was truly faid, Devil had so many years led and missled Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta funt, them. And it sufficed not that the multitude All ill examples have sprung from good begin- of these gods was so great in general, or that nings. The Heathen, at first, made these Statue and Images, but in memory of such re- ticular and singular care of them, as Jupiter markable men, as had deserved best of their in Crete, Isis in Egypt, in Athens, Minerva, in Countries and common-wealths: Effigies hominum (faith Pliny) non folebant exprimi, nifi aliqua illustri causa perpetuitatem merentium : Men are not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembred. And though of the more antient Papifts, some have borrowed of the Gentiles (as appears in Lactantius) that defence for Images: That Simulachra are pro elementis literarum, ut per ea discerent homines Deum invisibilem cognoscere: Images say they. (and so before them the Heathen said) are in stead of Letters, whereby men might learn to know the invilible God: in which understandthem than pictures indeed; yet as that of Baalor Bel, fet up in memory of Belus the Babylonian, became afterward the most reverenced Idol of the world, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himself) were misled and cast away: so those very stocks and stones, and painted canwhich have understanding, judge ye what I sign

What fury? what great madness doth vafes (called the pictures of chrift, our Lady, and others) were by thousands of ignorant Mens minds? that man should ugly shapes people, not onely adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, and understanding. On Of Birds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vile these stocks we call (faith the Book of Wisdom) when we pass through the raging waves, on these focks more rotten than the ship that carries us,

This Heathen invention of Images became as Dii consentes, seu majorum gentium, selecti, Patritii insigniores dii medii: Counselling gods, or gods of the mightiest Nobility, select gods, Patrian gods of mark, and Common gods (which the Romans called Medioxum) dii infimi, and terrestrial Heroes, and multitudes of other gods, of which S. Augustine hath made large mention, in his Book, de Civitate Dei. But Line (faith Lactantius) among all those miserable fouls, and rotten bodies, worshipped by men of S. Paul: who made them first know to they might discern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the every Nation had fome one which took par-Samos, Juno, in Paphos, Venus, and fo of all other parts; but every City, and almost every Family, had a god apart. For as it is written in the fecond of Kings, the men of Babel and made Succoth Benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the Avites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvaims burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech. All which, how plainly hath the Prophet Esay derided? (4) Men cut down Trees, rind them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm them-Selves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a god; an Idol, and prayeth unto it: but ing, perhaps, they no otherwise esteemed God hath shut their eyes from fight, and their heart from understanding. It is therefore safest for a Christian, to believe the Commandments of God, to direct against Idolatry, to believe the Prophets, and to believe S. Paul, who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly, My beloved flie from Idolatry; I fleak as unto them

6. VIII.

of the Warrs of Ninus: and lastly of his Warr against Zoroaster.

that piece of Berofus, fet out and commented in the Conquest thereof. upon by Annius, hath many good things in it, defects of the Fragment; proving directly, had any possession therein. that it cannot be the same Berosus which lived in Alexander's time, cited by Athenaus of the Medes, whom it is faid that he overwithout his errours.

lately published.

of judgment, I will pass over the acts of this third Affyrian, in as few words as I can express them. S. Augustine affirms, that Ninus mastered all Asia, India excepted. Others sav that he wan it all, fave India, Bactria, and U Nto this Belia succeeded Ninus, the first that commanded the exercise of I-companion of his Conquests, with whom he dolatry, the first that injuriously invaded his entred into a streight league of amity, be-Neighbour Princes, and the first that, with- cause he commanded many people, and was out shame or fear, committed Adultery in his kinsman, and a Chusite, and the neerest publick. But, as of Belus there is no certain Prince confronting Babylonia. His first entermemory (as touching particulars) fo of this prize was upon Syria, which he might eafily Ninus (whose Story is gathered out of pro- subdue, both because he invaded it on the fane Authors) I find nothing so warrantable, studden, and because it lay next him: and but that the same may be disputed, and in also because the Arabians and their King the greatest part doubted. For, although Aricus (which bordered Syria) affisted him

The King of Armenia, Barzanes, he forced and giveth great light (as Chrytaus noteth) to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his to the understanding of Diodorus Siculus, Warr against Zoroaster: for from Armenia. Dion, Halicarnasseus, and others: yet, Lodo- he bent himself that way toward the East; views Vives, B. Rhenanus, and others after but, that ever he commanded the leffer Alia, them, have laid open the imperfection and I do not believe, for none of his Succeffors

His third Warr was against Pharnus, King

and Josephus: and whose Statue the Atheni- threw, and cruelly murthered with his seven and Josephus: and whose Statue the Athenithrew, and cruelly murthered with his seven children, though others affirm, that they short, it is from him Children, though others affirm, that they short, it is sometimes the state of chiefly, that many have gathered the fuccef- all died in one battel against him. Whether fion of the Babylonian and Assyrian Princes, he invaded Zoroaster before the building or even from Nimrod, to the eighteenth King amplifying of Nimive, or after, it is uncer-Ascatades, and to the times of Josua. For of tain. It is said, that he made two Expediti-Metasthenes an Historian, of the Race of the tions into Bactria: and, that finding little Persian Priests, there are found but certain or ill success in the first, he returned, and set Papers; or some few lines of the chaldean the work of Ninive forward: and then a seand Affrian Monarchies; but he afterwards, conditione entred Ballria with 1700000 in the collection of the Persian Kings, is not | Foot, and 200000 Horse, and 100000 fix hundred Chariots: being encountred by Zo-Ctesias, or Cnidus (a City joining to Hali- roaster with four hundred thousand. But carnasseus) who lived together with Cyrus | Ninus prevailing, and Zoroaster being slain, he the younger, and with Artaxerxes Mnemon, entred farther into the Countrey, and be- Ang. de gathered his History out of the Persian Re- | fieged the chief City thereof, called Bactra, Civil Dei. cords, and reacheth as farr upwards as Ninus or Bactrion (faith Stephanus) which by a and Semiramis: and, though in the Story of passage found, and an assault given by Semi-Cyrus the younger, Xenophon approveth him ramis (the Wife of Menon) he entred and in some things, and Athenaus, Paulanias, and possest. Upon this occasion Ninus both ad-Tertullian cite him; yet so base and apparent miring her judgment and valour, together 70 lb are his flatteries of the Times and Princes with her person and external beauty, sancied with whom he lived, and so incredible are her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely rethe numbers which he finds in the Armies of spects) he took her from her Husband, whose Ninus, and especially of Semiramis; as what- eyes he threatned to thrust out, if he refused foever his reports were times have confumed to confent. He thererefore yielding to the his Works, faving some very few excerptions passion of love in Ninus, and to the passion of forrow in himfelf, by the strong perswasions And therefore in things uncertain, feeing of shame and hishonour, cast himself headalong discourse cannot be pleasing to men long into the Water, and died.

CHAP.



CHAP. XI.

Of Zoroaster, supposed to have been the chief Authour of Magick Arts: and of the divers kinds of Magick.

6. I.

That Zoroaster was not Cham, nor the first inventer of Astrologie, or of Magick: and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.

ther of Chur, the Grand-father of Nimrod, For Abraham, who had not any acquaintance whose Son was Belus, the Father of Ninus. It with Zoroaster (as Josephus reporteth) was no may be that Vincentius had heard of that less learned herein than any other in that age, Book which was called scripture Cham, de- if he exceeded not all menthen living: difvifed by some wicked Knave, and so enti-fering from the wisdom of after-times in this, tuled; of which sixtus senensis hath made that he knew, and acknowledged, the true

Abbas gave the invention of Magick to Cham getting Gods infinite, differfed, and universal the Son of Noah: fo did Comeftor in his Scho-power) admired the Instruments, and did laftical History; which Art (faith he) with attribute proper strength to the things them the seven Liberal Sciences he writ in four- selves (from which the effects were sensible) teen Pillars: seven of which were made which belonged to that wisdom, Whichbeof Brass, to resist the defacing by the Wa-ing one, and remaining in it self, can do all ters of the Floud; and seven of Brick, things, and reneweth all. against the injury of fire. There was also ano- Now, whether this Zoroaster (overthrown ther devised Discourse, which went under by Ninus) were the same which was so excelthe title of Prophetia Cham. Cassianus out of lent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For Zoroaster Serenus hath somewhat like this of Comestor. the Magician, Ctesias calls Oxyartes, whom These be Callianus words: Cham (filius Pliny finds of a later time. And if Zoroaster Noah) qui superstitionibus istis & sacrilegis were taken away by a Spirit (being inthe fuit artibus infectus. sciens nullum se posses super midst of his Disciples) as some Authourste his memorialem libra in Arcam prorfus inferre, port, then Zoroafter, flain by Ninus, was not in qua crat cum patre justo, &c. Cham the the Magician: which is also the opinion of (the Son of Noah) who was infected with these Scaliger. Superstitions and Sacrilegious Arts, knowing Again, Josephus, and Cedrenus affirm, that sale that be could not bring any Book or memorial seth first found out the Planets, or wanding of that nature into the Ark, wherein he was to Stars, and other motions of the Heavens; for Ark remain with his godly Father, caused the Pre- if this Art had been invented by Zorousset, and kard Stone.

ther children weep; which presaged the of knowledge, and leave it by writing to great knowledge which afterward he at-Posterity. tained unto; being taken for the Inventer | But of this Zoroafter, there is much dispute of natural Magick and other Arts; for the and noles jangling about the word and Art

Oroafter, King of the Battrians, Vin-Minerals, or their Sympathetical, or Antipacentius supposeth to be Cham the thetical workings; of which, I know not Son of Noah: a fancy of little pro- what King of chaldaa is also made the Invenbability. For Cham was the Pa-ter I rather think that these knowledges were ternal Ancestour of Nimes, the Fa- far more ancient, and left by Noab to his Sons. cause, and giver of life and virtue to Nature, It is reported by Cassianus, that Serenus and all natural things; whereas others (for

cepts and Rules thereof to be graven in Metal, he could not have attained to any fuch excellency therein, in his own life-time; but Saint Augustine noteth that Zoroaster was being a man(as it seemeth) of fingular judg faid to have laught at his birth, when all o-ment, he might add fornewhat to this kind

Corrupter, faith Pliny and Justine. But I do of Magick. Arnobius remembreth four, to not think that Zoroafter invented the do- whom the name of Zoroafter, or Zoroafter Grine of the Horoscopes, or Nativities: or first was given: which by Hermodorus and Dinost found out the nature of Herbs, Stones, and feemeth to be but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much to fay, as Aftrorum cultor. dom by his grace, found the Art, after long The first, Arnobius calleth the Battrian, which study and labour, altogether ridiculous. may be the same that Ninus overthrew: the fecond, a Chaldean, and the Astronomer of by is exprest such a one as is altogether con-Ninus: the third was Zoroaster Pamphylius, who lived in the time of cyrus, and his familiar: the fourth, Zoroaster Armenius, the Nephew of Hostianes, which followed Xerxes into Greece: between whom and Cyrus, there past threescore and eighteen years. Suidas remembreth a fifth, called Personnedus sapiens: and Plato speaketh of Zoroaster the Son of Oromasdes; which Picus Mirandula God by nature; sometimes of him that is in confirmeth.

CHAP. XI.

Zoroaster was, it is doubted. Pliny and Laertius make him a Persian. Gemistheus, or Pletho, Ficinus and Steuchins, make him a Chaldean. But by those Books of one Zoroafter, found by the Author of them was a Chaldaan by Nation, though the word (chaldean) was as oftengiven to the learned Priefts peculiarly, as for any diffinguishment of Nations. Forphyrius makes the Chaldai and Magi divers; Picus, the same. But that this Zoroafter was a chaldean both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Books, which (faith Picus) Zoroastris & Melchior magorum oracula.

§. II.

Of the name of Magia; and that it was anciently far divers from Conjuring and Witch-

Ow, for Magick it felf; which Art (faith Mirandula) Pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt; Few understand, and many reprecondemn and hate the things they understand not: I think it not amis (leaving Ninus for a while) to speak somewhat thereof.

It is true, that many men abhorr the very name and word (Magos) because of simon Magus, who being indeed, not Magus, but goes (that is) familiar with evil Spirits,usurp-Witchery, are fart differing Arts, whereof Devu is a party. Devu is a part Mero (faith Pliny) who had the most excellent Magicians of the East, sent him by Tyri-

Magus is a Persian word primitively, where- Plus in versant in things Divine. And (as Plato affirmeth) the Art of Magick is the Art of worshipping God. To which effect Apollonius in his Epiftles expounding the word (μάνΦ) faith that the Persians called their gods payes: whence he addeth, that Magus is either 6 relacious Seds, or Secandins Seas (that is) that Magus is a name sometimes of him that is a the service of God: in which latter sence it Now, of what Nation the first and chief is taken, Mat. 2. v. 1. And this is the first and highest kind : which Piccolominie calleth divine Magick : and these did the Latines new- Piccol. de ly entitle Sapientes, or Wisemen : For the fear Defin. ly entitle Sapientes, or Wijemen: For ine jear Prov. 1.7, and worship of God is the beginning of know! John Hug: Picus Mirandula, it appeareth plainly, that ledge. These Wisemen the Greeks call Philo Linschon. fophers: the Indians, Branchmans; which name they fomewhat neerly retain to this day, calling their Priefts Bramines; among the Egyptians they were tearmed Priests, with the Hebrews they were called Cabalifts, Prophets, Scribes, and Pharifees: amongst the Babylonians they were differenced by the name of Chaldeans: and among the Perfians. were written in the Chaldean Tongue; and | Magicians: of whom Arnobius (speaking of the Comment in the same Language. Now, Hostanes, one of the ancient Magicians) In offavid that the Magi and they were not differing it useth these words: Et verum Deum merita Felicis com may be judged by the name of those Books majestate prosequitur, Angelos ministros Det, Arnobio of Zoroaster, which in an Epistle of Mirandula Sed veri ejus venerationi novit assistere. Idem 1.360. to Ficinus, he faith to be intituled, Patris Ezre damonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos; Softenes (for fo M.Felix called him, not Hostanes) ascribeth the due Majesty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and mellengers which attend the Worship of the true God. He also hath delivered that there are Devilsearthly, and wandering,

His Majesty also, in his first Book of Demonologie, ch. 3. acknowledgeth, that in the Perfian Tongue the word (Magus) imports as much a contemplator of divine and heavenhend; Et sicut Canes ignotos semper allatrant; ly science; but unjustly so called; because the As Dogs bark at those they know not: so they | Chaldwans were ignorant of the true Divinity. And it is also right which His Majesty avoweth, that under the name of Magick, all other unlawfull Arts are comprehended, and yet doth His Majefty diftinguish it from Necromancy, Witchcraft, and the reft: of all which he hath written largely, and most learnedly. For the Magick which His Majeed that Title. For Magick, Conjuring, and fly condemneth, is of that kind whereof the L. 2. 1. Witchery, are farr differing Arts, whereof Devil is a party. Daniel in his second Chap. Magi, Malefier, and Chalder. Arioli the old Latine Translation calleth Sophistas: Vatadates King of Armenia, who held that King- blus and Pagninus Generalizeds, or Phylicos, or

and enemies to man-kind.

Vatablus) Naturalifts: Nempe sunt Magi apud he instructed the Egyptians in Arithmetick Babaros, quod Philosophi apud Græcos (scilicet) divinarum humanarumque rerum scientiam unto them knew none of these sciences. profitentes; For the Magi are the same with the Barbarians, as the Philosophers are with the Grecians (that is) men that profess the knowledge of things both divine and humane. The Greek and the English call them Inchanters; Junius, Magicians; Castalion, Conjecturers: in Egyptios Sacerdotes Astrologiam & divina the Syrian, they are all four by one name called Sapientes Babylonis; The Wisemen of lexander Polyhistor) and Eupolemon affirm,

the Septuagint, Magicians.

The third kind are Malefici or Venefici; in Hierom, Pagnin, and the Septuagint, Witches, cerers, as in English.

That Witches are also rightly so called Venefici, or Poisoners; and that indeed there is a kind of Malefici, which, without any Art latentes; Virtues hidden in the center of the of Magick or Necromancie, use the help of center, according to the Chymists. Of this fort the Devil to do mischief, His Majesty confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Book: fpeaking also in the fifth Chapter of these, in elder-times, and who better undertheir practice, to mix the powder of dead | stood the power of Nature, and how to apbodies with other things by the Devil prepared; and at other times to make Pictures were Zoroafter before spoken of: Apollonius the Devil by other means bringeth to pass.

who took upon them to foretell all things to the Babylonians, Budda: the Thracians had come, as well natural ashumane, and their Zamolxis: the Hyperboreans (as is supposed) events: and this they vaunted to perform by the influences of the Stars, by them observed, The Magick, which these men profest, is thus and understood.

made odious the very name of Magick, crept into the inferiour degrees.

those lower Elements.

knew the Creator by the contemplation of the gathered and translated.

Philosophers, or (according to the note of creature. Josephus reporteth of Abraham, that and Astronomie who before Abraham's coming

And so doth Archangelus de Burge, in defence of Mirandula against Garsias: Alexander & Eupolemon dicunt, quòd Abraham sanctitate & supientia omnium præstantissimus. Chaldaos primum, deinde Phoenices, demum docuerit; Alexander (faith he, meaning Athat Abraham, the holiest and wifest of men, The second fort Vatablus, Pagnin, Junius, did first teach the Chaldwans, then the Pheniand our English, call Astrologers; Hierom and cians; lastly, the Egyptian Priests, Astrologie, and divine Knowledge.

The third kind of Magick containeth the See upon his Conwhole Philosophy of Nature; not the brab- ment, is or Poisoners: in Junius, Prastigiatores, or Sor- blings of the Aristotelians, but that which so the bringeth to light the inmost virtues, and tivil. No. draweth them out of Nature's hidden bofome to humane use: Virtutes in centro centri were Albertus, Arnoldus de villa nova, Kaymond, Bacon, and many others: and before ply things that work to things that fuffer, of Wax, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were Tyanaus, remembred by S. Hierom to Pauli-Sacramentaliter) to effect those things which | nus; in some mens Opinion, Numa Pompilius among the Romans: among the Indians, The-The fourth, all Translators call Chaldwans: | spian: among the Egyptians, Hermes: among Abbaris: and the Italians, Petrus Aponensis. defined: Magia est connexio à viro sapien-Such were, and to this day partly (if not | te agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi altogether) are, the corruptions, which have | congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant non fine corum fine admiratione qui cauhaving chiefly fought (as is the manner of all | fam ignorant: Magick is the connexion of na-Impostures) to counterfeit the highest and tural agents and patients answerable each to omost noble part of it, yet so as they have also ther, wrought by a wife man, to the bringing forth of such effects as are wonderfull to those that A second kind of Magick, was that part of know not their causes. In all these three kinds, Astrologie, which had respect to sowing and which other men divide into sour, it seemeth planting, and all kinds of Agriculture and that Zoroafter was exceedingly learned; espe- . Tail Husbandry: which was a knowledge of the cially in the first and highest. For in his Omotions and influences of the Starrs into racles he confesseth God to be the Creator of Tital He of the Universal: he believeth of the * Tri- nat spin Philo Judeus goeth farther, affirming that | nity, which he could not investigate by any option by this part of Magick, or Afrologie, together natural knowledge: he fpeaketh of Angels, perfect and of Paradife: approve the immortality parts. heavenly bodies, Abraham found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in Chaldea: Qui contemplatione creaturarum Charity of the Magi: which Oracles of his prints fand clyc cognorit Creatorem (faith Jo. Damascen) Who Ffellus, Ficinus, Patritius, and others, have the Creator by the contemplation of the state of the contemplation of the con

Of this Zoroafter, Euseb. in the Theologie of the | disciplinam scientianque percepisset: The Mari word for word. God the first incorruptible everlasting unbegotten without parts most like himlearned justice without teaching, perfect, wife by nature, the onely inventer thereof.

men into five orders (to wit) Chascedim, or Chaldeans: Asaphim, or Magicians: Chartuor Diviners.

Chascedim were those which had the name the heavens: whom Philo, in the life of Abraham describeth.

Asaphim were in the old Latine translation Hierom, Magicians: Qui de omnium tam divinarum quam humanarum rerum causis Fhilo-Sophati funt : Who discoursed of the causes of all the first: but Laertins ascribeth the invention of this Art to Zoroastres the Persian.

(faith S. Augustine, Pliny, and Justine) of anofrom his Ancesters.

His Majesties Book of Damonologia.

which divine from the intrails of Beasts slain for facrifices: or by Gazarim, others understand Augures, who divine by the flying, singing, or feeding of Birds.

By this distinction, we may perceive the difference between those wise men which Persica, ut in populo Dei Levita, studiisque vera

phanicians, uling Zoroafter's own words : Hac (faith he) were the chief Ministers of the Perad verbum scribit (faith Eusebius) Deus primus fian Religion, as the Levites among Gods people. incorruptibilium, sempiternus, ingenitus, expers and they were given to the studies of true Phipartium, sibi-ipsi simillimus, bonorum omnium losophy: neither could any be King of the Perauriga, munera non expectans, optimus, pruden- fians, who had not first been exercised in the mytillimus, pater juris, fine doctrina justitiam per- steries and knowledge of the Magi. Sixtus Sedoffw, natura perfect us, Sapiens, Sacra natura nensis, in the defence of Origen against Polyunicus inventor, &c. Thus writeth Zoroaster, chronius and Theophilus, hath two kinds of Magick his own words are thefe : Et ne quem moveant pramissa Polychronii & Theophili Bibl. 1.6. felf, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam; fol. 424. the best, the wifest, the father of right, having alteram ubique ab Origine damnatam qua per fædera cum dæmonibus inita, aut vere, aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab Origine landa-Sixtus Senensis, speaking of the wisdom of tam, que ad practicen naturalis Philosophia perthe Chaldeans, doth distinguish those wise tinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium; That the testimomim (which he translates Ariolie, or Sophifts) | nies of Theophilus and Polychronius (faith Mechasphim, or Malesici, or Venesici, Wiches, or he) may not move any man, it is to be under-Poisoners; and Gazarim, Augures, or Aruspices, stood that Magick is of two sorts, the one every where condemned by Origen; which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by covenants made of Chaldeans, which were Astronomers: Hi | with devils; the other commended by Origen, colorum motus diligentissime spectarunt; These which appertaineth to the practick part of nadid most diligently contemplate the motions of tural Philosophy, teaching to work admirable things by the mutual application of natural virtues, agent and suffering reciprocally.

This Partition Hierom doth embrace in the called Philosophers: of the Septuagint, and of first of his Commentaries upon Daniel, where confidering of the difference which Daniel makes between these four kinds of wise Men formerly remembred, he useth this distinctithings, as well divine as humane: of whom on: Quos nos hariolos; cateri imansis, (ideft) Origen makes Balaam (the Son of Beor) to be incantatores interpetati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt; Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur; Malefici, qui sanguine Chartumim, or Inchanters, the Disciples utuntur, & victimis, & sape contigunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldais Genethliacos ther Zoroastres: who corrupted the admi- significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vorable wisdom of the Magi, which he received cant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gen-Mechasphim, or Venefici, or Witches, are tem suam, eo quod sint Philosophi Chaldworum: those which we have spoken already out of dad artis hujus scientiam, Reges quoq & Principes eiusdem gentis omnia faciunt : unde & in Gazarim, or Aruspices (after S. Hierom) nativitate domini Salvatoris, ipsi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes sanctam Bethlehem, adoraverunt puerum, stella desuper oftendente; They, whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, feem to me, such as perform things by words; Magicians, such as handle every thing philosophically; Witches, the Kings of Babylon entertained; and that that use bloud and sacrifices, and often lay the name and profession of the Magi among hands on the body of the dead : further, among the antient Perstans was most honest. For as the Chaldwans, I take them to be signified by Peucer truly observeth, Praerant religioni the name of Conjecturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common Philosophia diditi erant: nec quisquam Rex custom taka Magicians for Witches, who are Perfarumpoterat esse, qui non antea Magorum otherwise reputed in their own Nation: for

do, according to the knowledge of this Art: by the ignorant. Among these works is natural whence, at the nativity of the Lord our Savi- Magick, which men call very improperly, Neour, they first of all understood kie birth, and cromancy. our, ency just of an unactified and worthing the Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: falte coming unto holy Bethlehem, did worthing the Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: Child: the starr from above shewing him unto For by understanding (faith he) the uttermost them. By this therefore it appeareth, that activity of natural agents we are affifted to there is great difference between the do- know the Divinity of Christ for otherwise (to trine of a Magician, and the abuse of the use his own words) Ignoratis terminis potenword. For though some Writers affirm, that tia & virtutis verum naturalium, stat nos du-Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fædere facto uti- bitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Christus, posse tur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunque; That sieri per media naturalia; The terms or limits of he is called a Magician now-a-days who having natural power and virtue not understood, we entred league with the Devil, ujeth his help to must needs doubt, whether those very works any matter: yet (as our Saviour faid of Di- which Christ did, may not be done by natural vorce) it was not so from the beginning. means: after which he goeth on in this sort: For the Art of Magick is of the wildom of Ideo non haretice, non superstitiose dixi, sed Nature; other Arts which undergo that title, verissime & Catholice per talem Magiam adjuwere invented by the fallhood, fubrilty, and vari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi: envie of the Devil. In the latter, there is no Therefore I said not heretically, not superstitiother doctrine, than the use of certain cere- onfly, but moji truly and Catholickly, that by such monics, Per malam fidem; By an evil faith in Magick we are furthered in knowing the Divithe former, no other ill, than the investigati- nity of Christ. And seeing the Jews and others, on of those virtues and hidden properties the enemies of Christian Religion, do impuwhich God hath given to his creatures, and dently and impioufly object, that those Mihow fitly to apply things that work, to things racles which Christ wrought, were not above that fuffer, And though by the Jens those expansion but by the exquisite knowledge cellent Magicians, Philosophers, and Dreines, thereof performed: Mirandula, a man for his which came to worthip our Saviour Christ, Pantet. Magos pro malescies accipit; Common custom which Christ did, and which (as himself witsapientem sonat, & Sacerdotem? O thou fear- to filence. Mar Ficin full one (faith Ficinus) why doubtest thou to use the name of Magus, a name gratious in the Gospel, which doth not signifie a Witch, or a Conjurer, but a wife man and a Prieft? For what brought this flander to that Study and Profession, but onely idle Ignorance, the Parent of causless admiration? Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, qua (re vera) opera naturalia sunt : veruntamen quia procuratione

they are the Philosophers of the Chaldwans: yea, or how soever fitting the natures to their work-King and princes of that Nation do all that they ing they were thought the works of the devils

The first Book of the first Part

years, fuller of knowledge than any that this were tearmed Meckaschephim, or Mecasphim; latter Age hath brought forth, might with yet had they no other reason than common good reason avow, that the uttermost of custom therein. Conflictude autem communia Nature's works being known, the works (faith S. Hierom understandeth is itches under netteth) no man could do, do manifestly testithe name of Magicians: And antiquity (faith fie of themseives, that they were performed Peter Martyr) by the word (Magi) under- by that hand which held Nature herein but flood good and wife men. Quid igitur expancicis as a Pencii, and by a power infinitely Su-Magi nomen for midologe nomen Evangeliogra- preme and Divine; and thereby those that tiofum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed were faithless, were either converted, or put

6. III.

That the good knowledge in the antient Magick is not to be condemned: though the Devil here, as in other kinds, hath sought to obtrude evil things, under the name and colour of good things.

CEeing therefore it is confessed by all of vel commiscentium, vel aliter ad operandum understanding, that a Magician (accordexpedientium facta funt, opera demonu crede- ing to the Persian word) is no other than, Dibantur ab ignorantibus hec. De operibus hujuf-vinorum Cultor, o Interpres : A studious Obsermodi est Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam ver and Expounder of Divine things: and the multi improprie vocant, The marvellousness of Art of it self (I mean the Art of Natural Masome works, which (indeed) are natural, bath gick) no other, Quam naturalis Philosophia been the cause of this slander: but because these absolute consummatio; than the absolute per-Gal. Pails works have been done by procurement of devils, fellion of natural Philosophy: Certainly then,it ende Legs, joining the natures together, or mingling them, | proceeds from ignorance, and no way forteth without difference and distinction, to con- the Sea-birds for sake the shores, and slie into found lawfull and praise-worthy knowledge the Land, that commonly some great storm with that impious, and (to use S. Pauls words) | followeth; that the high flying of the Kite with those beggerly rudiments, which the Devil | and the Swallow, betoken fair weather; that hath shuffled, and by them bewitcheth and the crying of Crows, and bating of Ducks. befooleth graceless men. For if we condemn foreshew Rain: for they feel the air moistned natural Magick, or the wisdom of Nature, because the Devil (who knows more than any man) doth also teach Witches and Poisoners | her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the the harmfull parts of Herbs, Drugs, Minerals, and Excrements: then may we, by the same rule, condemn the Phylician, and the Art of on the rest of Gods creatures, long time abu-Healing. For the Devil also in the Oracles of sed the Heathen, by teaching them to ob-Amphiaraus, Amphilochus, Trophonius, and the ferve the flying of Fowls, and thereby to like, taught men in Dreams, what Herbs and | judge of good or ill success in the Warr: Drugs were proper for such and such Diseafes. Now, no man of judgment is ignorant, that the Devil from the beginning hath fought to thrust himself into the same employment among the Ministers and Servants of God, changing himself for that purpose into an Angel of Light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of Astrologie, by giving a divine power to the Stars, teaching men to esteem them as gods, and not as instruments. And (as Bunting obnames, which (had they not influences and virtues different) needed not : He counteth the number of the Stars, and calleth them by their names. But, into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestial influences, the Devil ceaseth not to shuffle in his Superstitivirtues of Nature hath he fastened his do-

alian in its absorbab

with wife and learned men, promifere, and both the wife and the simple observe when in their quils And it is written in Hieremy the Prophet, Even the Stork in the air knoweth Crane, and the Swallow, Hereupon, this enemy of Man-kind, working upon these as upand (withall) to look into their entrails for the same as if God had written the secrets of unsearchable providence in the Livers and Bowels of Birds and Beafts. Again, because it pleafed God fometimes by Dreams, not only to warn and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also ; as Abimelech to re- Gen. 12. store Sara to Abraham: because he admonish- v, 17. ed Joseph, and by a Dream informed Jacob, Laban, Pharao, Solomon, Paul, Anamas, the Magi of the East, and others. For as it is remembred in Job: In Dreams and Visions of the night, when seep falleth upon men, &c. then Job 33.17. screeth) it is true, that judicial Astrologie is God openeth the ears, that he might cause man corrupted with many superstitions: but the to return from his enterprise; therefore, I abuse of the thing takes not away the say, doth the Devil also practife his Divinati-Art, confidering that heavenly bodies (as ons by dreams, or (after Parifiensis) divinitation of Parifiers. even general experience sheweth) have and imitationes, his mock-divinity. This in the deleg. 24. exercise their operation upon the inferiour. end grew so common, as Aristides compiled en. For the Sun and the Starr of Mars do drie; an Ephemerides of his own Dreams: Mithrithe Moon doth moisten, and govern the dates of those of his concubines. Yea, the Ro-Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planets, as they muns, finding the inconvenience hereof, behave several and proper names, so have they cause all Dreams (without distinction of codes de feveral and proper virtues: the Stars do also cases) were drawn to Divination, forbad the malesic or differ in beauty, and in magnitude; and to all same by a Law, as by the words of prohibi-Mathemati the Stars hath God given also their proper tion (aut narrandis somnits occultam aliquam accepta, artem divinandi) it may appear. Likewise by the Law of God, in Deuteronomy, Chap. 13. seducing Dreamers were ordered to be flain. Yet it is to be contemned, not that Marcus Antonius was tolda remedy in his Dream for two grievous diseases that opprest him; nor ons: and so to the knowledge of the secret that of Alexander Macedon for the cure of Ptolemie's poisoned wound; nor that which ctime of characters, Numbers, and Incanta- Saint, Angustine reporteth of a Millanoise, Aug. de tions; and taught men to believe in the whole Son (the Father dead) being de monuis de monuis de ftrength of Words and Letters (which with manded a debt already paid, was told by genda, out Faith in God, are but Ink or common his Father in a Dream, where the Acquitbreath) thereby either to equal his own tance lay to discharge it: not that of Asywith the All-powerfull Word of God, or ages of his Daughter, and many others of to diminish the glory of God's creating like nature. Of the reason of all which, for Word, by whom are all things, making that Moreover, he was never ignorant; that

6. IV.

CHAP. XI.

Deut. 13.

That Daniel's misliking Nebuchodonosor's condemning of the Magicians, doth not justifie all their practices.

nations as the Heathens commonly used, were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and strange Revelations; how came it to pass, that Daniel both there was no man knowing God among the condemned the hafty fentence of Nebuchodo- Elders, that therefore forbare to offer Sacrinofor against the Magicians of Chaldaa, and in fice to the God of all power, because the Dea fort forbad it? especially considering that fuch kind of people God himself commanded tobe flain. To this divers answers may be given. First, it seemeth that Daniel had respect to those chaldeans, because they acknowledged that the Dream of the King, which himself had forgotten, could not be known to any man by any Art, either Natural or Diabolical: For there is none other (faid the Chaldeans)that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh: and herein they confessed the power of the Ever-living God.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that upon good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evil or unlawfull Arts, but were meerly Magicians and Naturalists: and therefore when the King commanded to kill help and comfort of Man-kind: neither can all, Daniel perswaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgment, which proceeded | such men as are fallen from God, make other with fury without examination. And that men reject the observations of Dreams; so fome of those mens studies and professions farr as with a good Faith and a Religious were lawfull, it may be gathered by Daniel's | caution they may make use of them. instruction: for himself had been taught by them, and was called chief of the Inchan- Fowls (as figns of good or evil fuccess) hath ters: of which some were tearmed sooth- no reference at all to the crying of Crows of distinct professions.

of their practice and profession.

6. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds is not to condemn the right ufe of them.

Otwithstanding this mixture every where, of good with evil, of falfhood DUt it may be objected, that if such Divi- with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: The good, The truth, The purity in every kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worthipping of God by Sacrifice, vil, in the Image of Baal, Aftaroth, Chemoth, Jupiter, Apollo, and the like, was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of Astrologie terrifie Abraham (if we may believe the most ancient down and religious Historians) from observing the 3 1/4 motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wife and learned men in these days from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the Starrs and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympathetical, and Anipathetical working of Herbs, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmost virtues, sometimes taught by the Devil, and applied by his Ministers to harmfull and uncharitable ends.can never terrifie the honest and learned Physician or Magician from the using of them to the the illusions, whereby the Devil betrayeth

Lastly, the prohibition to mark flying of Sayers, others Aftrologians, others Chaldwans, against Rain, or to any observation not suothers Magi, or Wife-men: and therefore perstitious, and whereof a reason or cause so. may be given. For if we confound Arts with Thirdly, Daniel misliked and forbad the the abuse of them, we shall not onely conexecution of that judgment, because it was demn all honest Trades and enterchange unjust. For howsoever those men might de- amongst men (for there are that deceive in ferve punishment for the practice of unlaw- all Professions) but we shall in a short time full Arts (though not unlawfull according bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledg to the law of that State) yet herein they were and all learning, or obscure and cover it altogether guiltless. For it exceeded humane over with a most scornfull and beggarly power to pierce the King's thought, which ignorance : and (as Pliny teacheth) we the Devil himself could not know. So then, in should shew our selves, Ingratos erga eos, qui Daniel's dislike, and hindring of the execu- labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerunt in has tion of sentence of death pronounced against luce: Unthankfull towards those, who with the Magicians, there is no absolute justifying pains and care have discovered unto us light in this light.

Indeed, not only these natural knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the Mathematicks also, and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently

the (em. learned, judge of it in this fort: In speculo ways attending the cogitations of their ser-the (ch. hatbematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili vants and vasials, do no way need any such quaritur, elucet; non modò remota similitu- inforcement. dine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate; In lede; not in an obscuring, but in a neer and manifest representation.

6. VI.

of the divers kinds of unlawfull Magick.

T is true, that there are many Arts, if we may fo call them, which are covered with the name Magick: and efteemed abufively to be as branches of that Tree, on whole root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of Necromancy or Goetia; and of this again there are divers kinds. The one whom the Devil himself gives answer in flead of those that seem to appear. For certainit is, that the immortal fouls of men do not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: death being nothing elfe but a fepathe foul is not to be found in the Graves.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute, or are in league with Satan, is that of hope to learn what they lift. These men are fo distract, as they believe, that by terrible words they make the Devil to tremble; that (as they suppose) insconce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtless, they forget that the Devil is not terrified from doing ill, Gods feat, that he made no scruple to tempt himself, that he can draw the Devil out of Hell, and terrific with a Phrase: whereas in There is also another, are besides the aforevery truth, the obedience which the Devils seem to use, is but thereby to possess themraise them up; as His Majesty in his Book aforenamed hath excellently raught: That the Divels obedience is onely, secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respective, that is, upon bargain.

I cannot tell what they can do upon those simple and ignorant Devils, which inhabit

Or, it may be that these Conjurers dealt the Glass of the Mathematicks, that Truth doth altogether with Cardans mortal Devils, folfine, which is fought in every kind of know- lowing the opinion of Rabbi Avornathan and of Porphirius, who taught that these kind of Divels lived not above a thousand years: which Plutarch in his Treatife de Oraculorunt defectu confirmeth, making example of the great God Pan. For were it true that the Divels were in awe of wicked men or could be compelled by them, then would they alway fear those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the Familiar of Simon Magus, when he had lifted him up in the air, caft him headlong out of his claws, when he was fure he should perish with the fall. If this, perhaps, Eufeb. hift. were done by S. Peter's Prayers (of which cap. 16. is an Invocation at the Graves of the dead, to S. Peter no where vaunteth) yet the fame pranks at other times, upon his own accord, the Devil played with Theodotus; who transported (as Simon Magus was supposed to have been) had the fame mortall fall that he had. The like fuccess had Budas, a principal Pillar of the Manichaan Herefie as Socrates in ration of the body and foul: and therefore his Ecclefiaftical History witnesseth: and for a manfest proof hereof, we see it every day, that the Devil leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other conjuring, or raising up Devils, of whom they times he maketh himself a Pegasus, to convey them in hafte to places far diftant, or at least makes them so think : For those that re- : Theff. .. ceived not the truth (faith S. Paul) God shall being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle | fend them strong illusions: Of these their suppowhich cannot keep out a Mouse) they therein | fed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) His Majesty in the 2d Book, & the 4th Chap, of the Demonologie, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are meerand all that is contrary to God and goodness, ly illusive. Another fort there are, who take no, not by the fearfull Word of the Almigh- on them to include spirits in Glasses & Cryty: and that he feared not to offer to fit in stales; of whom Cusanus: Fatui sunt Incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt (piritum inour Saviour Christ, whom himself called the cludere, quia spiritus non clauditur corpore: Son of God. So, forgetting these proud parts They are foolish Inchanters, which will shut up of his, an unworthy wretch, will yet resolve their spirits within their nails, or in Glas: for

mentioned, which they call Theurgia, or White Magick; a pretended conference with good selves of the bodies and souls of those which | Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven and communicate withall. But the administring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator; fo, feeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man fo abfurd to think (except the Devil have corlamblicus imagination; but fure I am, the reft rupted his understanding) that they can be are apt enough to come uncalled; and al-

by threats. Wherefore let the Profesiours thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed purity of life, by the ministery of Infants, by fafting and abitinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immaterial fubftances, and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, or men of evil faith, and in the power of Satan. For good gods: that we do not give to the Devil any Spirits or Angels cannot be conftrained; and other dominion than he hath (not speak of the rest are Devils, which willingly obey.

Other forts there are of wicked Divinaticalled Hydromantia: by the air, called Ma-

taotechnia, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other, is Fascination or Witcheraft: the Practicers whereof are no less envious and cruel, revengeful and bloudy, than the Devil him elf. And these accursed creatures, having fold their fouls to the Devil, work two ways; either by the Devil immediately, or by the Art of poisoning. The difference between Necromancers and Witches, His Majesty hath excelfort) command; the other obey the Devil.

the same exceeded the Art of Falconry, yet was it no more to be admired then Mahoand thrust his Bill therein to find his breakfast: Mahomet perswading the rude and he did his Horse.

Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the Marsians, a people of Italy, practifed: Colubros difrumpit Marfia cantu: inchanting Marsia makes the Snakes to burst.) That it hath been used, it appears, Pfal. 58.6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may be in this kind, and even by natural causes it may be done. For, there are doth more easily betray the other faculties many fumes that will either draw them out, or destroy them; as womens hair burnt, and abused by vain apprehensions. the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other Magick or In- as they feemed : not made Magica artis ludichantments than to draw out a Mouse with brio, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, a piece of tofted Cheefe.

6. VII.

Of divers ways by which the Devil seemeth to mork his monders.

QUI to the end that we may not dote with D the Manichees, who make two powers of his ability, when he is the Minister of Gods vengcance as when Egypt, according to Daons; as by fire, called Pyromantia: by water, vid, was destroyed by evil Angels) he otherwife worketh but three ways. The first is by moving the cogitation and affections of men: The fecond, by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion. and false semblance. And, that they cannot work what they would, G. Parifiensis giveth three causes: the first, a natural impotency: the second, their own reason disswading them from daring overmuch, or indeed (and that which is the onely certain cause) the great mercy of the Creator, Tenens Sidner lently taught in a word: that the one (in a eos ligatas (faith the same Author) velut im h h manissimas belluas. S. Augustine was of opi-There is another kind of petty Witchery (it | nion, that the Frogs which Pharaob's Sorit be not altogether deceit) which they call cerers produced, were not natural, but that charming of Beafts and Birds, of which Pytha- the Devil (by betraying of their fenses that goras was accused, because an Eagle lighted looked on) made them appear to be such, Elian 1.6 on his shoulder in the Olympian fields. But if For, as Varius observeth, those Frogs of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of Moses were, which might argue met's Dove, which he had used to feed with that they were not creatures indeed. Here-Wheat out of his ear: which Dove, when it of, faith Saint Augustine: Nec Sane Demones was hungry, lighted on Mahomet's shoulder, naturas creant, sed que à Deo create sunt commutant ut videantur esse quod non sunt: The Devils create not any creatures, but so change those simple Arabians, that it was the Holy Ghost that are created by God, as they feem to be that that gave him advice. And certainly, if Banks which they be not: of which in the 83. Question had lived in elder times, he would have he giveth the reason. Damon quibusclan nebushamed all the Inchanters of the World: for lis implet omnes meatus intelligentia, per quos wholoever was most famous among them, aperire lumen rationis radius mentis soles (that Main could never master or instruct any Beast as is) The Devil fills with certain clouds all passages of of the understanding, by which the beam of the stems For the drawing of Serpents out of their | mind is wont to open the light of reason.

And, as Tertullian in his Book de Anima rightly conceiveth, if the Devil can possess himself of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazel those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Devil entreth in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he of the foul : for the fantasie is most apt to be

Aquinas, on the contrary, held, that those Frogs were not imaginary, but such indeed but (according to Thomas) Per aptam 6 ido.

opinion: though I am not perswaded that dit, he evermore answereth by Riddles: as 27, 66, S. Augustine doth believe that of Diomedes. And this opinion of Thomas, G. Parisiensis, a man very learned also, confirmeth. For, speaking of natural Magick, he useth these words: De hujusmodi autem operibus, & subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumq; animalium quorundam: in quibus omnihus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adjutoris ipfa seminanatura confortant & accuunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut and Lice, and Worms, and some other creatures hidden things. is: in all which, Nature alone worketh; but by means strengthening the feeds of Nature, and quickning them; in such wife, that they so hasten the work of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant, not to be the work of Nature, which usually worketh more leifurely, but they think it done by the powers of Devils. But they who are learned in these Arts, marvel not at such working, but glorifie the Creator. Now, by these two ways the Devils do most frequently work (to wit)by knowing the uttermost of nature, and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or unsearchable power, but of God onely.

For, shall we fay, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, & tempests; and can infect the air, as well as move it or compress it; who knows not that these things are also natural? Or, may it be objected that he foretelleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? In elder that inhabite the earth: if he should not an eternal and second death.

neam agentium & patientium applicationem: | fometimes, yea, if he should not very often- Diabolus By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. times ghels rightly of things to come (where haber re-And this I take to be more probable. For God pleaseth not to give impediment) it rum usum Moses could not be deceived by that sleight were very strange. For we see, that wise and qua res of false semblance; and S. Augustine in ano- learned men do oftentimes by comparing bet momenther case like unto this (to wit) of the turn- like causes, conceive rightly of like effects be- tim quovis ing of Diomedes his companions into Birds, fore they happen: and yet, where the Devil Megalio. per activa cum passivis, inclineth rather to this doubteth, and would willingly keep his cre- Anima,

> Croefus Halym penetrans magnam subvertit opum vim: If Crass over Halys go,

Great Kingdoms he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way either for the overthrow of his own Kingdom, or of his Enemies. And thus farr we grant the Devil may proceed in Predictions, which otherwise belong to God only, as it is eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus natura videatur in Esay: Shew the things that are to come here-(qua tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed poten- after, that we may know that we are Gods : shew tia Demonum, &c. to which he addeth: Qui us at all times, and certainly what is to come. autem in his doct i sunt, talia non mirantur, sed Solius enim divinæ intelligentiæ est, occulta Guis Parisso solem Creatorem in his glorificant: In such nosse & revelure; It is onely proper to Gods un-ensisted les works (faith he) the sudden generation of Frogs derstanding and wisdom to know and reveal

§. VIII.

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the Devil: and that it was not the true Samuel which appeared to Saul.

"O conclude, It may be objected, that the Devil hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of Samuel, raifed by the Witch of Endor; which, were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Devil's acts exceeded all the powers of Nature, false semblance, and other illusions. Justin Martyr was sometime of the opi- Just Mart. nion, that it was Samuel indeed; and fo was incollog. Ambrose, Lyra, and Burgensis; from which Au- cum Trythorities those men borrow strength which resp. ad Ora fo believe. But Martyr changed his opinion ; tho. quaft. and fo did S. Augustine, who at first seemed to Ambr. in Ageshe stole his knowledge out of the Pre- be indifferent: For, in his Questions upon the Luc. 4.1. dictions of the Prophets: and foresteld the death of Saul, at fuch time as he was in his own possession and power to dispose of And peared and these behis words essewhere to simple. hethat hath lived from the infancy of the the same effect: In requie sunt anima piorum ve civit. world to this day, and observed the success a corpore separata, impiorum autem panas lu-Dei.1.131 of every counsel: he that by reason of his unt, donec istarum ad vitam eternam, illarum cap. 80 swift motions can inform himself of all pla- verd ad æternam mortem quæ secunda dicitur, ces, and preparations : he that is of counsel | corpora reviviscant ; The souls of the godly sepawith all those that study and practise subver- rated from their bodies, are at rest, but those of fion and destruction: he that is Prince of the the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of air, and can thence better judge, than those the just rise to eternal life, and of the wicked to

Lucil. in

And

166 fin. Athanas.

and others, believed firmly, and taught it: from the promifes of the Scriptures, and Top. Mer. that the fouls of men, being once separate from Gods just and mercifull nature, and for from their bodies, did not wander on the contrary to all divine reason, as S. Angustine 4.75. Iron then bodies, and debemus (faith Cyril) in fine. quum à corporibus santsorum anima abierint, ted) might rightly tearm it a detestable opi-trail de quum à corporibus santsorum anima abierint, ted) might rightly tearm it a detestable opi-trail de quum à corporibus santsorum anima abierint, ted) might rightly tearm it a detestable opi-trail de quum à corporibus santsorum anima abierint, ted) might rightly tearm it a detestable opi-trail de quum à corporibus santsorum anima abierint, ted) might rightly tearm it a detestable opi-rail de quum à corporibus santsorum anima abierint, ted) might rightly tearm it a detestable opi-rail de quum à corporibus santsorum anima abierint, ted) might rightly tearm it a detestable opi-rail de quim à corporibus santsorum anima abierint, ted) might rightly tearm it a detestable opi-rail de quim à corporibus santsorum anima abierint, ted) might rightly tearm it a detestable opi-rail de quim à corporibus santsorum anima abierint, ted) might rightly tearm it a detestable opi-rail de quim à corporibus santsorum anima abierint, ted) might rightly tearm it a detestable opi-rail de quim a description anima abierint de quim a detestable opi-table de quim a description anima a description anima a detestable opi-rail de quim a description anima a detestable opi-rail de quim a description anima tanquam in manus chariffimi patris bonitati nion so to think. For, if God had so absodivine commendari; We must believe, when lutely forfaken Saul, that he refused to anthe souls of kely men are departed from their swer him, either by Dreams, by Vrim, or by 4.13. The joins of cory men are arrested to the divine his Prophets: it were fortifile to conceive, christing, bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodness, as into the hands of a most dear Fa- that he would permit the Devil, or a wicked in igne aterno; alterum in regno aterno; The body, that gave answer and advice. one in eternal fire; the other in Gods eternal Kingdom. And though it be written in Jure from the dead by the power of God; think the first support of the dead by the power of God; think the from the dead by the power of God; think the first support of the first support of God; Pontificio, that many there are who believe, those Devils which Saint Angustine calleth folia. that the dead have again appeared to the Ludificatores animantium shi subjectorum; living; yet the Gloß upon the same Text Mockers of their own vassals, calting before finds it ridiculous: Credunt, & male, quia their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, funt Phantasmata (saith the Glos) They believe, and framing sounds to their ears, like the and they believe amis, because they be but Phan- voices of men, do also perswade their talmes, or apparitions. For, whereas any fuch graceless and accursed attendants, that should be drawn up again by a Devil.

of the contrary opinion build upon that by Lucretius: place of the 26. of Ecclesiasticus (a Book not numbred among the Canonical Scriptures, as S. Augustine himself in this Treatise, if it be his, De cura pro mortuis agenda, confesseth) yet Syracides, following the literal sence and phrase of the Scriptures, proveth nothing at

And (befides S. Augustine) Justin Martyr, | perswade, that the souls (yea, even of just Aug de Helarius, Tertullian, Athanasus, Chrysofton, men) were in his power; yet so farr is it or whofoever wrote that Book before cither. If then they be in Heaven, the power Witch, to raife a Prophet from the dead in the state of the Devil cannot fretch so high: if in Hell, saul's respect; it being also contrary to his in the or the Devit cannot recently in From Hell there divine Law, to ask counsel of the dead: as 34 Ab inferno nulla oft redemptio, From Hell there is no redemption. For, there are but two habitations after death: Unum (faith Augustine) was the Devil, and not the Soul of a dead witer

> voice hath been heard, faying, I am the Soul themselves both possess, and have power of fuch a one: Hec oratio à fraude atque de- over, the fouls of men. Eludit Diabolus aciem ceptione diabolica est; That speech is framed tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium, saith by the fraud and deception of the Devil, faith L. Vives; The Devil beguileth the fense both Chrysoftom. Likewise of the same, saith Ter- of the beholders, and of those that so imagine. tullian : Absit ut animam cujussibet sancti, These then are the bounds of the Devil's nedum Propheta, à damonio credamus extra-power, whom, if we will not fear, we must Ham; God forbid that we should think that the fear to fin. For, when he is not the instru-Soul of any holy man, much less of a Prophet, ment of God's vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himself his voluntary It is true, that the Seriptures call that ap- vassal : Potest ad malum invitare, non potest parition, Samuel; so do they the wooden trahere, faith S. Augustine; He can allure, but Images, Cherubims: and falle brazen gods he cannot enforce to evil. Such as think otherare gods, and the like. And whereas these wise, may go into the number remembred

> > Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia

In tenebris metuunt: sic nos in luce ti-

all: For, though the Devil would willingly We fear by light, as children in the dark.

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CHAP. XII.

of the memorable buildings of Ninus, and of his Wife Semiramis, and of other her Acts.

§. I.

of the magnificent building of Ninive by Ninus: and of Babylon by Semiramis.

Ut to come back to Ninus, the amplifier and finisher of Ninive: whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of Zoroafter, it is uncertain. As for the City it felf, it is agreed by all profane Writers, and by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other those Regions between it and the Meditermod 1.. it had in compass 440. fladia, or furlongs;
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mod 1.. it had in compass 440. fladia, or furlongs;
mod 1.. it had in compass 44 these walls were garnished with 1500. Towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the nature of those times.

fame, and gave it a wall, and called it after any truth. his own name.

deed, in the first Age, when Princes were mocharge the earth of Woods, Briars, Bush- difference. ments, and Waters, to make it more habitable

Of the end of Ninus; and the beginning of Semiramis Reign.

This she did after the death of her hufband Ninus; who, after he had mastered Bactria, and subjected unto his Empire all right, and had fuch a breadth, as three Cha- left the world in the year thereof 2019. after riots might pass on the Rampire in front: he had reigned 25 years. Plutarch reporteth, that Semiramis defired her hufband Ninus, that he would grant unto her the absolute the rest, and strength, no less admirable for soveraign power for one day. Diod. Siculus, out of Atheneus, and others, speaks of five But this City (built in the Plains of Algeria. days. In which time (moved either with deand on the banks of Tygris, and in the region fire of Rule, or licentious liberty, or with the of Eden) was founded long before Ninus memory of her husband Menon, who perishtime; and (as antient Historians report, and ed for her) she caused Ninus her husband to more lately, Nanclerus) had the name of be flain. But this feemeth rather a fcandal campfor, at fuch time as Ninus amplified the cast on her by the Greeks, than that it had

Howfoever Ninus came to his end, Semi-For the works of Babylon and Nanove De Halls gun by Nimrod in Chalden, and in Alfgria, Ni Rule of the Affgrian Empire: of which Ni-For these works of Babylon and Ninive be- ramis took on her, after his death, the sole mus and semiramis made perfect. Ninus fi- nus was faid to be the first Monarch, because nished Ninive, Semiramis Babylon: wherein he changed his seat from Babylon in Chalden, Alian.lib. the fought to exceed her husband by far. In- to Ninive in Asyria. Justine reports, that Se- 7. ex Dimiramis (the better to invest her self, and in one. derate, they neither thought how to invade her beginning without murmure or offence others, nor feared to be invaded : labouring to take on her so great a charge) presented to build Towns and Villages, for the use of her self to the people in person of her Son themselves and their people, without either Ninias, or Zameis, who bare her external Walls or Towers; and how they might dif- form and proportion without any fensible

This report I take also to be seigned, for and fertile. But semiramis living in that which many arguments might be made. But Age, when Ambition was strong in youth: as she ruled long, so she performed all those and purpofing to follow the Conquest which memorable Acts which are written of her by her huband had undertaken, gave that the name of semiramis, and subscribed that beauty and strength to Babylon, which it Letter which she sent to the King of India (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her own name. And were it true that her Son Ninias had fuch a frature at his fathers death, as that Semiramis (who was

held the Empire from him 42. years after by onely appeared: the head thereof by the any fuch fubrilty (for fo long the reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true, that Ninias, or Zameis (being wholly given to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his mothers prosperous government and undertakings.

6. III.

Of Semiramis Parentage and Education, and Metamorphosis of her Mother.

Some Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to have been of base Parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a Syrian. Berosus calls her after the name of her City wherein she was born, Semiramis Aftalonitis, of Ascalon, the antient City and Metropolis of the Philistims. Others the report thereof to the envious and lying report her to be the Daughter of Derceta, Grecians. For delicacy & ease do more often a Curtizan of Ascalon, exceeding beautifull. accompany licentiousness in men and wo-Others say, that this Derceta or Dercetie, the men, than labour and hazzard do. And if mother of Semiramis, was sometimes a Re- the one half be true which is reported of this cluse, and had profest a holy and a religious Lady, then there never lived any Prince or life ; to whom there was a Temple dedica- Princess more worthy of Fame than Semirated, leated on the bank of a Lake adjoining mis was, both for the works she did at Babyto Ascalon; and afterward falling in love lon, and elsewhere, and for the Warrs she with a goodly young man, the was by him made with glorious fucces: all but her last made with child, which (for fear of extreme | enterprise of India, from whence both strapunishment) she conveyed away, and caused | bo and Arianus report, that she never rethe same to be hidden among the high turned; and that of all her most powerful Reeds which grew on the banks of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wilde Beafts) the same was fed by certain Birds, which used to feed upon, or neer those Waters. But I take this tale to be like that of Lupa the Harlot that fostered Romulus. For some one or other adjoining to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge thereby hope the better to cover her disho-

very personable) could be taken for him; blus, Pagninus, and Junius, write it by Dagon yet it is very unlikely that she could have onely, which fignifieth a Fish, and so it

For my felf, I rather think, that this Dagon of the Philistims, was an Idol representing Triton, one of those imaginary Sea-gods under Neptune. For this City being maritimate (as all those of the Philistims were, and fo were the best of Phanicia) used all their devotions to Neptune, and the rest of the petty gods which attended him.

6. I V.

Of her Expedition into India, and death after discomsiture: with a note of the improbability of her vices.

PUt for her Pedigree, I leave it to Assyrian DHeralds; and for her vicious life, I alcribe Army, there survived but onely twenty persons; the rest, being either drowned in the River of Indus, dead of the Famine, or flain by the Sword of Staurobates. But, as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbred; fo were those that returned, less than could have escaped of such an Army, as consisted of this child, who being perchance but fome of four Millions and upwards. For these base and obscure creature, the mother might numbers, which she levied by her Lievte nant Dercetaus (faith Suidas) did confift of nour and breach of Vow; notwithstanding Foot-men three Millions; of Horse men one which, the was cast from the top, of her Million; of Chariots, armed with hooks on Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the each fide, one hundred thousand; of those Poets have feigned) changed by Venus into which fought upon Camels as many; of Caa Fish, all but her face, which still held mels for burthen, two hundred thousand; of the same beauty and humane shape. It is raw Hides for all uses, three hundred thouthought, that from this Derceta, the invention fand; of Gallies with brazen heads, three of that Idol of the Philistims (called Dagon) thousand, by which she might transport over was taken: for it is true, that Dagen had a Indus at once, three hundred thouland foul-Mans face, and a Fifthes body; into whose diers: which Gallies were furnished with Temple when the Ark of God was brought, Syrians, Phenicians, Cilicians, and men of the Idol fell twice to the ground: and at the Cyprus. The incredible and impossible numbered S. I. fecond fall there remained only the trunk of bers, which no one place of the earth was Dagon, the head being broken off: For fo able to nourifh (had every Man and Beaft S. Hierom hath converted that place. Vata- but fed on grass) are taken from the Authority of Ctessas whom Diodorus followeth. But | ther, upon the top whereof the Chaldwan thing of certainty, but from Xerxes Expedinary clouds. tioninto Greece and afterwards; whole Ar- By beholding the ruines of this Tower, the number.

it came, that the Babylonians gave a Dove in their Enfigns.

6. V.

Of the Temple of Belus built by Semiramis; and of the Pyramides of Egypt.

Tower; and so eight in all, one above ano- steps.

as the one may be taxed with many frivo- Priests made the Observation of the Starrs; lous reports: fo Diodorus himself hath no- because this Tower over-topped the ordi-

my (though the same was farr inferiour to have many Travellers been deceived; who that of Semiramis) yet it had weight enough suppose that they have seen a part of Nimto over-load the belief of any reasonable rod's Tower, when it was but the foundaman. For all Authours confent, that Xerxes tion of this Temple of Bel (except this of Bel transported into Greece, an army of 1700000. were founded on that of Nimrod.) There and gathered together (therein to pass the were burnt in this Temple, one hundred Hellesport) three thousand Gallies, as Herothousand talents of Frankincense every dotus out of the feveral Provinces whence year (faith Herodotus.) This Temple did those Gallies were taken, hath collected Nebuchodonosor adorn with the spoils of Hierusalem, and of the Temple of Solomon: all But of what multitude foever the Army which veffels and ornaments Cyrus re-deliof Semiramis confifted, the same being bro- vered. This Temple Xerxes evened with the ken, and overthrown by Staurobates, upon foil; which Alexander is faid to have rethe banks of Indus, Canticum cantavit ex- paired, by the persuasions of the Chaldaans. tremunt; She fang her last song; and (as An- I deny not that it might have been in his detiquity hath feigned) was changed by the fire so to do; but he enjoyed but a few years gods into a Dove (the Bird of Venus) whence after Babylon taken, and therefore could not perform any fuch work. The Egyptians proclin (faith Proclus) inhabiting a low and level Times ground, and given to the same superstition of lib. 1. the Stars that the Chaldaans were erected in imitation, and for the same service and use. the Pyramides by Memphis, which were conspicus undique navigantibus, faith Pliny. Of these Pyramides, Bellonius, a carefull obser-A Mong all her other memorable and more ver of Rarities (who being in Egypt, mount-than magnificent works (befides the ed by steps to the top of the highest) wall of the City of Babylon) was the Temple maketh this report : Le meilleur archer qui Bellon. 1.1; of Bel, erected in the middle of this City, servit a sa sommite, & tirant une fleche in invironed with a wall carried foursquare of It air, a peine pouroit l'envoyer hors de sa base great heighth and beauty, having on each q'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez; The best graven. In the Core of the square, she raised ramides, and shooting an arrow from thence a Tower of a furlong high, which is half a into the air, as farr as he can, with creat difquarter of a mile; and upon it again (taking ficulty shall be able so to force the same, but a Basis of a less circuit) she set a second that it will fall upon some of the degrees or

Finis Libri primi.

All Marie Branch Branch

CHAP.



THE

FIRST PART

ISTORY

WORLD:

Intreating of the TIMES, from the Birth of Abraham, to the Destruction of Solomon's Temple.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time of the Birth of Abraham: and the use of this Question, for the ordering of the Story of the Assyrian Empire.

6. I.

Of some of the Successours of Semiramis: with a brief transition to the Question, about the time of the Birth of Abraham.



Diodorus, Justine, Orosius, and all other ap- Xerxes, or Balanius. For, otherwise, if we proved Writers. For Ninias being esteemed seek to prove things certain by the uncerfor the Chaldean Priefts, his Afronomers:
nor by Arius his fuccessour, whom Suidas calleth Thuras; but that he reduced again want assurance. the Badirians and Caspians, revolted (as it feemeth) in Ninias his time: nor of Aralins, the fuccessour of Arius; but that he added frian Kings reigned, as also for other good

Fter the death of Semi-| Stone, and some Engines for the Warr: I ramis, Ninias, or Zameis, will, for this present, pass them over, and a fucceeded her in the while follow Abraham, whose ways are war-Empire, on whom Be- rantable (till we meet these Asyrians again rosus Annianus bestows in this Story) by whom, and by whose ifthe conquest of Bactria, sues, we shall best give date to the Kings and the overthrow of of Babylon: Abraham living at once with Zoroaster; contrary to Ninus, Ninias, Semiramis, Arius, Aralius, and no man of Warr at all, but altogether fe- tain, and judge of those times, which the minine, and subjected to ease and delicacy, Scriptures set us down without errour, by there is no probability in that opinion. Now, the reigns of the Algrian Princes; we shall because there was nothing performed by but patch up the Story at adventure, and this Ninias of any moment, other than that leave it in the same confusion, in which, to out of jealousie he every year changed his this day, it hath remained. For, where the Provincial Governours, and built Colleges Scriptures do not help us, Mirum non of in

fumptuosity, invented Jewels of Gold and causes, we must first assure the time of A-

cluded.

Archilothus de temporibus (as we find him regard of Nahor and Haran. in Annews) makes but 250, years from the ther, the year 292.

Now, fince I do here enter into that never refolved Question, and Labyrinth of times, it behoveth me to give Reason for my own Opinion: and with fo much the greater care and circumspection, because I made a father at 100 years. walk afide, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those darts, which Envie casteth at Novelty, than to go on fafely and fleepily in the easie ways of ancient miftakings: feeing to be learned in many errours, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversity.

6. II.

A Proposal of Reasons or Arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham was born in the year 292. after the Floud, and not in

selves; first, on these words of the Scripture: So Terah tived 70. years, and begat Abraham, gainst all that can be said to the contrary. Nahor, and Haran: Secondly, upon the Opinion of Josephus, Saint Augustine, Beda, Isidore, and many of the ancient Hebrews before them: Authorities (while they are flightly looked over) feeming of great

brakam's Eirth, and in what year the fame | bred, the later Chronologers gather these arhappened after the Floud. Now, fince all agree that the three and fourtieth year of Ninus, was the birth-year of Abraham; by Nahor, and Haran: and that Abraham beproving directly out of the Scriptures, in ling the first named, Abraham being the worwhat year after the Floud, the birth of A- thieft, Abraham being the Son of the Probraham happened, we shall thereby set all mise, ought in this respect to be counted the the rest in square and order. But of this eldest Son of Terah, and so necessarily born time there is much jangling between those in the seventieth year of his life. Secondly, Chronologers, which follow the Hebrew ac- it was of Abraham that Moses had respect in count, and others: the most part making whom the Church of God was continued. 292. or 293. years; others 352. years be- who was heir of the Bleffing; and not of tween Abraham's Birth and the Floud: a Nahor and Haran: for the scope of this matter often disputed, but never con- Chapter, was to set down the Genealogie of Christ, from Adam to Abraham, without all

It is thirdly objected, that if Abraham Floud to Ninus: then feeing that Abraham were not the eldest Son, then there can be wasborn in the three and fourtieth year of no certainty of his age, and so are all future Ninus, according to Eusebius and Saint Autimes made doubtfull. For it cannot then be gustine, it followeth, by the addition of those proved, that Abraham was born more astwo numbers, that the year of Abraham's furedly in the 130. year of Terah his age, Birth, was in the year after the Floud 293. than in the 131, 132, &c. Moles having no or, as the most part of all Chronologers ga- where set down precisely that Abrahami went into Canaan that very year, in which his father died.

> Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that Terah begat Abraham at 130. years: feeing Abraham himself thought it a wonder to be

§. III.

The Answer to the Objections proposed, shewing that Abraham made but one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan; and it, after his fathers death.

O answer all which Objections, it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long fince, and to which I will adde fomewhat of mine own, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now, for as much as the state of the Question cannot well be scanned, unless the time of Abraham's journy into Canaan be first considered of; before I descend unto the particular examination of these Argu-Those who seek to prove this account ments, I will make bold with order and meof 292, years, between the general thod fo far, as to fearch into a strange tradi-floud and Abraham's Birth, ground themground for this Opinion, and a bulwark a-

But it is conceived, that Abraham made two journeys into Canaan: the later after his fathers death, the former prefently upon his calling; which he performed without delay, not staying for his fathers death at Haran: From the place of Scripture last remem- Epistle to the Hebrews, where it is written, a conjecture drawn from a place in the

CHAP. I.

Heb. 11. 8. By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed manded him to offer him up to himself for God to go out into a place which be should after- facrifice; all which discomforts he patiently mardreceive for inheritance: and he went out, and constantly underwent. not knowing whither he went. This Supposition (if it be granted) ferves very well to uphold the opinion that can ill ftand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give

credit to the Supposition it felf. Surely, that Abraham first departed Charrangor Haran, after the death of Terab his Father, the same is proved, without the admission of any diffinction by these words of Saint AEST.4. Stephen: And after his father was dead, God brought him into this land, where ye now dwell, that was, out of Haran into Canaan. Against ing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let evewhich place, so direct and plain, what force ry reasonable man judge. For, if he travelled hath any mans fancy or supposition, perswading, that Alraham made two journeys into miles from Or to Haran; and from Haran Canaan; one before Terahs death, and anotwice into Canaan. But were there no other ther after: no fuch thing being found in Scri- argument to disprove this fancy; the manptures, nor any circumstance, probability or ner of Abrahams departing from Haran reason to induce it? For, if any man out of hath more proof (that he had not animum this place before alleged can pick any argu-revertendi, not any thought of looking back ment, proving, or affording any strong pre- ward) than any mans bare conjecture, behe fumption, that Abraham past into Canaan, and of what antiquity or authority soever. For then returned unto Haran, from whence he thus it is written of him, Then Abraham took Guar departed a second time: then I think it rea- Sara his wife, and Lot his brothers Son, and all fon that he be believed in the rest. But, that their substance that they possest, and the souls he performed the Commandment of God af- that they had gotten in Haran: and they deter his Fathers death, caving Or & Haran for parted to go to the land of Canaan, and to the Canaan, it is as true as the Scriptures them- land of Canaan they came. Now, if Abraham felves are true. For after his Father was dead brought all with him that was dear unto (faith Martyr stephen) God brought him into him; his wife and kinsmen, and his, and their this Land. And as Beza noteth, if Abraham made a double journey into Canaan, then must it be inferred, that Moses omitted the one, and Stephen afterwards remembred the other: and whence had Stephen, faith Beza, the knowledge of Abrahams coming into Canaan, but out of Mofes ? For, if Stephen had spoken any thing of those times, differadversaries, too great an occasion both of fcandalizing himfelf, and the Gospel of christ. Indeed, we shall find small reason to make us both in Keligion and Nation. think, that Abraham passed and re-passed those ways, more often than he was enforced turn to Haran, as I will not enquire of them, fo to do, if we consider, that he had no that without warrant from the Scriptures other guide or comforter in this long and have fent him back thither, about the time wearifom journey, than the strength of his of his fathers death: so they, perhaps, if they faith in Gods promifes: In which, if any were urged, could fay little elle, than that he had more cause than ever man had to fall were not maintainable. One thing in good thing would have brought him to despair, into it. For he came into a Region of ftrong reason they should do well to make plain, if and stubborn Nations: a Nation of valiant it be not over-troublesome. They say, that and resolved Idolaters. He was besieged Abraham was in Haran at his father's death, with famine at his first arrival, and driven to or some time after, being then, by their acflie into Egypt for relief. His wife was old, and he had no Son to inherit the Promife, then did it happen, that he left quite undone

Secondly, let us consider the ways themselves, which Abraham had to pass over; the length whereof was 300. English miles; and through Countreys of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himfelf over the great River of Euphrates, to travel through the dangerous & barren Desarts of Palmyrena, and to climb over the great and high mountains of Libanus, Hermon, or Gilead: and whether these were easie walks for Abraham to march twice over, containit twice; then was his journey in all, 1800. goods: it is not probable that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in fo warm, dangerous, and barren a Countrey as that was: or, if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely, that he would have then returned, when he was yet unfettled, and prest with extreme famine at his first arrival. For had his father been then alive, he ing from Moses, he had offered the Jens, his might have hoped from him to receive more affured comfort and relief, than among the Egyptians, to whom he was a meer stranger,

What the cause might be of Abraham's rewithout such a second voyage, their opinion count, 135. years old, or a little more. How And when God had given him Maac, he com- the business, which, as we read, was within

four or five years after that time, his greatest, Hebrews. When Hezechias was visited with 60. 14 Or (as may feem) his onely care? Did not he an honourable Embaffie from Babel, it feems 1King. 10. bind with a very folemn oath, his principal that he conceived great pleasure in his mind, fervant, in whom he reposed most consi- and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but his business when he was there, or that some- stances do (to my understanding) both what happened, which no man can devise; strongly and necessarily conclude. 64 14. What might be the reason, that Abraham's 3636,000 man, in doing his Masters errand, was fain to ham is but an imagination; and that imaginalay open the whole Story of his Masters proto him a Son in her old age? If Abraham him-

dence, to travel into those parts, and seek the Prophecy which thereupon he heard by out a Wife for Isaac his Son? and doth it not Esay, made him to know, that the counsel of appear by all circumftances, that neither he God was not agreeable to fuch thoughts; nor his fervant were fo well acquainted in which more plainly appeared in a following Melopotamia, that they could particularly generation, when by the Waters of Babylon Pfal. 137. delign any one woman, as a fit match for they fat down and wept. Concerning Egypt 1 King 14. Isaac? Surely, if Abraham had been there in we read, that sefac and Neco, Kings of Egypt, 2King.13. person so lately, as within four or five years brought calamity upon Israel: also that their v. 29. before, he would not have forgotten a mat- confidence in the Egyptian fuccours, was the ter of fuch importance; but would have cause of their destruction. Where they were trufted his own judgment, in choosing a wo- forbidden to return into Egypt, I do not reman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other de-member nor can readily find; but it is found firable qualities, to be linked in marriage in Denteronomy, that God had faid, They v. 16. with his onely Son, who was then five and fhould no more return that may; which is thirty years old; before which age, most of given, as the reason, why their King might the Patriarchs after the Floud had begotten not cause the people to return to Egypt, for children; rather than have left all at ran- the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the dom to the confideration of a fervant, that Lord had laid any fuch injunction upon Aneither knew any, nor was known of any, in braham of not returning to Mesopotamia, I that Countrey. But, let it be supposed (if it cannot say; many things do argue it promay be believed) that either Abraham forgot bably: That he never returned, all circum-

But, because this double passage of Abrations of men are rather valuable among chilsperity, telling it as news, that Sarah had born | dren, than that they can perswade those of judgment or understanding: I take it sufficifelf,a more certain Author, had so lately been ent, that S. stephen hath directly taught us, among them, would not all this have been an that Abraham left Haran, his father being idle tale? It were needless to stand long up- dead. And for the rest, when they shew any on a thing so evident. Whether it were law- one Scripture to prove it, I will believe as full for Abraham to have returned back to they do. For all the travels of Abraham are Haran, would, perhaps, be a question hardly precisely set down in the Scriptures: as first answerable; considering how averse he was from Ur, or Camerina in Chaldea to Haran, or from permitting his fon to be carried thither, Charran: and then from Haran (after his faeven though a Wife of his own kinred could there death) to sichem; from Sichem he renot have been obtained without his personal moved to a mountain between Bethel and presence. Jacob indeed was sent thither by Haie: thence into Egypt; from Egypt he rehis Parents, to take a Wife of his own linage; turned thither again, where Lot and he partnot without Gods especial approbation, by ed, because their flocks and heards of Cattel whose bleffing he prospered in that journey; were more then could be fed in that part; yet he lived there as a servant; suffered many from thence the second time he removed to injuries; and finally, was driven to convey | Mamre, neer Hebron: and thence, having purhimself from thence by flight. For although it | fued Amraphel, and rescued Lot, he after inhabe not a sentence written, yet out of all writ- bited at Gerar, in the border of Idumea unten Examples it may be observed, that God der Abimelee: and after, neer unto it at Beralloweth not in his servants any desire of re- sabe, at which time he was ready to offer up turning to the place, from whence he hath his Son Isaac on the mountain Moriah. But taken, and transplanted them. That brieffay- this fiction of his retreat to Haran, or Charing, Remember Lot's Wife, contains much mat- ran, appeareth not in any one Story, either ter. Let us consider Mesopotamia, from whence divine or humane. Now, if it may be sup-Abraham was taken, and Egypt, out of which posed, that Abraham had made any former the whole Nation of the Ifraelites were deli- journey into Canaan, as Levita his Cabala vered: we shall find, that no bleffing iffued hath feined, it should in reason be therewithfrom either of them, to the Posterity of the all be believed, that he would in those his

first travels have provided himself of some certain feat, or place of abiding: and not have come a second time with his Wife, kinfmen, family, goods, and Cattel, not knowing whereon to rest himself. But Abraham, when he came from Charran, passed through the North part of Canaan, thence to Sichem, and the plain of Moriah; where, finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to Bethel, and Haie: and fo from Nation to Nation, to discover and find out some fit habitation: from whence again, as it is written in Genesis the eleventh, He went forth, going and journeying towards the South: and always unfettled. By reason of which wandering to and fro, some say, the Egyptians gave him and his the name of Hebrai.

Further, to prove that he had not formerat his first entrance into Canaan, God ap-I give this Land, shewing it him, as unto a therefore Sarah langhed, &c. stranger therein, and as a Land to him unknown. For, Abraham, without any other Sarah after the manner of momen, it appeareth provident care for himself, believed in the that the wonder was wrought on her, and not Word of the living God: neither fending on Abraham. For Abraham by his second wife before, nor comming first to discover it; but | Keturah, had many Sons after Sarahs death, being arrived, he received a fecond Pro- as Zimron, Jockshan, Medan, Ishbak, and mise from God, that he would give those shuah: and the eldest of these was born 37. Countreys unto him and his feed to inhabite and inherite.

Laftly, what should move any man to think, that Moses would have omitted any such they say, may be gathered from this supposed and flort? as when he moved from Sichem, and feated between Haie and Bethel, the di-Chapters; which Age lasted 1656.years: but he bestoweth on the Story of Abraham, fourteen Chapters, beginning with his Birth in thers at the same age, and seven years after. the cleventh, and ending with his Death in the five & twentieth; and this time endured but 175. years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that Mofes forgot or neglected any thing concerning Abraham's travels or other actions: or that he would fet down those fmall removes of five miles and omit those of three hundred. For fuch a journey in going and coming would have ministred some varicty of matter, or accident, worthy the inferting and adding to Abraham's Story.

§. IV.

The Answer to another of the Objections proposed, shewing, that it was not unlikely that Terah should beget Abraham in his hundred and thirtieth year.

CHAP.

7 Ow, touching the Objection, where it is faid, that it was very unlikey that Terab should beget Abraham in his hundred and thirtieth year, feeing Abraham himself thought it a wonder to have a Son at an hundred; this is hardly worth the answering, This wonder is indeed mif-caft, and miftaken: Abraham having respect onely to sarab his Wife, when he spake of their many years. For, when the Angel faid unto Abraham in his Tent door at Mamre; Loc, Saly beeen in the Countrey, we may note, rah thy Wife shall have a Son, it followeth in that ere he came into Bethel and Haie, and the next Verse, Now, Abraham and Sarah were old, and stricken in age, and it ceased to peared unto him, faying, Unto thy feed will be with Sarah after the manner of women:

So then, in that it is faid it ceased to be with years after Isaac; and the youngest 40. years after. What strangeness then, that Terah, being 130 years old, should beget Abraham, will double journey of Abraham's, seeing he set- despair of Abraham at 100. years? For Sarah teth down all his passages elsewhere, long | died in the year of the world 2145, and Isaac was born in the year 2109, and Abraham did not marry Keturah till Sarah was buried. Soif stance being but 20 miles: and when he moved thence to the Valley of Mamre, being there remaineth 36. And therefore if Abra ion is but 24. miles; and when he left Mamre, and ham begat 5. sons 36. years after this supposed her fat down at Gerar, being less than fix miles; wonder, and when Abraham was 137. years cinal No, Moses past over all the times of the first old; it is not strange, that his father Terab his same Age with the greater brevity, to hasten him should beget Abraham at 130. And if Book, period to the Story of Abraham: shutting up all be- obed, and Jesse, who lived so many years and Gen tween the Creation and the Floud in fix Ages after Abraham, begat Sons at 100. years, or neer it, it cannot be marvelled at, that Terah begat Abraham at 130. and Abraham 0-

6. V.

The Answer to two more of the Objections: Shew ing that we may have certainty of Abrahams age from the Scripture, though we make not Abraham the eldest son : and that there was great cause, why in the Story of Abraham his two brethren should be respected.

T follows now, to speak something to the Objection, which brings Ahrahams age altogether together in doubt, except we allow him to the fifter of Lot, Abraham married. Nahor alknowledge.

out of the Church, but to Abraham onely, a fign that they had the knowledge of him. with whom God established the Covenant, Nahor and Haran. For the succession of Gods Church is not witneffed by Abraham alone, but by the iffues of Nahor and Haran, were they Idolaters, or otherwise. For Na-Rebecca, the mother of Ifrael; and Haran was the Parent of Lot, Sarah, and Milcah; and Sarah was mother to Isaac, and Grandmother to Jacob : Milcah alfo, the wife of Nahor, and mother of Bethuel, was Jacobs great Grandmother; and the age of sarah, the Daughter of Haran, is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a Son at 90. years, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet, because both Nahor and Abraham married the Daughters of their brother Haran; and because Isaac married Rebecca the grand-child of Nahor; and Jacob, Lea, and Rachel, the Daughters of Laban, the grandchild also of Nahor; is was not superfluous in Moses to give light of those mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange gods, as it is, Jos. 24. 2. yet I fee no cause to think, that they still continued Idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of Abraham, leaving their natural Countrey and City of Ur in Chaldea, as Abraham did, and removed thence all, except Haran, who died before his father Terah, ere they left Chaldea; but Lot, his Son,

be the eldest Son of Terah, and born when so, who remained at Charran, gave his Sons Terah was 70. years old. For Abraham's age daughters to Isaac, & Jacob, his own kinfmen: being made uncertain, all fucceding times he himself having also married in his own are thereby without any perfect rule or Family; not thinking it pleafing unto God, to mix themselves with strangers and Idola-But this Proposition, That we cannot be ters. And that these men at length believed certain of Abraham hisage, unless we make in the God of Abraham, it can no way be him the eldest Son, is false. For it is plain in doubted. For, when Laban had seen the serthe Scriptures, that when Terah was 205. vant of Abraham standing at the Well beside which was the year of his death; then was Charran, he invited him to his Fathers house Abraham 75. And if you ask, how I can judge in this maner, Come in, thou bleffed of Jehovah, Gen. 16. of times, either preceding or succeeding, by &c. And when this servant of Abraham's deknowing that Abraham departed Haran manded an answer as touching Rebecca, then at that age: I answer, That S. Stephen hath answered Laban and Bethuel, and said. This told us, that Abraham's departure followed thing is proceeded of Jehovah: meaning, that Gen. 24; the death of his father Terah; and Terah died it was the will of the true God it should be 50. at 205, so as the 75, year of Abraham was the so, wherein he acknowledged Gods provi-205, year of Terah; which known, there can dence. Likewise in the following verse, it is be no errour in the account of times fuc- written; Take, go, that Jhe may be thy Masters ceeding. Now, to come to the Objection, sons wife, even as Jehovah hath said. This where it is faid, That Moses had no respect their often using of the name of Jehovah, unto Nahor and Haran, because they were which is the proper name of the true God, is

Now, although it be the opinion of Chryand of whom Christ descended according to follow, and some late Writers, as Cajetan, Olethe flesh, &c. I answer, that Moses, for many after, Musculus, Calvin, Mercer, and others, great and necessary causes had respect of that Laban was an Idolater, because he retained certain Idols, or houshold-gods, which Rachel stole from him; yet, that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of bor was the father of Bethuel, and Bethuel of Abraham and of Nahor, and he called Abrahams fervant, bleffed of Jehovah, as aforefaid. So as, for my felf, I dare not avow, that these men were out of the Church, who, fure I am,

were not out of the Faith.

6. VI.

That the naming of Abraham first of the three brethren, Gen. 11. v. 26. doth not prove that he was the eldest; together with divers reafons, proving that Abraham was not the eldelt son of Terah.

O the main Objection; which I anfwer last, because it seemeth of most ftrength, by which, those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove that Abraham was the eldest Son of Terah, and born in the 70. year of Terah's life; grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture; And Terah lived seventy years, Gen. 11. 26 and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: To this I fay that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proof at all that he was the eldest and first-born Son of Terah. For it is no necessary consequent, that followed Abraham into Canaan; and Sarab, the first named in Scriptures was therefore

CHAP.

for seth was not the first-born of Adam; nor years. It was from the valley of Mamre in Ca-

formerly remembred. But it is written of Noah: Noah was 500. years old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and at70. years old, then must Abraham have been Japhet: shewing, that at the 500, year of his 135, years when he first set his foot in Canan, age, he began to beget the first of those three feeing Terah must be dead ere he parted, and uggang. Sons. For, according to S. Augustine, speaking for 70. added to 135. make 205. the true age spens generally, Nec attendendus est in his order national of Terahawhich is contrastic to the spensor of the spenso tivitatis, sed significatio futura dignitatis: in of Scripture before remembred." For heenqua excelluit Abraham: The order of nativity tred at 75 he referred Lot at 83 he had Ijmael is not here to be rest sted, but the signification of at 86. he had Isaac at 100. proved by the the future dignity; in which Abraham was pre- former places. ferred. And therefore, as in the order of the Sons of Noah, so is it here; where it is said, of Terah, and born in the 70. year of his age: That Terah lived 70. years, and begat Abra- then had Terah lived till Isaac had been 35. ham, Nahor, and Haran: For it was late ere years old, and Ismael 49. both which must Terah began to beget Sons, himself being be- then have been born in Mejopotamia, and gotten by his father Nahor, at 29, as other his therein fostered to that age: unless we Ancestors were at 30. The like also hapned should either deny credit to S. Stephen, who to Noah; for whereas Adam begat Seth at faith, that Abraham departed from Melopola-133. Enosh Kenan at 90. Kenan Mahalaleel mia after his fathers death: or else believe at 70. Mahalaleel Jared at 60. Noah was yet the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrator, 500. years old when he began to beget the who in his Cronologia antoptica, faith it was first of his three Sons, as aforesaid. And Saint about his fathers death; because the Greek Augustine, in the place before cited, rather in- word une may be translated by the Latine clineth to the Opinion, that Abraham was the | fub, as well as by poft: which, though elswhere youngest of Terah's Sons, than otherwise: it may be, yet cannot be so in this place. though for his excellency he was worthily For it were most improperly spoken, to say, named first. His own words are these: Fieri that those things were done about Teralis enim ut potuit posterior sit generatus Abraham: death, which were 60. years before. Wheresed merito excellentia, qua in Scripturis valde fore, supposing Abraham to have been born commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might in the 70. year of Terab; we must give those be, faith he, that Abraham was begotten later; times and places of birth to Abraham's chilbut wasfirst named in regard of his excellenty, dren, which no Authority will warrant; For for which in Scripture he is much commended. Abraham had no children in Ur of Chaldes, So as the naming first or last, proveth nothing nor in Haran, nor in ten years after his arrival who was fuft or laft born; either in those iffues of Noah, or in these of Terah: Neither which Abraham left Haran, was the year of hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, the World, 2083. and the year of Ishmaels astouching his election or spiritual bleffing; for Moles nameth first the children of the promife, and the eldest and first in Gods favour. Pietas ergo, vel ipsa potius electio divina, que comitem secum trabit pietaten, & Dei timore, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, Abrahamo in liberis Thare: Piety, faith he, or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it, or after it, Piety, and the fear of God, gave place and precedency to Sem

among those of Thare. For the rest, it is manifest, that Abraham entred Canaan in the 75. year of his age. And 6cm 12. 4. it was in Canaan that Hagar bare him Ismael, naan at 75. if Terah had begotten him at 70.

among the children of Noah, and to Abraham

eldess in bloud and birth; neither doth it when Abraham had lived 86, years. It was at engen in monad and do no make especial Gerar(the south border of Caman) that sarab on a choice of the first Sons in nature and time: bare Isaac, when Abraham had confumed 100 Isaac of Abraham; nor Jacob of Isaac; nor naan that Abraham rose out, when he rescued Juda and Joseph of Jacob; nor David the Lot, & overthrew Amraphel; and he had then eldest of Jesse; nor solomon of David; asis but the age of 83, years; and it is as manifest, that he parted from Haran after his father Alline Terah was dead. But, if Terah begat Abraham Gmu

Moreover, if Abraham were the eldest Son into Canaan. For the year of Terah's death,in birth was the Worlds year, 2094. which maketh ten years difference. And that IJaac was born in Canaan, and was to be offered upon the mountain Moriah therein, 39. miles from Bersabe, where Abraham then inhabited : and that three Angels first of all appear'd to Abraham in the vally of Mamre, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be, that any of Abrahams Sons were born in Mesopotamia; nor while Terah lived; nor in less than ten years after Terah's death; and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest Son of Terah, nor born in the 70. year of Terah's age,

Thirdly, whereas Abraham came into Ca-en

then had Terab lived but 145. for 70. and tus de tribus filis Thare, tamen nominatur 70. year of Terah.

was 100. and Sarah 90. years old.

ing that Haran was born but one year after | before it is faid of Sem. Abraham, and Sarah within ten years as old as Abraham, then of necessity must Haran beget her, when he had lived but nine years; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Iscah was Sarah Rab. Solomon affirmeth; both names, faith he, bearing the fame fignification; and names of principality. Again, to what end was the word Isah of Tilbeah inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? For, to speak of any thing superfluous, it is not used in Gods Book: and if Iscab had not belonged to the Story, it had been but an idle name, to no purpose

Now, if it had been true (as those of the contrary opinion affirm) that Moses had no respect of Nahor and Haran, who were notwithstanding the Parents of Bethuel and Rebecca, the mother of Ifrael, and of Christ: place, were she not Sarah, but otherwise an idle name, of whom there is nothing else first or last?

The age also of Lot disproveth the eldership of Abraham; for Lot was called an old man, when Abraham was but 83. years old: And if Lot were of a greater age than Abrabam, and Haran were father to Lot, Sarah, and Milcah; Abraham marrying one of Haran's Daughters, and Nahor the other, Sarah also being within ten years as old as Abraham; it may appear to every reasonable man (not obstinate and prejudicate) that Haran was the eldest Son of Terah, and not Abraham; who also died first, and before his father left Ur in Chaldaa. Also Lyra reasoneth against this opinion of Abraham's eldership, upon the same place of Genesis; drawing arguments from the age of Sarah, who was but ten years younger than Abraham himself. Lyrahis words are these: Si igitur Haran fuit junior ipso Abraham, sequitur quòd non habebat decem annos quando genuit Saram: imò nec octo, &c. and afterward, & ided melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit ultimo na-

75, make 145. which must also have been the primo, propter ejus dignitatem: & ponendus full age of Terah; but Terah lived 205. years, erat caput stirpis & generationis sequentis: & and therefore was not Abraham born in the quia primo fatta est ei repromissio expressa de Christo, sicut supra dictum est de Sem, &c. If Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah therefore (faith Lyra) Haran was younger than make it manifest, that Haran was the elder, if Abraham himself, it followeth, that he was not not the eldest brother of Abraham; for Sa- ten years old when he begat Sarah: And thererab, or Iscah, wanted but ten years of Abra- fore it seemeth better to be said, that Abraham ham's age: Isac being born when Abraham was the last born of the three Sons of Thare. nevertheless, he is named first for his dignity, It followeth then, that if Abraham had been both because he was to be ordained head of the the elder brother of Haran, Haran must have | stock and generation following, and because the begotten Sarah at nine years old: for grant- Promise of Christ was first made unto him, as

§. VII.

A Conclusion of this Dispute, noting the Authours on both fides; with an Admonition, that they which shorten the times, make all antient Stories the more unprobable.

T therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that Haran was the eldest Son of Terah, and not Abraham: and that Abraham was born in the 130. year of Terak's life, and not in the 70. year. For Abraham departing Charran after Terah died, according to S. Stephen, and that Att. 7.4. journey by Abraham performed, when he was 75. years old; these two numbers added, make 205. years, the full age of Terah: feeing that when Terah died, then Abraham enwhat regard then had Moses of Iscab in this tred Canaan. For my self, I have no other Gen, 12. 45 end herein, than to manifest the Worlds story. I reverence the judgments of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars. Saint Angustine was doubtfull, and coud not determine this controversie. For, whatfoever is borrowed out of his fixteenth Book de Civitate Dei, cap. 15. the same may be answered out of himself in his five and twentieth Question upon Genesis. But S. Augustine herein followed fosephus and Isidor; and Beda followed S. Augustine. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanity, that the Hebrews and Josephus sought to make Abraham the first born: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did Josephus, together with Nicholas Damascenus (thinking thereby to glorifie the Jewish Nation) make Abraham a King, entitling Sarah by the name of Queen Sarah; and faid, that Abraham was followed with 318. Captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; trecentos & octodecim præfectos habuit, quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat. And that Pharaoh invading him with a great Army, took from him his Wife Sarah: Such Fables argue

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that Josephus is not to be believed, but with ment to our felves, which of those two acdiscreet reservations.

than 292, years from the Floud to Abraham, is upheld by many of the Hebrews. But how should we value the opinion of such chrono-World; and not the truth of Histories to ap- ties, and monsters, in the Story of the World prove the times by. Let us then make judg- | and Man-kind.

counts give the best reputation to the Story This account of times, allowing no more of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of Josephus, and those which follow him, who makes but 292, years. logers, as take Amraphel for Nimrods Surely, or thereabouts, between the Floud and Birth if their judgment in such matters were wor- of Abraham: or this other account, which thy to be regarded, it would have apeared make 352 years between the one and the in fetting down the fuccession of the Persian other: the one making Abraham to be the Kings under whom they lived, whose Hittory first-born of Thare, in the 70, year of his life; was not fo far remote in time, as these Anti- the other a younger Son of Thare, and born quities, nor wanting the light of many good | when he had lived 130, years. And, if we Writers. Yet grolly have they erred there- look over all, and do not halfily fatisfie our in, and so familiar are their mistakings in all understanding with the first things offered. things of like nature, that we feldom find and thereby being fatiated do flothfully and their opinion rehearfed without the confu- drowfily fit down; we shall find it more atation treading on the heels of it. They of greeable, rather to allow the reckening of the Roman Religion, are also generally on the Septuagint, who, according to some Edithe fame fide; it being a thing usual among tions, make it above 1072, years between the them', to maintain whatfoever they have Floud and Abraham's Birth; than to take abeen formerly known to hold and believe. way any part of those 352. years given. For, Contrariwife, of the more antient, Theodoret, if we advitedly confider the state and contiand some following him; of later times, Be- mance of the World, such as it was in Abraroaldus, Fencer, Calvin, Junius, Beza, Brough- ham's time, yea, before Abraham was born. ton, Doct Gibbons, and Moore, with divers of we shall find, that it were very ill done the Protestants, hold Abraham to have been of us, by following opinion without the born in the 130, year of his father Terah, guide of reason, to pare the times over-From these (as in a case not concerning any deeply between Abraham and the Floud: point in Religion) divers of the same Reli- | because in cutting them too neer the quick, gion, and those, nevertheless, good Authours, the reputation of the whole Story might, as Bucholeerus, Chitraus, Functius and others, perchance, bleed thereby, were not the are very averle herein, especially Josephus | testimony of the Scriptures supreme, so as Scaliger with his Sethus Calvifius, proclaim- no objection can approach it: and that ing Beroaldus an arch-herctick in Chronology, we did not follow withall this Precept of and condemning this opinion of his as poi- S. Augustine, That wheresoever any one sonous. Contratiwise, Augustinus Torniellus, place in the Scriptures may be conceiva Priest of the Congregation of S. Paul, a ju- ed disagreeing to the whole, the same is, dicious, diligent, and free Writer, whose An- | by ignorance of interpretation, mil-undernals are newly set forth, very earnestly de- stood. For, in Abraham's time, all the then fends the opinion, which I have already de- known parts of the World were peopled: all livered; not alleging Beroaldus, nor any Pro- | Regions and Countries had their Kings Egypt testant Writer, as being, perhaps, unwilling had many magnificent Cities; and so had to owe thanks to Hereticks. For my felf, I do Palastina, and all the bordering Countries, neither mislike the contrary opinion, because vea, all that part of the World besides, as far commonly those of the Romish Religion la- as India; and those not built with sticks, but bour to uphold it; nor favour this later ac- of hewn ftone, and defended with walls and count of times, because many notable men of rampires; which magnificence needed a Pathe Protestant Writers have approved it; but rent of more antiquity, than those other men for the truth it felf. To strengthen which, have supposed. And therefore, where the after all these former reasons, and testimo- Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing nies of Scripture, I will add thus much more with reason and nature, to what end should to the rest. First, it is apparent to all men of we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or judgment, that the best approved Histori- draw all things into wonders and marvels? ans, divine, and prophane, labour to investi- giving also strength thereby to common cagate the truth of times, thereby to approve villers, and to those mens apish brains, who the Stories, and fore-past actions of the onely bend their wits to find impossibili§. VIII.

A computation of the times of the Affyrians. and others, grounded upon the times noted in the story of Abraham.

N this fort therefore, for the reasons before alleged, I conclude, that from the getriben, neral Floud, to the birth of Abraham, 352. for the state of t were spent from the Floud to the 43. year of of Chus, the Son of Cham. Ninus: in which 43. year of Ninus, Abraham was born; which hapned in the year of the World, 2009.

give one part as well to the increase of those cessour. people which came into Shinaar, as to those semiramis governed the Empire of Baby-Oi the that slayed in the East, to wit, 30. years to lonia and Asyria 42. years, and died in the chw. cre he begat Seba; of which, though 52. year complete of Abraham's life. chin, ere he begat Seba; of which, though 52. year complete of Abraham's life. the Scriptures are filent, yet, because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first Sons, we may the more safely give the like allowance to thefe. For Eber begat Peleg at 34. Peleg Regu at 30. Regu Serug at 32. Now, after Seba, Chus begat Havilah, Sabta, Raama and Sabtecha: and Raama begat Sheba and Dedan, before Nimrod was born, as it in. Dei. appeareth, Gen. 10. which S. Augustine approveth. Giving then 30. years more to Rafive elder brothers of Nimrod, it may be gathered, that 65, years were confumed ere had that age before any of his Sons were begotten, it may be gathered by example and comparison: for Peleg the fourth from Noah, of his life.

Let us then allow 60. years more after the birth of Nimrod, for two other generations to was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65 and 60 make 125. The rest of the time of 131. (in which year they arrived in Shinaar, whereof there are fix years remaining) we may give them for their travels from the eifaluse East; because they were pestered with womige men, children and cattel: and as fome ancient witconii. Writers have conceived, and Becanus of later on times, they kept always the mountain fides, That Amraphel, one of the four Kings whom for fear of a second floud. Now, if we take usub this number of 131.out of 352.there remains 221.0f which number, Berofus bestoweth 65. no paire 221.01 winten number, bei 1911. Selling on Belus, and 42. on Ninus before Abraham imperate born: both which, S. Augustine approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221.

the Floud to Abraham's birth; which number of 114. necessity bestoweth on Nimrod.

And if it be objected that this time given to Nimrod is over-long; fure, if we compare the age of Nimrod with the rest of the same descent from Noah, it will rather appear over fhort. For Nimrod, by this account, lived in all but 179. years, whereof he reigned 112. whereas Sale, who was the Son of Arphaxad, the Son of sem, lived 403. years: and of the fame age of the World was Nimrod the Son

Now, after Abraham was born, Ninus reigned 9. years, which added to 43. Now, of this time of 352. years, we must Ninus dieth, and leaveth Semiramis his Suc-

Ninias, or Zameis succeeded Semiramis, Floud, and ruled 38. years; in the fecond year of 2019 mun whose reign, Abraham left Mesopotamia.

When Abraham was 85. years old, he re-dil. 2083. feued his Nephew Lot, and overthrew by furprise Amraphel, King of Shinaar, or Babylonia. Ninias reigned 38. years, and Abraham came into Canaan but 23. years after semiramis died: which was the 75. year of his age; so that Amraphel may feem to have ama ere he begat Sheba, and five years to the been this Ninias, the Son of Ninus, and Semiramis, whose 23. years, as aforesaid, being the 75. year of Abraham, he and his fellow-kings Nimrod himself was born; and that Raama might have received this overthrow in the 85. year of Abraham, and the 33. year of his own reign: after which he reigned five years, which make in all 38. But the truth is, that as Raama was, begat Reu in the same year the reasons to the contrary, urging that this Amraphel could not be Ninias, are not easily answered. Howbeit, for the times of the Asyrian Kings that they are to be ordered as we be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find have set down, according to the times noted people to build Babel; for fure we are, that it by Moses in the Story of Abraham, it is most certain; unless we will either derogate from the truth of Moses his computation, which were impiety, or account the whole History of Ninus and Semiramis to be but a fiction; which were to condemn all antient Historians for Fablers.

6. IX.

Abraham overthrew, Gen. 14. may probably be thought to have been Ninias the Son of Ninus.

A Nd now, touching this Amraphel, whom Moles makes King of Shinaar, or Babylothere remaineth 114. years of the 352. from nia, in the 85. year of Abraham's life, that is, 180

in the 33. year of the reign of Ninias Zameis the King of the Affgrians, the Son of Ninus and Semiramis, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time King of Babylonia: Ninias Zameis then reigning there. To this doubt, the answer which first offereth it felf as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this Ninias, or Zameis, was no other than our Amraphel; who invaded Traconitis, or Basan, and of the Nations. For Ellassar, Aquila, and Hieoverthew those five Kings of Pentapolis, or rom, write Pontus: so Toftatus thinketh that the Valley of Siddim. For the Scriptures tell it should be Hellespont: which opinion Pereus, that Amraphel was King of Shinaar, which rim favoureth. But this is onely to defend is Babylonia; and the times before accounted the Latine translation. For as Pontus, fo is make him to be the successor of Ninus and se- Hellespont farr distant, and out of the way to miramis: and it falleth out with the 85. year | fend any Armies into Arabia Petraa, or into of Abraham's life, wherein he rescu'd Lot, slew Idumea; which Countries these four Kings chedorlaomer, and overthrew the rest. True chiefly invaded: Besides that, it is certain, it is, that this Amraphel was not at this time that the Affyrians (when they were greatest) the greatest Monarch; for Chedorlaomer com- had never any dominion in Asia the less. For manded in chief, though Amraphel be first at such time as the Assyrians seared the invanamed by Moses in the first Verse of the fourteenth Chapter of Genesis. For the Kings of into Asia the less as Commanders; but used the Valley of Siddim, or of Pentapolis, or all the art they had, to invite Crasus to their the five Cities, were the vaffals of chedorla- affiftance; perswading him, that nothing xing omer, and not of Amraphel; as it is written, could be more dangerous for himself, and Twelve years were they subject to Chedorlaomer, but in the thirteenth year they rebelled, cess of the Medes against the Assyrians. But and in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the Kings that were with him; and Kings (faith the Text) made warr with Berg, therefore was Chedorlaomer the principal in Kingdom of Sodom, Birsha King of Gomora, this enterprise, who was then King of Elam ramis, whom he succeeded, he should not at that time of any great power; and therefour Kings (as it is manifest that he was: Persia. For these little Kings of Sodome, Gomora,&c. were his vassals, and not Amraphel's) yet this makes not the conjecture less probable, but | Pompey against Casar; yet these same exthat this Amraphel might be Ninias. For it amples, without like occasions and circummay be, that the great and potent Empire stances, do neither lead nor teach. For of Afyria had now (as we shall shew more there was no cause to fear the greatness of plainly in that which followeth) received these petty Kings, or of the other Couna down-right fall at the time of this Warr: tries: But the eyes of the World were fixed though not long before it commanded all on Cafar; and his undertakings and intents the Kingdoms between India and the Phanician Sea; to wit, in the times of Ninus and than fearfull: But the whole Countrey by

§. X.

Of Arioch, another of the four Kings, and that Ellas, whereof he is faid to have been King, lies between Coclosyria and Arabia Petraa.

Ow, the two other Kings joined with Amraphel and Chedorlaomer, were Arioch and Tidal; the one King of Ellasjar, the other fion of the Medes and Persians, they sent not the other Kings of those parts, than the fucexamine the enterprise, what it was. These can Shinab King of Admath, and Shemebar King which is Persia: Now, Persia being seated of Zeboim, and the King of Bela, which is over Tygris, and to the East of Amraphel's Zoar. All which five Kings had not so much Countrey; and the other two Kings, which ground as Middlefex; being fuch a kind of were companions with Amraphel, being feat- Reguli, as Josua found in the Land long afed to the West of Shinaar, or Babylo- ter: namely, Lords of Cities and small Tenia: Amraphel, who held Babylonia it ritories adjoining; of which Canaan had felf, feemeth at this time to have had three and thirty, all flain or hanged by no great scope or large Dominion. For, Josua. Neither can the other Countries, had Amraphel been so great a Prince as which in the Text they are said also to prophane Historians make Ninus or Semi- have invaded, be imagined to have been have needed the affiftance of three or four fore to call in Kings from Pontus, or Hel-Kings for this Expedition. But though che- leftont, had manifelted a great impotence dolaomer were the first and greatest of those and weakness in the Kings of Babylon and

> And though it be alleged for an Example, that divers Kings farr off, came to affift were to all other Princes, no less doubtfull these sour Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward given to the half Tribe of

any at that time.

word Ellassar, being doubtfull to give it a wrong interpretation. And Pererius himfelf remembreth other opinions farr more probable than this of Pontus, or Hellespont: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the Latine Translation hath it otherwise. For Stephanus de Orbibus, a Gracian (a.i. ii. time of S. Paul, who was fought to be betrayed by the Lievetenant of Aretas, com-

didreft; so do they in this place retain the

manding in Damascus. They were Princes, for the most part, confederate and depend- in the Land, howsoever they might be afing upon the Allprian Empire. It is true terwards mixt; which I know not. But there that we find in Daniel; that in the time of are many petty Kingdoms adjoining to Pho Nebuchodonofor, one Arioch was General of nicia and Palessina; as Palmyrena, Batahis Army, and the principal Commander nea, Laodicene, Apamena, Chalcidive, Caf under him, who was a King of Kings: which foris, Chalibonitis, and all these do also makes it plain, that Arioch here fpoken of, join themselves to Mespotamia on the the Son of that Arioch, Confederate of Ni- North, and to Arabia on the Eaft: And nus, was no King of Pontus, nor of Scythia, Regions farr removed from the Affirians and Babylonians. The name also of bablest conjectures

Manasse, Gad, and Reuben; a narrow Val- Arioch, who commanded under Nebuckolev of ground, lying between Jordan and donosor, is mentioned in Judith, by the name the Mountains of seir; inclosed by the Ri- of King of the Elymeans; who are a Nativer of Arnon on the South fide, and by Ly- on of Persians, bordering Assyria, accordbanus on the North, confifting of two small ing to Stephanus, though Pluny sets it be-Provinces of Traconitis, or Basan, and the tween the Sea-coast and Media: and if Region of the Moabites; a conquest farr un- any brother of the Arabian Kings, or other valuable, and little answering to the power of that House (known by the name of Ariof the Assirian Empire, if the same had re- us, Arioch, Areta, or Aretas) had the Gomained in any comparable estate with the vernment of that Persian Province, called times of Nimus and Semiramis, who fub- Elymais (as it feemeth they had, by the iected all the great Kings of that part of the places of Daniel and Judith) yet the same World, without the affiltance of any of the was in Nebuchodonofor's time. But this A Kings of Hellespont, or any other part of rioch here spoken of, may with more rea-Asia the less. But as the Vulgar, and Aquila, son be taken for the King of Arabia, the Son convert Ellassar by Pontus: So Symmachus of Arius, the Confederate of Ninus, whose makes Arioch, a King of the Scythians, a Sons held league, as their fathers did, be-King indeed, as farr fetched to join with ing the next bordering Prince of all on the Allyrians in this Warr, as the World had that fide towards the West unto Babylonia, and Chaldea; and in amity with them The Septuagint do not change the word from the beginning, and of their own House of Ellaffar at all, but as they keep the word and Bloud; which Diod. Siculus also con-Diod, Siculus Ararat, on the Mountains whereof the Ark firmeth.

§. X I.

of Tidal, another of the four Kings.

He fourth King by Abraham overthrown, was Tidal, King of the Nas Cosmographer, findeth the City of Ellas in tions. The Hebrew writes it Gojim, which the border of Calosyria: and Saint Hieram Vatablus takes to be a proper name: Lyra calleth Ellas the City of Arioch, as in truth of mixt People; Calvin of Runnagates it was. Now, although the same be seated by Stephanus in Calospria, yet it standeth bo, finds that Galilaa was inhabited by die fol. 523, on the border of Arabia, of which Arioch vers Nations, which were a mixt People: was King; who formerly joined with Ninus namely, of Egyptians, Arabians, and Phoein all his Conquests, being of the same Fa- nicians. Nam tales sunt qui Galilæam hamily, and descended from Cham and Chus: bitant; Such are the Inhabitants of Galile, after whom the name of Arius was by the faith Strabo; and therefore was Tidal cal-Hebrew written Arioch; and afterward a- led King of these Nations, as they suppose. gain Arctas; as in the Machabees: the Kings | And so it may be; but the authority of strabo of Arabia holding that name even to the is nothing in this Queltion. For Galilea was not Peopled at this time, as it was in General & the time of Strabo. For, when Abraham came into Canaan, the Canaanite was then that these Nations gathered themselves together under Tidal, I take to be the pro-

g. XII.

s. XII.

That Chedorlaomer, the chief of the four kings. was not of Aliyria, but of Persia; and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.

Aftly, whereas it is conceived that che-L derlaomer was the Afgrian Emperor, and rience of that most miserable and detested that Amraphel was but a Satrape, Viceroy, or condition of living in flavery; no long de-Provincial Governour of Babylonia, and that fcent having as yet invested the Allyrian with the other Kings named, were such also, I can- a right; nor any other title being for him prenot agree with Pererius in this. For Moses was tended, than a strong hand; the foolish and too well acquainted with the names of Affur effeminate Son of a tyrannous and hated faand Shinaar, to call the Affyrian a King of ther, could very ill hold fo many great Prin-Elam: those Kings being in the Scriptures ces and Nations his vassals, with a powerless

Kings ware on their heads.

Babylonian Empire stood in any greatness at sures before greatness, as he neither endeathe time of this invasion; and my reasons are voured to gain what he could not govern, these: First, example and experience teach | nor to keep what he could not without conus, that those things which are set up hastily, tentious peril enjoy. or forced violently, do not long last. Alexander became Lord of all Asia, on this side of Story of Amraphel, delivered by Moses, by Indus, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted | which we find that Amraphel King of Shinaar not to over-look what it felf had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not than either his superiour, or equal; maken perpetual. For his Empire died at once with feem probable, that the Empire of Ninus and himself: all whose chief Commanders became Kings after him. Tamberlain conquer- and restrained again to Babylonia. ed Asia and India, with a storm-like, and terof his Victories perished with him, if not

Ninus, being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious over them: a man violent, infolent and cruel. Semiramis taking the opportunity, places therein, with buildings un-exampled. wounds and wrongs, by their continual purchase their former liberty. fmart, put the Patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other: so those Kings adjoining (whose subjection and cala- Ninias, or Amraphel, invaded the Bactrians,

the more grievous) could not fleep, when the advantage was offered by fuch a fuccessour. For, In regno Babylonico bic parum resplenduit: This king thined little (faith Nauclerus of Ninias) in the Babylonian Kingdom. And like. ly it is, that the necks of mortal men, having been never before galled with the yoak of forein dominion, nor having ever had expeevermore called by the name of chaldea, mastering, and a mind less industrious than Shinaar, Babylonia, or Affyria; but never by his father and mother had used before him. Elam: and Chedorlaomer, or Kedarlaomer was And he that was fo much given over to licenfo called of Kidor, from Cidarim, which in tious idleness, as to suffer his mother to reign the Hebrew fignifieth Regale: for fo Q. Curti- 42. years, and thereof the greatest part calleth the garment which the Persian after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he fo much pre-Neither do I believe, that the Affyrian, or | ferred ease before honour, and bodily plea-

> These considerations being joined to the was rather an inferiour to the King of Perfia, Semiramis was at that time broken afunder,

For conclusion, I will add these two argurible fuccess: but to prevalent fury, God hath ments confirming the former: First, that at adjoined a short life; and whatsoever things such time as it pleased God to impose that Nature her self worketh in haste, she taketh great travel upon Abraham, from Ur in Chalthe least care of their continuance. The fruit | dea to Charran, and then to Canaan, a passage of 700 miles, or little less, with women, children, and carriages; the Countries through which he wandred were then fettled, and in peace. For it was the 23. year of Ninias, when Abraham obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. years after the death of Semiramis, the Smalls and being more proud, adventurous, and neighbour Princes had recovered their liambitious than her Paramour; enlarged the berty and former estates. For Semiramis Ar-Babylonian Empire, and beautified many my of four millions, with her felf, utterly confumed in India, and all her armies and engins But her Son, having changed Nature and of war, at the same time lost, gave an occasion and Condition with his Mother, proved no and opportunity even to the poorest souls less feminine than she was masculine. And as and weakest hearted of the World, to re-

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and antientest Historians, that Arius the Son of mities incident, were but new, and therefore and Caspians, and again subjected them:

which needed not, if they had not been re- laomer, if he were King of Perfia alone, should which includes a large of the Winis and state of the World, as pass through fo great a part of the World, as that while Ninias or Amraphel ruled, the Af-Moses, as before remembred.

s. XIII.

That it is not unprobable that the four kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their Colonies planted themselves; and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if so, we need not Jay, that Amraphel was Ninias, nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.

fellows, were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are, or feem intituled; doth al-

the countries of Afgria Chaldea, Mesopotamia, or Ealaneus, otherwise Xerxes, reduce the rest Syria, and past of Arabia, and Canaan, to subrevolted, to their former obedience. Of due those five Towns, whose very names whom it is faid, that he conquered from Egypt how they should come to his ear, being difto India; and therefore was called Xerxes, joined by fo many great Naions of different ideft, victor & triumphator, A conqueror and Languages, a wife man could hardly conriumpher; which undertakings had been no jecture. And if all the Countries bordering other than the effects of madness, had not Persia together with the Balylonian himself, those Countries freed themselves from the realthe Kingdom of Ellasar and that of Tidal. Babylonian subjection. Now, if we shall make fo far off removed were become his depenany doubt thereof, that is, of the conquest of dences; what reason can we find that might Arms and Xerxes; both which lived after Ni- have induced him to hearken after Sodom nus and Ninias, we may as well think the rest and Gomorrab? and when he should have of Ninus and Semiramis to be but feined; fought the establishment of his new gotten but if we grant this conquest, then it is true, Empire, by rooting out the Posterity of Ninus (as Ninus had dealt by Pharnus of Media, firian Empire was torn alunder, according and Zoroafter of Battria) then to employ the to that which had been gathered out of forces of Amraphel, and those other Kings, against five petty Towns, leaving Tyrus and Sidon, and the great City Damasco, with many other places of much importance, and far neerer unto him, unsubdued? Now, as these doubts, which may be alleged against the first conquest of the vale of siddim, are excceding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his conquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea, and more, as being grounded upon the Text it felf. For first what madness had it been in that fmall Province, to rebel against fo powerfull a Monarch? Or if it were for that He consent of all Writers, whose works they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to have come to my perusal, agreeing as be forgotten, than that he should come or they do, that these four Kings, Amraphel send to reclaim them; was it not more than of Shinaar, Chedorlaomer of Elam, and their | madness in them, when his terrible Army approached, still to entertain hope of evalion; yea, to make resistance (being themselves a most inforce us to think, that the history must | dissolute, and therefore unwarlike people) so be understood, as I have delivered. But, if against the power of all the Nations between in this place, as often elsewhere in the Scri- Euphrates, yea, between themselves and the ptures, the names of Countries may be fet for River Indus? Likewife, on the part of Che-People of those Lands, or if (as Hierom hath | dorlaomer, we should find no great wisdom, it) Chedorlaomer was King of the Elamites, as | if he, knowing the weakness of this People, Tidal was faid to be of the Nations, that is, of had raised such a world of men against People, either wanting a fixed habitation, them: whom by any Lievtenant, with small or gathered out of fundry Regions; then forces, he might have subdued. For the permay we otherwise conceive of this History: petual inheritance of that little Countrey, removing thereby some difficulties, which was not sufficient to countervail one Months men, perhaps, have been unwilling to find, chargesof fo huge an Army. How fmall then because they could not find how to resolve must his valour have been, who with so them. For, as it had been a ftrange conje-mighty preparations effected no more than thure, to think that Arioch was drawn to after the walting of that Valley, wherein he left fift the Perfan against the Sodomite, as far as the Cities standing, taking no one of them from Powers, where it is very unlikely that but returned well contented with a few pri-Chedor Loner was known, and almost impossible, that the vale of siddim should have though he had broken their Army in the been once named: fo in true estimation, it is still Now, the Scriptures do not of this ina thing of great improbability, that Chedor- valion (hippofed fo great) make any fearfull

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matter, but the power equally matcht, faying they were four Kings of his Ancestors being by his sloth decayed, equany materie, aying the place be literally against five; yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find that Abraham slew constants or if this do not satisfie, we all these Kings; of which great flaughter no may say that Annaphel was an under king, or History makes mention: Neither will the Satrapa of Shinaar, under Ninias; who may reign of Ninias, who lived four or five years be supposed to have had his Imperial seat longer, permit that he should have died so in his fathers City, Ninive; and to have prefoon; neither would Histories have forgot-ferred it before Shinaar and Babylon the Citen the manner of his death, if he had so ty of his mother, whom he hated as an usurstrangely perished in Syria. Whereby it appears, that these four Kings were not the in a case not concerning any mans Salvation. fame that they are commonly thought; nor their forces to great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that thele Kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title; Lords and Commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a Colony, feeking place where to fettle himself and them, as was the usual manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that Chedorlaomer leading a troup of Persians, Amraphel fome people out of Shinaar, and Tidal others gathered out of fundry places, might confort action, or being a worthy mans Son, was together, and make the weakest of the Countrey which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first Book of Thucydides, with the manner of discoveries, conquests and plantations, in the infancy of Greece; or the manner of the Saracens invading Africa and Spain, with almost as many Kings as several Armies; or the proceedings of the Spaniards in their new discoveries, passages, and conquests in the West-Indies; may easily perceive, that it was neither unufual for the he find any that shall seem better than leaders of Colonies to receive title from the these. But of what countries or people so people whom they conducted; nor to make ever these four were Kings, this Expedition aliances together, and break them again, di- is the onely publick action that we know of sturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes | performed by Abraham. And as for other helping in pursuit of a conquest. That Amraphel and his affociates were such manner Sons, and of his Nephews, Esau and Jacob, as of Commanders, it may feem the more like- they are registred by Moses, because it is not ly, by the flothfull quality of Nimies then our purpole, either to ftand upon things gereigning in Afgria; whose unmanlike temper | nerally known to all Christians, nortore was such, as might well give occasion to such | peat what hath been else-where already undertaking spirits, as wanted the employ- spoken, nor to prevent our selves in things ments whereunto they were accustomed in that may hereafter in due place be rememthe reign of semiramis, rather to feek ad- bred, we pass them here in silence. And beventures abroad than to remain at home unregarded, whilst others, more unworthy than rity, there is much mention of Egypt: by themselves, were advanced. If the conthis place, make this conjecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authority whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may hold our felves to the former conjecture,

matter; but compose the two Armies as Amraphel was Ninias; and that the power per of his right. But, if it were possible that and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might erre; then can I think that the opinion, that those four Kings were Leaders of Colonies, fent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themselves, is most confonant, both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hereto add, that Chedorlaomer feems rather called a Persian King, than King of Persia: And that Arioch (whose Kingdom undoubtedly was between Syria and Arabia) having been a man of very well pleased to give passage and affistance to these Captains or petty Kings. These, and such like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost bestowed upon it; especially considering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Reader's pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if things belonging to this Story, and of his cause in the Story of Abraham and his Postewhich it appears, that even in the time of fent of the whole stream of Writers upon Abraham, it was a settled and flourishing Kingdom; it will not be amiss in the next place to speak somewhat of the Antiquities and first Kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt, from the first Peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the delivery of the Israelites from thence.

6. I.

A Brief of the names and times of the first Kings of Egypt; with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.

dom, till fuch time as Ifrael departed Egypt, are shewn in the Table following.

An. Mundi.	An. dil.	4
1847.	191.	Cham.
2008.	352.	Ofiris.
2269.	613.	Typhon 7
		Hercules.
2276.	620.	Orus.
2391.	735•	Sefostris the great.
2424.	768.	Sesostris the blind.
2438.	782.	Bustris, or Osiris the se-
		cond.
2476.	820.	Acenchere, or Thermutis,
		or Meris.
2488.	832.	Rathoris, or Athoris.
2497.	841.	Chencres drowned in the
ļ	1	Red Sea.

Augustine, a man of exceeding great judgefought into all Antiquities, and had read Herodotus, Diodorus, and such others. the Books of Varro, which now are loft, yet omitted the fuccession of the Egyptian kings, which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the sicyonians, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtless they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the Egyptian Story, war the ambition of the Priests; who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with

Oon after the confusion at Babel (as the names of many Kings that never reigned. it feems) Cham, with many of his if- What ground they had for these reports of fue and followers (having doubtless supposed Kings, it shall appear anon. Sure it known the fertility of Egypt before is, That the magnificent Works, and royal the Floud) came thither and took buildings in Egypt, fuch as are never found possession of the Countrey; in which they but in States that have greatly flourished, built many Cities; and began the Kingdom witness that their Princes were of marvelous one hundred ninety one years after the De-greatness, and that the reports of the Priests luge. The antient Governours of this King- were not altogether falle. A second cause of our ignorance in the Egyptian History, was the too much credulity of fome good Authours, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of fundry Egyptians, and publishing in their own names such as pleased them best, have confirmed them, and, as it were, inforced them upon us by their Authority. A third and general cause of more than Egyptian darkness in all antient Histories, is the Edition of many Authors, by John Annius, of whom (if to the censures of fundry very learned, I may add mine) I think thus; that Annius having feen some fragments of those Writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true Histories, where approved Writers confirm him; but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to pass, that the account of Authours, either in the The Table, and especially the Chronologie, Chronologie, or Genealogie of the Egyptian is to be confirmed by probabilities and con-Kings, runs three altogether different ways. jectures, because in such obscurity, manisest The Christian Writers, such as are antient, and restless truth cannot be found. For Saint for the most part, follow Eusebius: Many late Writers follow the Edition of Annius ment, and incomparable diligence, who had his Authours; The profane Histories follow

§. I I.

That by the account of the Egyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appears that Cham's reign in Egypt began in the year after the Floud, 191.

Oreconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the antient Kings about many leafings, and recounted unto strangers whom is most controversie, the best mean is by help of the Dynasties; of whose conti- And to this summ of 191. years, if we add nuance, there is little or no disagreement. the 161. years of the 15. first Dynasties, as The account of the Dynasties (besides the they are numbred in common account, we authority of approved Authors) hath this shall fall right with the year of Abraham's good ground, that it agreeth for the most birth, which was An. Dil. 352. And hereto part, if not altogether, with the Histories of omitting many other reasons, which might the Apprians, Trojans, Italians, &c. and others. be brought to prove that these first Dynaffies The beginning of the 16. Dynastie, is joined must needs have been very short, and not by general consent, with 43. year of Ninus; in which Abraham was born. The twelve first Dynasties lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve which were call'd the greater gods: fo that all the years of their continuance were 84. The 13. Dynastie endured 14. years; the fourteenth, 26. the fifteenth, 37. These three last, are said to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen first Dynasties lasted 161. years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of number of the long-lived generations bethese Dynasties, was such as hath been mentioned, because Annius in such wise limits out their time: fo I cannot reject the account upon this onely reason, that Annius hath it fo; confidering, that both hitherto, it hath passed as current, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas Eusebius placeth the beginning of the fixteenth trie erect fuch form of Policy, as had been Dynastie, in the year of Abraham's birth, as used in the same ere the Deluge; but such aforesaid, the reckoning is easily cast; by as the disposition of the people, the authoriwhich the summ of 161. years, which, ac- ty and power of the Conductor, together cording to our account, were spent in the with many other circumstances, did induce fifteen former, being subducted out of the fumm of 352. years, which were between the Floud and Abrabam's birth, shew that the beginning of the first Dynastie, which was the beginning of Chams reign in Egypt, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the fame may appear: For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of man-kind which came into Shinaar, arrived at Babel, Anno à Diluvio 131. In building the Tower were confumed 40.years, as Glycas recordeth; whose report I have elswhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That Cham was long in paffing with not certainly be warranted. For in relitutihis company, their Wives, Children, Cattel, ons of decayed Antiquities, it is more case and Substance through all Syria then deso- to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, late, and full of Boggs, Forests, and Bryers partly upon good circumstance, partly up-(which the Deluge, and want of culture, in on the furest proof, That it was the manner one hundred seventy one years had brought of the Egyptian Kings, to put the Governupon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To ment of the Country into the hands of some this his passage therefore, and the seating of trusty Counsellor, onely reserving the Sove himself in Egypt, we allow twenty years; and raignty to themselves, as the old Kings of these summs being added together, to wit, France were wont to the Masters of the Pa one hundred thirty one years after the lace, and as the Turk doth to the chief Vifer, Floud, before they arrive at Babel, fourty | This is confirmed, first, by the number of years for their stay there, and twenty for the Dynasties, whereof many are under Cham, Cham's passage into Egypt, and settling there, and more than one under Ofiris, or Mires aim; make up the summ of 191. years; at which and must therefore have been successions,

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containing in the whole funim of their feveral times above 161. years; Let it suffice. that had they lasted longer, then either must Egypt have been peopled as foon as Babel after the Floud, or the Dynasties (as Mercator thinks) must have been before the Floud. That the arival at Babel, was many years before the plantation of Egypt after the Floud, enough hath been faid to prove; and that the Dynasties were not before the Floud the tween Adam and the Floud, which was less than the number of the Dynasties, may sufficiently witness. Or, if we will think, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many Dynasties, then may this have been as well after the Floud, as before; considering that the Sons of Noah did not in every Counor enforce them to.

6. III.

That these Dynasties were not divers Families of Kings, but rather Successions of Regents, oft-times many under one King.

He short continuance of the Dynasties, doth shew that they were not several races of kings, as the vaunting Egyptians were wont to stile them. What they were, it cantime we find that Cham began his reign in not of Kings, but rather of Counfellours, Egypt, in the beginning of the first Dynastie. and Regents. Secondly, by custom of such

Philistim, in his dealing with Abraham and Isaac about confederation, did nothing without Phicol. Captain of his Hoft; though in taking Abraham's Wife, and in his private carriage, not be the son of Jerubbaal? and Zebul is his Almer the Captain of the Hoft. Yea, David punish him in regard of his greatness, which was such, as was feared even of Hadad the Scriptures: therefore likely, both by his will To. Land of Egypt. William Archbishop of Tyre, the Crown had passed by election, then about the year of our Lord, should Pharaoh's children hereby, either while who have been intralled amongst the rest of the large, affirms have been intralled amongst the rest of the 10.00 to that the like, or very same, form of Govern-people, to the next successor: or enjoying subjects unto the Caliphe; who residing in a the antient King. most magnificent Palace in Cairo, did commit the charge, not onely of civil Government, but the power of making Warr and Peace, with the whole Office and Authority royal, into the soldans hands. He that shall read in William of Tyre, the state of the Caliphe, or Meulene Edhadech, with the form of the antient Pharaoh, ruling by a Lievtenant, inferiour in Wisdom.

importance; and royal managing of the State | Cham; for this Saturnus Ægyptius was Cham:

Princes borderers to Egypt, as are mentioned | had passed, whilest that the King himself. in the Scriptures, of whom Abimelech the intending his quiet, had given his Office to another. How frangers have mistaken in this kind, the example already cited of Joseph's brethren, doth sufficiently witness. The reports of Priests do appear in Diodohe followed his own pleasure. Likewise of rus, and Herodotus; each of whom, citing Abimelech, the Son of Gideon, it was faid: L their relations, as good Authority, lay; Diodorus and Sefostris was the nineteenth King Officer? Also Ishbosheth, the Son of Saul, feared after Menas; Herodotus, that he was the 332. after Menas; which could not have been if himself hating Joab for his cruelty, did not Menas had been Adam. Therefore we may well conclude, That the Dynasties were not fo many Races of Kings, but fuccessions of Edomite, living then in Egypt. Thirdly, this Regents, appointed by the Kings of somany is confirmed by the temper and disposition stundry Linages or forts of men. Now, by of Cham, who was lewd, as appears by the whatfoever means a Dynastie, or Regencie continued; whether in one Family, as beown idleness and pleasure, to have laid the ing made an hereditary Office; or in one burthen of the Government upon others; order of men, as held by faction: fure it is; and upon jealousie, the companion of un- that was the Kings gift and free choice, that worthiness, to have changed his Lievtenants | gave the Office. But the Crown royal always often. Above all other proofs is the advance- passed by descent, and not by election; ment of Joseph by Pharaoh. For Pharaoh said which (besides consent of Authours) the to Joseph; Onely in the Kings Throne will I be Scriptures also prove. For whereas Joseph above thee : behold, I have fet thee over all the bought all the Land of Egypt for Pharaoh, if ment by Viceroys, was in his time practifed in their fathers Land, though not his Estate. Egypt, having there been in use (as he be- have been more mighty than the King: as lieved) ever fince the time of Joseph. He Land-lords of all Egypt, and the King him plainly shews, that the soldans of Egypt were self their Tenant. Likewise we find in not Lords of the Countrey, however they Exod. 12. that God smote the first-born of have been so deem'd; but that they acknow- Pharaoh, that was to sit on his Throne. And ledg'd and humbly performed the duty of in Efay, it is said of Pharaoh, I am the son of E/a. 19.

s. IV.

of Cham, and his son Mizraim, or Ofiris.

T Hat the fuccession of Kings began, and continued in such wife as the Table hath Pla 78 st sheweth from Cham to Chencres, now it fol- 105. 23. his Court, shall plainly behold the Image of loweth to shew. Egypt is called in the Scri- 27. pture the Land of Ham. That this name is 106, 18, as great in authority as Joseph was, though far | not given to it, because the Posterity of Cham did reign there, but for that himfelf To think that many names of fuch Re- | did first plant it, we may gather by many gents, or Lievtenants, as Joseph was, have crept circumstances. For I think it is no where into the List of the Egyptian Kings, were no found, that the Countries of Chush, Put, or Castrange imagination. For Joseph's brethren naan, as well as Egypt, were called the Land call him, The man that is Lord of the Land, of Ham. Further, it is found in Diodorus and the Lord of the Countrie; befides, it is not | Siculus, that Ofiris calleth himself the eldest unlikely, that the vain-glorious Egyptian Son of Cham, faying, Mihi pater Saturnus L. I. Priests would as easily report him a King to deorum omnium junior: also, Sum Saturni siliposterity, as ignorant men & strangers deem us antiquior germen ex pulchro & generoso orhim such, under whose hand all dispatches of | tum; which must needs be understood of

as it is faid, that on the Monument of Ninus was an Inscription, wherin Cham was called Saturnus Egyptius. Likewise the Temple of of the time when Osiris reign ended; and that Hammon, not farr from Egypt, doth testifie, that Ham refided in those parts: And S. Hierom, in quastionibus Hebraicis, faith, that the Egyptians themselves did in his days, call their Countrey Ham; as in four several places in the Psalms this Countrey is called the Land of Cham. And Ortelius, noting out of Plutarch in Ofiride, that in the facrifices of the Egyptians this Countrey of Egypt was called Chemia, expounds it for Chamia, ut puto (faith he) à Chamo Noes filio, to which also he addeth out of Isidore Agyptum usque hodie Ægyptiorum lingua Kam vocari; that Egypt ended his Egyptian Wars, left the Kingdom unto this day in the tongue of the Egyptians is to Orus. Thus farr Berofus, or Authours folcalled Kam. For the beginning and con- lowing Berosus. That Orus, last of all the tinuance of Cham's reign, the same reasons gods (as they were stilled) held the Kingmay suffice to be alleged, which I have alry of Osiris, Orus, and Sesostris. Resneccius in ty in this case, affirmeth that Egypt is now called by the naturals in their own language, Mezre. Neither do I see cause of doubt whereign at the birth of Abraham, when the Dynaltie of the Thebæi began, it appeareth, first, by the authority of Eusebins, who avoucheth as much; next, by Diodorus, who faith, that he inhabited Thebes; which habitation Dynastie, I can well believe; affenting so farr to Reineccius, who thinks the Dynasties were named onely, according to the feveral feats of the Kings.

§. V.

Jacob came into Egypt in the time of Orus the Son of Ofiris.

THe death of Ofris, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The onely conjecture that I know is made thus: Lehabim the Son of Mizraim, called Hercules Lybius, made war in Italy, to revenge his fathers death on the affociates of Typhon, in the 41. year of Baleus King of Assyria; before which year he had made many great wars in Egypt, Phanicia, Tygris, Phrygia, Crete, Lybia, & Spain; and having dom of Isis, Diodorus Siculus plainly faith. Did in ready given in proof of the time spent in and Plutarch as much, to which all Histories Plus like the 15. first Dynasties: Neither is it strange, agree. Krentzhemius hereupon inferrs, that 160 e that the reign of Cham should last so long six years may be allowed to the Wars, which as 161. years; considering that sem lived Hercules made in so many countries, after the 600, Arphachshad and Shelah each above Egyptian Wars were ended: so should the 400. But strange it had been, it one saltis death of Ofiris have been the 24. of Baleus, created by Manetho. had in those long-lived when himself had reigned 297. years. I think generations reigned there 19. years, and that Krentzhemius was a greater Scholar with Baon, Apachnas, Apochis, and others of than Souldier. For furely, in those days, when the same brood, obscured the same and glo-commerce was not such as now, but all Navigation made by coasting, a farr longer time Histor. Julia, placeth Mizraim next, other- would have been required, to the subduing wife calledoffris, according to Diodorus; who, of so many Countries. An allowance of more faith he, was the Son of Hammon: Krentzhe- time, though it would alter his computation, mine faith, that Mizraim and Ofiris, are words yet would it well agree with his intent; of neer affinity and found in the Hebrew which was (doubtless) to find the truth. If tongue. Howfoever it be, we know that according to his account the death of Ofiris Mizraim the Son of Cham, was Lord of had been the 34. of Baleus, then must Ifrael Egypt, and Reineccius, citing good authori- have come into Egypt but 7. years before the death of Ofiris; and have lived there in the reign of Typhon: A thing not eafily believed. For it was the same King who advanced for ther Ofiris were the same with Mizraim. It is feph, bad him send for his father, and gave him more necessary, and hard to shew manifest- leave to go into Canaan, to the performance ly, how long Mizraim, or Ofiris, reigned. For of his fathers Funeral; as may eafily be gawhereas the year of his death is no where thered out of the Book of Genesis. Whereas precifely fet down, we must be fain to fol- therefore the reign of Ofiris cannot be exlow probabilities. That he is not vainly faid tended by any possible allowance in account by Annius his Berosus, to have begun his of times, beyond the 7. year of Israel's coming into Egypt, we must needs cut off 23. years from that number, which Krentzhemius conjectures his reign to have continued; namely, feven which he should have lived after Jacob's coming into Egypt; nine, in which Joof Osiris there, that it might be cause of that sept had there flourished, ere his fathers coming; and other feven in which Typhon and Hercules had reigned after the death of

Osiris, yet before Joseph's advancement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of Hercules Lybius his Wars. For the War which

well give not only fix years, as Krentzhemius | able to the holy Text. doth, but 23. more to fo many Wars, in fo many, and so farr distant countries, as are named before; yea, by this proportion, we may attribute unto Orus the 13. years, which paffed between the time of Joseph's being fold into Egypt, unto his advancement, confidering that Potiphar, who bought him and whose daughter he may feem to have married, continued all that while chief Steward unto Pharaoh; a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had hapned the whilest in Egypt, needs have brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old Authour, I should conginning of his reign, made his chief Steward; at which time, buying Joseph, and finding his estate into Joseph's hands, than unto any of his Egyptian followers (many of whom he had found either falf-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troubleforn days of Typhon) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps, I might proceed further, and fay, That when the faying of Joseph pleased Pharaob, and all his fervants; then Potiphar. Priest of On, being chief Officer to Pharaoh. did acknowledg in Joseph the antient graces of God, and his injurious imprisonment: whereupon he gave him his Daughter to Wife; and being old, refigned his Office of regard of Potiphar, did favour the Priefts, when he bought the Lands of all other not unlike the Friarly book of Asenath, Potiphar's Daughter; but, unto fuch as confider that God works usually by means; and that Potiphar was the Steward of that King, under whom Jacob died ; it would feem a matter more probable, had it an Author of fuf-Wars of Hercules, in which, by this reckoning, he should have spent 42. years after he left Egypt, ere he began in Italy, it is a circumstance which (the length of his Italian Wars consiered, and his former enterprises and atchievments proportioned to them) doth not against us, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the indisputable truth of Scripture do confirm it. Nevertheless, I freely grant, that all these proofs are no other, than such as

Hercules made in Italy, is faid to have indured | agreeing, nor to be reconciled in fuch obscuten years: After which proportion, we may rity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answer-

§. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, and the two Sefostres, successively reigning after Mizraim; and of divers Errors about the former Seloftres.

Oncerning the reign of Typhon, and of Hercules I find none that precifely doth define how long either of them continued. as the tyrannous usurpation of Typhon must Daniel Angelocrator giveth three years to Typhon, omitting Hercules. But he is fo peremptory without proof, as if his own word fidently say, that Potiphar, for his faithfulness were sufficient authority, in many points veto Orus the Son of Osiris, was by him, in the be- ry questionable; alleging no witness, but as it were, saying, Teste me roso; yet herein we may think him to speak probably, for as much as him a just man, and one under whose hand the leaned Krentzhemius affirmeth, that Herall things did prosper, he rather committed cules did very soon undertake his fathers revenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leaving Egypt to his brother he followed other Warrs in the same quarrel, as hath been shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as Krentzhemius doth) out of Berosus, that Hercules reigned after Typhon; yet, feeing Aventinus, a follower of Berofus, hath it fo, I will also believe it. That in the reign of Typhon and Hercules, 7. years were fpent, howfoever divided between them, I gather out of Krentzhemius onely, who placeth the beginning of Orus feven years after the death of Ofiris; forgetting to chief Steward unto him, who afterward, in | fet down his reasons, which in a matter so probable, I think he wanted not. Now, whereas he alloweth 90. years of the 18. Dynastie Egyptians. This might appear to some a tale to Osiris, Typhon, Hercules, and Orus; it seems that the reign of Orus lasted 115. years. From the death of Orns, to the departure of Ifrael out of Egypt, there passed 122. years by our account; who (according to Beroaldus and others) think that Abraham was born in the 130. year of Terah, and thereupon reckon ficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the thus: From the end of the Floud to the birth of Abraham 75

From that Svocation of Abraham time to the departure out of Egypt

which fumm divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out make against us, but for us: or, if it were of Fgypt, there do remain (as is aforesaid) onely 122. years from the death of Orus; we are now to confider, how many of them are to be allowed uno selostris, or sesonchosis, who is placed next unto orws, by authority of the Scholiastes Apollonii not without good may be gathered out of Authours, not well probability. For this great King or Conquerour,

CHAP. II.

have over-run a great part of Alia; to have built a fleet of Ships on the Red Sea: and so to have entred into India: likewise with another fleet on the middle Earth Seas, to have passed into Europe, and subdued many Nations. This is he (as Reineccius judgeth) whom Justine, erring in account of his time, callerh Vexoris; For Justine placeth Vexoris in Ages before Ninus; whereby it would follow that that many Nations had acknowledged his selftris, if he were Vexoris, was more antient power, and submitted themseves to his will then was Ofiris (otherwise Mizraim) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of Israel out of Egypt, no one Pharaoh came into the land of Canaan (which lieth in the way from Egypt into Asia) till the father-in-law of Solomon, Pharaoh Vanhres. took Gerar, and gave it to his Daughter (as we may read more at large in the holy Hiftory of the Bible) after which time, Sefac oppressed Rehoboam, and Necho sought passage through the Land of Ifrael, when he made his Expedition against the Chaldeans. Of King Vaphres, and Necho, it is out of question, that neither of them was the great King Scfoftris. Of Sefac, it is doubted by some, for as much as rodotus attributes to his affaulting the River he came into Judea with a great Army. Reineccius propounding the doubt, leaveth it having likewisc heard, yet reports as a fable, undecided; unless it be sufficient proof of saying, that perhaps he took the disease nahis own opinion, that he himself placeth sefostris next to Orus, following the Scoliastes Apollonii. But further answer may be made, to shew that they were not one. For, as Justine witnesseth, sefostris, otherwise Vexoris, made War on people far removed, abstaining from his neighbours. Sefac came up purposely a- firis began not untill these 14. years at least gainst Hiernfalem. Sesoftris, as Diodorns wit- were expired, the very account of time from nesseth, had but 24000. Horse, Sesac had the first Ensiris, to the departure of Israel out 60000. Sesostris had 8020. Chariots, Sesac of Egypt, plainly shews, being almost general 1200. Sefostris made his Expedition for no ly agreed upon, to have been 75. years. That private purpose, but to get a great name : se- none came between sesoftris the second, and Jac, as most agree, had no other purpose than Busiris, or Orns the second, it stands onely up to succour feroboam, and give him counte- on probabilities, which are these: After senance in his new reign; whom he had fa- foftris had reigned fome while, he fell blind; voured even against solomon: therefore after certain years, he recovered his fight, as Sesostris must needs have reigned whilest 15- is said, which may have been true, but is rael abode in Egypt.

Menis, was next to Orus, because those Histo- on a woman, or washing his eyes with her rians affirm that he reigned next after the water, who had onely known her own hufgods; it moveth me nothing. For Ofiris did band, he got his fight again. As the time of fucceed those fifteen gods; namely, the twelve greater, and three leffer; himfelf also (as the learned Reineccius noteth) being called Menas. Which name, as also Menaus, and Menis, were titles of Dignity; though miftaken by fome, as proper names. Krentzhemins doth very probably gather, that Menus was Mercurius Ter-maximus, the Hebrew

querour, is by many Histories recorded to word Meni fignifying an Arithmetician; attributed to Ofiris, who was a great Conqueror, Philosopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts. In prowess and great undertakings, sefoftris was no whit inferiour to ofris . For he fought victory not for gain, but honour onely; and being well contented, ner to their liberty, returned into Egypt. Soon upon his return, he was endangered by a great Treason, the house in which he was, being by his own brother purpofely fired; which nevertheles, he is faid to have estap'd, and to have reigned in all 20. years; after web time, he chose rather to die than to live; because he fell blind. Both Herodotus and Diodorus affirm, that Sefofiris left a Son, whose name was Pheron, or Pherones; who afterwards took the name of Sesostris, but was nothing like to his father in glory; for he shortly fell blind. The cause of his blindnes, He-Nilus with a Javelin; which tale Diodorus turally from his father. How long this man reigned, it is no where expressed; yet, for as much as Orus the fecond (otherwise Busins) who succeeded him, began 14. years after that this sefoftris had been King, it must needsbe that this reigned 14. years at least. That Eumore like to have been a Fable; surely the Whereas Krentzhemins collecteth out of manner of his recovery, as it is fet down, is Herodotus, and Diodorus, that one Menas, or very fabulous; namely, that by looking up his reign, before his blindness, and whenhe was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14. years: so his works, which were great, do much more strongly argue, that his reign was not very fhort. His works are largely fet down by Herodotus and Diodorus; a part of which may feem to have been the finishing of that

which his father had begun, about the chan- | blindness of sefostris the second, how great nels and fluces of Nilus; whom, I think, the power of the Regents or Vice-roys in Egypt his eye-fight and his peoples love; whom his father had very bufily employed in excessive labour about it.

6. VII.

of Busiris, the first oppressor of the Israelites; and of his successour, Queen Thermutis that took up Moles out of the Water.

And herein (if I may presume to conjecture) Business, who was afterwards King, is like to have dealt with him, as Feroboam did with the Son of Solomon. For that Busiris works, it well appeared by the drudgery ployed by the great Sefostris, as Feroboam was by solomon, in the overfight of those bufinefles, he had good opportunity to work his greatness with the King by industry; and afterward with the people, by incensing them against their new King, as Jeroboam works from the Egyptians to the Israelites: was very plaufible; who (as appears in Exodus) were nothing flack in fulfilling the Busiris, was the King that first oppressed Ifrael, and made the Edict of drowning the Hebrew children, which (faith Cedrenus) last-Busiris sacrificing strangers. It is also a comnew Family, Reineccius doth shew; who alfo thinks him an Author of the bloudy Edict. Nevertheless, true it is, that Busiris, according to all mens computation, began his reign five years after the birth of Moses; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more, that the perfecution began; which Bunting thinks to have

he rather frighted (as his father had done) was; and how great confidence the King did he ratio in them. feeing Joseph ruled with fuch and Javelins; and by his diligent over-fight full power, that he bought all Egypt, and of that work, was like enough to lose both all the Egyptians for bread; giving at the fame time, the best of the Land to his own father and brethen for nothing; feeing also that when the Egyptians cried out upon Pharaoh for bread, Pharaoh faid to all the Egre ptians, Go to Joseph, what he faith to you, do ye. If to a stranger born, lately fetcht out of prifon, a King well able to have governed himfelf, would give such trust, and soveraign authority; it is not unlikely that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not onely the good (fuch as Joseph was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore, perhaps, the King did (as himself was much addicted to magnificent many have done)refign his Kingdom to him. though his reign was not accounted to have wherewith he wearied the children of Ifrael | begun till the death of sefoftris. But whein his buildings: If therefore he were em- ther Businis did usurp the Kingdom, or protection of the Land by violence; or whether the blind King refigned it, keeping the Title ; or whether Busiris were onely Regent whilest the King lived, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all)King himfelf; it might well be faid that Pharaoh's Daughter took did. For what the multitude will endure at | up Moses, and that Pharaoh vexed Israel; one Princes hands, they will not at anothers; feeing he both at that time was King in efunless he have either an equal spirit, or a fect, and shorty after, King in deed and title furer foundation. If moreover he fought to both. It were not abfurd for us to fay, that derive all the pain and labour of publick the blind King Sefoftris the second oppressed Ifrael: But, for as much as it may feem that the he surely did that to his own people which wicked Tyrant shewed his evil nature, even when he first arose; I think it more likely, that Busiris did it, using at first the power of Kings cruelty. Now, that Orus the second, or a King, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122. years which passed between the beginning of Sefostris his reign, and the departure of Ifrael out of Egypt, 47. being spent; ed ten Moneths: it is a common opinion of the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to many great and most learned Writers; who Businis, or Orus the second, and his children. also think that hereupon grew the Fable of Busins himself reigned 30. years, according to Eusebius; whom very many judicious Aumon interpretation of that place, Exed. 1. | thours herein approve. After him his daughthat the King who knew not Joseph, was a ter, who took Moses out of the Water, is said, King of a new Family. That Bustris was of a | by all that I have read, to have reigned 12. years. Her name was Thermutis Pharis, or Muthis, according to Cedrenus: Eusebius calls her Acencris; and out of Artabanus his History, Meris: Joseph calls her both Acenchre, and Thermutis. Epiphanius in Panario, faith that she was honoured afterward of the Egyptians, by the name of Thermutis the Daughter of Amenoph, the Son of Pharaoh. lasted 87. yesrs, ere the departure out of Of this last title question might be made, and Egppt. Let us therefore confider, besides the much spoken; for the Scriptures call her not

rodotus, Diodorus, and the antient Historians, Julia. name the Son of Sefostris, Pheron. Perhaps his name was Pharaoh Amenophis; and his Daughter by the Fgaptians called rather the Neece or Grand-child, than the Daughter of Pharaoh because of the glory of Sefostris and the dif-reputation of his Son. If so, and if that Busiris, or Orus the second, marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our con- Agyptus or Ramesses, Danaus or Armeus, exjecture strengthened, and then was she both Daughter, Grand-child, and Wife unto Pharaoh; and furviving him, Queen of the Land, 12. years. But if the were Daughter of Orus the second, and lifter of Athoris, or Rathoris, as many think, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seem, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queen Thermutis; and what King it was, under whom Moses was born; and who it was that perifhed in the

CHe had two brethren; the one was Ra- Armens and Ramesses, was equally distant thoris, or Athoris, who succeeded her; from Business, or Orus the second, with Cherres the other Telegonus, who is onely named by the Grand-child of Chencres. And that the Eusebius; but his linage and off-spring de- Posterity of Telegonus did marry very young, feribed by Reineceius. Rathoris, after his it appears by the Hiltory of these two brefifters death, reigned nine years; after whom thren, Danaus and Egyptus; of whom the Chencres, thought to be his Son, reigned ten former had fifty Daughters, the latter years and then perished in the Red Sea. Du- lifty Sons; perhaps, or rather questionless, ring the reign of Chencres, Enfebius faith, by divers women; yet furely they began to that Telegonus begat Fpaphus upon Io; of | beget children in their first youth: Howsowhich History elsewhere he reporteth other- ever it were, the general consent of Writers wife. After the death of Chencres (whom is, that Armeus, or Danaus, did succeed Cherreigned 8. years; and then Cherres 15. This Ramesses followed, who reigned 68. years. descent seems from Father to Son. In the This Ramesses, or Agyptus, is that Armess

Pharaoh's Son's Daughter, but Pharaoh's Armais: these two Kings are by Eusebins and Daughter. Amenophis indeed, is set next be- others, accounted as one, and his reign said fore Buffris, or Orus the second, by Eusebius to have been five years. His name is called and others; but whether he were a King, or Armeus, otherwise Danaus; and his Pedionely a Regent, I cannot conjecture. For He- gree thus described by Remercius in Histor.

> Telegonus : Epaphus: Lybia, who had Agenor, Belus, and Busiris.

who gave name to the Country, having expell'd his brother Danaus, reigned, and begat Lynceus, married to Hypermine-

pelled by his brother Ægyptus, after he had reigned five years, became King of Argos in Greece: was father to Hrpermnestra,

How it might come to pass, that the Nephews Sons of Epaphus should have occupied the Kingdom after Cherres, it is hard to fay; confidering that Epaphus himfelf is reported by Eusebius, to have been born in the time of Chencres. But for as much as the History of Epaphus his birth, is diverfly related by Eusebius, it may suffice, that Belus the father of Danaus and Egyptus, otherwise called fome call Acencheres, but all, or most do stile res; and (according to Ensebins, and good 3εόμαχ®, a fighter against God) Acherres Authours approving him)reigned five years. 11. year of Cherres, it is faid by Eusebius, that miamum, or Armesesmiamus, under whom, in Epaphus reigning in the lower part of Egypt, the opinion of Mercator, and of Bunting that built Memphis. This is an argument of that follows Mercator, Moses was born; and the which otherwise was not unlikely; viz. That cruel Edict made of drowning the Hebrew Egypt was greatly brought out of order by children. The length of his reign feems to the plagues which God had laid upon it, and me the chief, if not the only ground of Merthe destruction of her King and Army in the cator's opinion. For, whereas the Lord said Red Sea; else could it not have had two to Moses, Go, return to Egypt, for they are all reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, dead which went about to kill thee: Mercator or his Posterity, seems to have taken all from hereupon conceives, that it was one and the Cherres, the Grand-child of Cheneres. For fame King under whom Moses was born, and whereas Armais is faid to have reigned four under whom he flew the Egyptian at the 40. years after Cherres; and Armesis one after year of his age; and fled into the wildernefs, and there abode for fear: all which Learning and Industry; and one to whom dox, than a common Errour, he placeth other Writers agree, that Chencres was King, an Age 112. or 113 years, more antient children, than of one King alone. Thirdly, than others left him in : and so continuing S. Cyril in his first Book against Julian the the Catalogue of his Successours from The- Apostate, saith, that Dardanus built Dardania, of each mans reign, than is the difference be- Egypt. Atter Ramesses, Amenophis reigned tween Manetho and Eusebius, he finds Moses 19. years; who is thought by Mercator, and born under Armesesmiamum, and Israel deli- peremptorily by Bunting pronounced, to be very name of Alisfragmuthofis feems to him which our Opinion being alread laid open rates, of which name one was thought to enfuing to their own times (which a Chronohave flourished, either as a King, or a logical Table shall lay open) and here to which the Mild fragmuthofis to Phragmuthofis, or Phararates, the change is not the standard with the confideragreat. Mercator was a man of excellent lightly over-pass.

circumstances could agree with none, but the World is bound for his many notable this Raniesses, who reigned so long; where- Works: yet my aftent herein is with-held fore, desir ous rather to hold a true Para- from him by these Reasons. First, I see all one Alisfragmuthosis (whose name is found in the Lift of Egyptian Kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in better be understood of Ensiris, and all his moss (whom Eusebius calls Amasis) down- when Moses was 120. years old, which was wards, with no other variation of the length this Armesesmiamum, being then King of vered in the days of his Son Amenophis. The the King that perished in the Red Sea; of with little alteration to found like Phara- I think it most expedient to referr the Kings wise Man, about the time of Isaac. For (faith speak of that great deliverance of Israel out



CHAP. III. Of the delivery of Israel out of Egypt.

Of the time of Moses Birth, and how long the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt.

time of Moses his Birth, who in Egypt. very near as many, as the men that have writ- King ruled Argos. ten of that Argument.

Moses lived in the time of Semiramis : But, tient, proving it by many arguments. if he did mean the first semiramis, it was but | Fifthly, he setteth down the testimony of rerum natura.

Rue it is, that the History it | Appion, taken from Ptolemy, a Priest of Menfelf is generally and well des, who faith, that Moses was born while known; yet concerning the Inachus did rule the Argives, and Amelies

was the excellent and famous The third Opinion is taken out of Pole-Instrument of this, and other great Works mon, in his Greek History, the first Book; of the Highest, the different opinions are that Moses was born while Apis the third

A fourth is borrowed from Tatianus Affy-L. Vives, in his Annotations upon S. An- rius, who, though he cite some Authorities, gustine, cites very many of their conjectures: that Moses lived after the Trojan war, is himas that of Porphyrie out of Sanchoniato, that felf of opinion, that Mofes was farr more an-

a fond conceit; for befides that the same is Numinius the Philosopher, who took Mucontrary to all Stories, divine and humane; few and Moses to be one; confirming the while that Semiramis lived, the commanded same out of Artapanas, who confesset that Spria, and all the parts the parts thereof ab- Moses was called Minsaus by the Grecians; folutely; neither were the Ammoniter, or and who farther delivereth, that he was ad-Modbites, or Edomites, while she ruled, in opted by Chenephis, or Thermutis, the Daughter of Egypt; the same which Eupolemus cal-A second Opinion he remembreth out of leth Meris; others (as Rabanus Maurus) Thermothes:

Thermothes. Eufebius also affirmeth, that by | ginning some eight or nine years before the Eupolemus, in his first Book, de Bono, Moses, birth of Moses, and fifty four years, or rather vir Deo conjunctifimus, is called Museus more, after Joseph; between whose death. Judeorum. Eusebius, in his Chronologie, finds and the birth of Moses, there were consumed Enfeb. de that Moles was born while Amenophis ruled fixty four years, some of which time, and prop. E. Egypt. The antient Manethon calls that Pha- eighty years after, they lived in great ferviraph, which lived at Moses birth, Thumosis, tude and misery. For, as it is written in Exo-End or Throofis: the same, perchance, which Ap- dus: They set task-masters over them, to keep pion the Grammarian will have to be Amo- them under with burthens; and they built the fis, and elle-where Amenophis, the father Cities. Pithom and Rameles, &c. And by cruof Sethofis: to whom Lyfimachus, and Cor- elty, they canfed the children of Ifrael to ferve. neliu; Tacitus, gave the name of Eocchoris. and made them weary of their lives, by fore To me it feems most probable, that while labour in Clay and Brick, and in all work of the Saphrus, called also spherus, or Iphereus, go- field, with all manner of bondage. All which laid verned Affyria; Orthopolis, Sicyonia; and upon them by a maftering power, and ftrong Criasus the Argives; that then (sesostris the hand, they endured to the time by the wifsecond ruling in Egypt) Moses was born. dome of God appointed; even from fifty For, if we believe Saint Augustine, it was four years, or not much more, after the about the end of Cecrops time, that Moses death of Joseph, who left the World when when it had lasted 2370, to the eightiest and the when it had lasted 2370, to the eightiest and the whole the state of 2460, and 2370 when the state of 2460 whe Angl. 10. gypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecro- year of Moses, and untill he wrought his civii. Dei pis Atheniensium Regis; Moses (saith he) led miracles in the field of Zoan, which he of Cecrops time, King of the Athenians. In wards the end thereof, according to Codothis fort therefore is the time of Moses birth, | man, or after our account, 2513. And beand of his departure out of Egppt best pro- cause those things which we deliver of Eved Saint Augustine affirms (as before re- gypt, may the better be understood, I think membred) that Moses was born, Saphrus it necessary to speak a few words of the governing Affyria; and that he left Egypt | principal place therein named in this Difabout the end of Cecrops time. Now, Sa- course. phrus ruled twenty years; his fuccessour Mamelus thirty years; Sparetus after him fourty years: in whose fourth year Cecrops began to govern in Attica: Ascatades followed sparetus, and held the Empire one and fourty years. So as Moses being born while Saphrus ruled Affyria; Orthopolis Sicyonia, and Criasus Argos (for these three Kings lived at once at his birth, faith Saint the fourty years of sparetus, these make se- same, wherein Hieremy the Prophet was stoventy one, with which there were wasted ned to death, for preaching against the Ethree years of Cecrops his fifty years: then gyptian and Jewish Idolatry. take nine years out of the reign of Ascatades, Zoan, or Taplines, was, in Moses time, the who was sparetus successor, those nine years Metropolis of the lower Egypt, in which their added to feventy one, make eighty, at which | Fharaohs then commonly refided; and not age Moses lest Egypt; and add these nine unlikely to be the same City, where Abra-Cecrops his fifty, and so it falleth right with read Astronomy in Heliopolis, or On, to Pho-S. Augustine's words, affirming, that towards retates King of Egypt. Alex. Polyhistor, out of people of Ifrael out of Egypt.

the people of God out of Egypt, about the end performed in the Worlds age 2514. to 254

§. II.

Of divers Cities and Places in Egypt, mentioned in this Story, or elfe-where in the Scriptures.

His City, which the Hebrews call Zoan, was built feven years after Hebron. E-Augustine, as Cecrops did when he departed zekiel calleth it Taphnes, and so doth Hiere-Egypt) it will follow that the birth of Moses | my, the Septuagint, Tanais, Josephus Protaidin, Hand was in the nineteenth year of the Affyrian after the name of an Egyptian Queen; An- 14 Saphrus; for take one yeare remaining of tonius gives it the name of Thank; Hightwenty (for so long saphrus reigned) to pus, Thamna; and William Tyrius, Tapius, It 7112 which add the thirty years of Mamelus, and adjoyneth to the Land of Gosen, and is the

years to the three years of Cecrops formerly ham in his time found him. But Enfebius out fpent, there will remain but four years of of Artapanus affirmeth, that Abraham did the end of Cecrops his time, Moses led the Enpolemus, hath it otherwise, saying, that A bruham instructed the Egyptian Priests, and Now, the time in which the Hebrews were not the King; both which authorities Est oppressed in Egypt, seemeth to have had be- febius citeth. The Septuagint and the Vulgar Cities of that name; the one on the fronier anticipation, because it was so called in of the lower Egypt, toward the South, the the future. other fomewhat lower on the Eafter-most branch of Nilus, falling into the Sea at Pe- write it) is the same which the Hebrews call 17. lufum. And it may be, that Heliopolis, to Pibefeth. the South of the River Trojan, was the same which Vatablus and our English call Aven. on of Egypt.

bred by Esay and Exechiel, the same which Hosea the Prophet calleth Moph; which later name it took from a Mountain adjoining, fo called; which Mountain Herodotus remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called Memphis; and so the Septuagint write it. It is known to the Arabians by the name of Mazar. The Chaldwans name it Alchabyr ;

and Tudalensis Mizraim.

Pelusum, which Vatablus, Pagnin, Junius, Lear, and our English, write Sin; the Septuagint they decreased not in numbers: in so much olim dieta est Pelusium; Belbeis that in times on of the Devil, resolved to slaughter all past was called Pelusium.

Blade Edition, for Zoan, write Heliopolis. Pagnin, The City of No, the Septuagint call Diof Faceto 30. Tatablus, Junius, and our English call it polis. Of which name there are two or three 15, 16. on; and Ptolemie, Onium. There are two in Egypt. Hierom converts it Alexandria, by

Enhaftus (for fo Hierome and Zeigler do Egel, 32.

To make the Story more perceivable, I have added a Description of the Land of Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures Gofen, in which the Ifralites inhabited; with take certain knowledge; the same which those Cities and places so often remembred Pomp. Alela and Plinie call Solis oppidum; in the Scripture: as of Taphnes, or Zoan, He-Trius in the Holy Warr, Malbee; the Arabi- liopolis, or Bethfemes, Balfephon, Succoth, " ans, Babalbeth; and Simeon Sethi, Fons Solis. and the reft; together with Mofes paffage Of this Heliopolis, or On, was Potiphar Pricft, through the Defaits of Arabia the Stony. or Prince, whose Daughter Joseph married. For all Story, without the knowledge of the In the Territory adjoining, Jacob inhabited, places wherein the actions were performed. while he lived in Egypt. In the confines of as it wanteth a great part of the pleafure, this City, Onias, the High Priest of the Jens, fo it no way enricheth the knowledge and built a Temple, dedicated to the Eternal understanding of the Reader; neither doth God; not much inferiour to that of Hieru- any thing ferve to retain, what we read, falem (Ptolemy Philopater, then governing in in our memories, fo well as these Pictures Egypt) which stood in the time of Vestulian, and Descriptions do. In which respect I 333, years after the foundation by Onias, am driven to digress in many places, and whom Josephus fallly reporteth herein, to to interpole some such Discourse, otherwise have fulfilled a Prophecie of Esar, Chap. 19. feeming impertment; taking for my autho-In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terræ rity, after many others more antient, that Egypti; Inthat day feall the Altar of the Lord great learned man, Arias Montanus; who. be in the midft of the Land of Egypt. Antio- in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, chus Epiphanes, at the time of the building hath these words : Si enim absque locorum tyrannizing over the Jews, gave the occa- observatione res gesta narrentur, aut sine Tofion for the erecting of this Temple in Egypt. pographia cognitione Historia legantur, adea Lastly, there it was that our Saviour Christ conjust atque perturbata crunt omnia, ut ex Jesus remained, while Joseph and the Virgin iis nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile eli-Mary feared the violence of Herod: near ci possit; If narration (faith he) be made of which (faith Brochard) the Fountain is fill those things which are performed, without the found, called Jefus Well, whole streams do observation of the places wherein they were afterward water the Gardens of Balfamum, done; or if Histories be read without Topograno where elle found in Egypt. And here- phical knowledge; all things mill appear fo inof fee more in Brochard, in his Descripti- tricate and confused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence There is also in that City of Noph, remem- any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.

s. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites young children in Egypt; and of Moses his preservation and Education.

DUt to return to the Story it felf. It appeareth that not with standing the labour and flavery which the Ifraelites endured, yet call sais; and Montanus, Lebna; is not the as Pharaoh, confidering the danger of difsame with Damiata, as Gul. Tyrius witnesseth. contented poverty, and the able bodies In the time of Baldwin the third, Pelulium of an oppressed multitude, how perislous was called Belbeis. Belbeis (faith Tyrius) que they might be to his estate, by suggestithe male children of the Hebrews, as foon as

B b 2

for Sephora and Thura, women the most famous and expert amongst them, Que precrant (faith Comestor) multitudini obstetricum, who had command given them over all by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter Mid-wives; by whom (as it feemeth) he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his | Minister of Gods marvellous works taken Edict. For, to have called all the Mid-wives of Egipt together, had been a strange Parliament. Now, whether these two before named) were of the Hebrews, or of the Egyptians, it is diverfly disputed. S. Augustine calls them Hebrews, because it is written Exodus 1. The King of Egypt commanded the Mid-wives of the Hebrew momen, &c. But Josephus, Abulengs, and Pererius believe them to be Egyptians. Whosoever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murther, to the end the World might witness both the wickedness of the Egyptians, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and revenge: Pharaoh finding these Women filled with piety, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publickly, or howfoever, to ram his father had named him Joachim. In destroy all the male Hebrew children born his youth he was carefully bred, by the care,

within his Dominions.

had of the multitudes of the Hebrews, the and instructed: Quem regio more educavit, greatest part of whom be might have prafestis ei sapientibus Ægyptiorum Magiaffured, by affording them the justice stris, à quibus erudiretur, saith Basil; unto the rest he might have employed, or sent over him wife Masters of the Egyptians for his away, at his pleasure; Josephus giveth an- instructors. Thereby (say Josephus and Philo) other cause of his rage against them, namely, he became excellently learned in all the do-That it was prophetically delivered him by | ctrine of the Egyptians; which also the Maran Egyptian Priest, that among the Hebrews tyr Stephen in the seventh of the Acts conthere should be born a child, who growing sirmeth; And Moses was learned in all the to mans estate, should becom a plague and terror to his whole Nation. To prevent Sapience, such as it was, or at least so much which (and prefuming that he could refift | thereof as Six. Senensis hath gathered, we the Ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary to the Laws of Heaven and of Nature) he stretched out his bloudy and merciless hand to the execution of his former intent. The fame prevention Herod long after practifed, when fearing the spiritual Kingdom of Christ, as if it should have been temporal, he caused all the male children at that time born, to be flaughtered. And that Pharaoh had some kind of foreknowledg of the future fucces, it may be gathered by his own words, in the tenth Verse of the fifth of Exodus: Come, let us work wifely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to pass, that if there be Warr, the said the plant out of Artapa-Exod. 5.10 they join themselves also unto our enemies, and mus, tell us of ten years Warr that he made fight against us, and get them out of the Land, But we fee, and time hath told it us from

they should be born. To which end he sent | dom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own most feeble, and altogether darkened, understanding. For even of this Tyrant, was that great Prophet and out of Nilus, being thereinto turned off, in an Ark of Reeds, a fucking and powerless Infant. And this Princess having beheld the child his form and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as she did not onely preserve it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her own, and with equal care to. the Son of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deed, she called the child Mofes, as it were, extractus, or ereptus, taken out, to wit, out of the Water; or after Tolephus and Glycas, Moy, a voice expressing smell Water, and Hifes, as much as to fay, as that which is drawn out of Water, or thence taken. Clemens Alexandrinus was of opinion, that Moles was circumcifed before he was put into the Ark of Reeds, and that Amand at the charge of Pharaohs Daughter and Now, besides the doubts, which Pharaoh | by men of the most understanding, taught which every King oweth to his vassals, and whom she gave Princely education, appointing the which every King oweth to his vassals, and wildom of the Egyptians. Which Wildom or have added, between the death of Mofes, and the reign of Josua.

§. IV.

of Moses his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certain antient Historians of his war in Æthiopia; and of his marriage there: Philo his judgment of his Pastoral life; and that of Pererius of the Books of Genesis and Job.

X 7 Hen Mofes was grown to mans estate, against the Æthiopians; of the besieging of Seba, afterward, by Cambyfes, called Meroe; the beginning, how God derideth the wif- and how he recovered the City by the fa-

that Warr, Tharbis resisting his return into Egypt, Mofes, most skilful in Astronomy, caused two Images to be engraven in two precious Stones, whereof the one increased memory; the other caused forgetfulness: These he set in two Rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his Wife Tharbis, referving the other of memory for himfelf; which Ring of forgetfulness, after the had a while worn, the began to neglect the love the bare her Hufband: and fo Mofes, without danger, returned into Egypt. But leaving these fancies to the Authours of them: It is true, that about the fourtieth year of Moles age, when he beheld an Egyptian offering violence to one of the the oppressed Hebrews, moved by compassion, in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention he flew the Egyptian. Soon after which fact, finding a disposition in some of his own Nation to accuse him, for whose defence, he had thus greatly endangreatest things by the weakest worldly for their honour. means) to make the watering of a few sheep, and the affifting of the Daughter of Raguel the Madianite, an occasion whereby to provide him a Wife of one of those, and a father-in-law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Countrey nearest Egypt, fittest to return from; necessary to be known, because interjacent between Egypt and Judaa, through which he was to lead the Ifraelites; and of God, which shineth most, covered him the Land of rest, and plenty, promised. over, and appeared unto him, not finding Beafts onely.

In that part of Arabia near Madian, he confumed 40. years; and though (as Philo

vour of Tharbis, a Daughter of Ethiopia, others in that Pastoral knowledge; yet in whom he took to Wife. So hath Comeftor a that folitary Defart, he enjoyed himself: pretty tale of Moses, how after the end of and being separate from the preass of the world, and the troublesome affairs thereof; he gave himself to contemplation, and to make perfect in himself all those knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the fame Authour also judging that his Pastoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. Est enim (faith Plato) ars Pastora. lis, quase praludium ad regnum, hoc est, adregimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quemadmodum bellicosa ingenia præexercent se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia, & bello perfectura sunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At verà prafectura mansueti pecoris, habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis; ideoque Reges cognominantur Pastores populorum, non contumeliæ, sed honoris gratia; The art of keeping Sheep is as it were, an introductory exercise unto a Kingdom, namely, the rules over men, the most gentle flock: Even as gered his own life: by the ordinance and warlike natures do before-hand exercise themadvice of God, whose chosen servant he was, felves in hunting, practifing on wild beasts those he fled into Arabia Petraa, the next border- things which after they will accomplish in waring Countrey to Egypt; where wandering fare: those brute beasts affording matter whereall alone, as a man left and forfaken, in a into train themselves both in time of war and place unknown unto him, as among a Nation of peace. But the government of gentle cattel, of barbarous strangers; and who in future hath a kind of resemblance unto a Kingly rule times, were the irreconcileable enemies of over fubjects; therefore Kings are filled sheepthe Hebrews : it pleased God (working the herds of the people, not in way of reproach, but

That Moses, in the time of his abode at Madian, wrote the Book of 70b, as Pererius supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that Job was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to Pererins opinion, Perer 18 That Moses, while he lived in that part of e.g. Exod. Arabia, wrote the Book of Genesis; although I cannot deny the reason of Pererius coniecture, That by the example of Jobs patience wherein God held him, till the occasion he might strengthen the oppressed Hebrews: which God presented best served. And lastly, and by the promises of God to Abraham, Isawhere the glory of the world shined least, ac, and Jacob, put them in assurance of their amidst mountainous Desarts, there the glory delivery from the Egyptian slavery, and of

Of his calling back into Egypt by the Anhimasa Kings Son, or an adopted child of gel of God, and the marvels and wonders great Pharaoh's Daughter, but as a meek and which he performed, thereby to perswade humble Shepherd, fitting at a mountains Pharaoh, that he was the messenger of the foot, a keeper and commander of those poor | most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteen Chapters of Exodis; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needless. But for the first, in the Story of Mofer life observeth) he did it is to be noted, that when Mofer defired to not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all make him known, and by whom he was fent a

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he received from God fo much, as man could force) frood upon no condition; whereas comprehend of his infinite and ever-being before, he first yielded but to the departure Nature. Out of which he delivered him in of the men; then of the men, women, and the first part of his Answer, a name to be confidered of by the wifelt; and in his fecond, now content for the prefent, that the Ifraelits to be understood by all. For, there is no-should not onely depart with all their own, thing that is, or hath being of it felf, but the but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Eternal: which truly is, which is above all, | Jewels of his own people: of which (the which is immutable. The bodies of men are fear being past) he suddenly repented him, changed every moment; their substance as his pursuit after them proved. For, when wasteth, and isrepaired by nutriment; ne- every one of the Hebrews had (according ver continuing at one stay, nor being the to direction from Moses received) slain a fame fo long as while one may fay, Now. Lamb, without fpot or blemish, for the Past Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the over (a Sacrament of the most clean and unlongest continuance of time, the same, in spotted Saviour) and with the bloud thereevery shortest piece of time suffereth decay; of coloured the post and lintern of the neither doth any thing abide in one state. doors; the Angel of God in the night smote Una est Dei, & sola natura que vere est: id every first-born of Egypt, from the Sonof enim quod substiti non habet aliunde, sed suum the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave: est. Cetera que creata sunt, ctiams videntur the children of the Israelites excepted. At este, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt. 6. potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit; It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himself, and not from any thing without kim. Other things that are imitate this colouring with bloud, which the created, although they seem to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not; and that which bath not been, may again want being. And with this, in respect of the divine Nature, the faving of Zeno Eleates excellently agreeth: Tota rerum natura umbra est, aut inanis, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitfull: in comparison of whom (saith Esay) all Nations are nothing, less than nothing, and meer vanity.

· Of the ten Plagues wherewith the Egyptians were strucken, the first was by changing the Rivers into bloud; God punishing them by those waters, into which their forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the Hebrews. To which this place of the Revelation may be fitly applied: And I heard the Angel of the water fay, Lord, thou art just, which art, and which wast; and holy, because thou hast judged these things; for they shed the bloud of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou

given them bloud to drink. Flies, or stinging Wasps; by the death of Philistims. But because these people were their Cattel; by leprous Scabs; by Hail and very ftrong, and a warlike Nation, and (in Fire; by Grashoppers; by Darkness; after all probability) of his Allies, he suspected which, Pharaoh forbad Moses his presence: that Moses meant to find some other out-leg moved the hardened heart of the unbelieving King, no longer than the pain and there, because the Countrey was exceeding peril lafted; till fuch time as his own first- mountainous, and of hard access, and that born, and the first-born of all his Nation Moses was peftered with multitudes of Wo perished. He then, while he feared his own men, Children, and Cattel, he thought it

which terrible judgment of God, Pharaoh being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is faid, to their departure. The Egyptians (faith Epiphanius) did, in after-times, Israelites used after the Passover; ascribing an exceeding virtue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not onely mark their Sheep and Cattel, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preserve them from lightning, and other harms.

6. V.

of Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites; and of their passage towards the Red Sea, so fare as Succoth.

Ow, when the people were removed, and on their way (his heart being hardned by God) he bethought him as well of the honour loft, as of the shame remaining after so many Calamities and Plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoils of his people, and in despight of himself. And having before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readiness, he consulted with himself, what way the Israelites were liketo take. He knew that the shortest and fairest The rest of the Plagues by Froggs, Lice, passage was through the Countrey of the to wit, through the Defart of Etham; and life (a time wherein we remember God per- impossible for the Ifraelites to escape him

ture, or to destroy them in Gosen; and reit is written in the first of Exodus, he doubted two things, either that the Hebrews might join themselves to his enemies within the Land; or, being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his fervice, and get themselves departure; perchance fore-running his inwith a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as Moses well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his enterprizes; to he lay not still in the ditch, crying for help, but using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becoming a wife man, and a valiant and skilfull Conductor; as by all his actions and counsels, from this day to his death, well appeared.

When Moses perceived that Pharaoh was enraged against him, and commanded him them and other Nations, in ordering the acnot to dare to come thenceforth into his count of time.

that way. In the mean while, having ga- | presence: after that he had warned thrack Endited the together all the Chariots of E- of the Passover, he appointed a general Afgypt, and fix hundred of his own, and Cap- fembly, or Rendez-vous of all the Hebreis tains over them; he determined to fet up- at Rameses, in the Territory of Gosen; a The Territory on them in the plains of Golen, which way City standing indifferent to receive from tory of Golen was foever they turned themselves. For it was all parts of the Countrey, the dispersed afterward the antient manner to fight in those Chariots, Hebrews; and gave commandment, that called Rearmed with broad and sharp hooks on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. every Family should bring with them such the name story and pattern of this ciameters in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kind of fight in Chariots, but not staying to make it into Bread; knowing to peaceth in hooked, the Britains used against the Ro- then that Pharaoh was on foot, and on his Gen. 47.00 mans, while they made the Warr for the way towards them. Which done, and haways 33.

Sand of this Land Of this Army of ving confidenced the great frequency of place [2004.]. conquest of this Land. Of this Army of ving considered the great strength of Pha-Pharaoh, Josephus affirmeth, that it confist- raoh's Horse-men and Chariots, of which ed of 30000. Horse, and 20000. Foot; kind of defence Moses was utterly junprowhich, were it true, then it cannot be vided (though, as it is written, the Ifradoubted, but that Pharaoh intended long elites went up armed) he marched from before to affail the Hebrews at their depar- Rameses East-ward, towards the Desarts of Etham, and encamped at Succoth; which fuled them passage, till such time as he had he performed on the fifteenth day of the prepared an Army to fet on them. For, as Moneth Abib; which Moneth, from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the first Moneth of the year. Whether in former times they had been accustomed to begin their year in some other Moneth, following the manner of the Egythence at their pleasure. But the plagues ptians, and were now re-called by Moses to Exod. 13: which God grieved him withall, enforced the rule of their fore-fathers, it is uncer-16. him, at this time, to give an affent to their tain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained another beginning of their Politick tent. But were it otherwise, and Josephus year, which was not now abrogated, but partial in this affair, yet, by the words of rather, by some solemnities thereunto anthe Text it appeareth, that he gathered all nexed, was confirmed, and still continued the Chariots of Egypt, which could not be in use. Wherefore in referring things done. days march, ere *Pharaeh* was at his heels; and yet the last day, he went on 16 miles; that distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the plant distinction of the Sacred and the Political transfer of the Political tr which in so hot a Countrey, and to drive tick year is not to be neglected. Concerntheir Cattel and Sheep with them, peftered ing the number of days in every Moneth, and the whole form of their year, like enough it is, that Mofes himself in fourty years space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust; but that any rule of framing their Kalendar was made publick, before the captivity of Babylon, I do not find. Now, because time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to shew here, at their first setting forth, what was the form of the Hebrew year; with the difference between

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Of the Solary and Lunary years; and how they are reconciled; with the form of the Hebrew year, and their manner of inter-

The Hebrew Moneths are thus named. The First Moneth, Nifan, or Abib. 1. March. 2. April. II. far, or Tiar, Zio, or Zin. 3. May. III. Sivan, or Sinan, or Siban. 4. June. IV. Tamuz. 5. July. V. Ab. 6. August. VI. Ehul. VII. Tifri, or Ethavin, or Ethanim. 7. September.

VIII. Marchefuan, or Mechafuan, or 8. October.
Au. 1. c. 4. Bul, or with Josephus, Morfonane. 9. November. IX. Chislen, or Casten. 10. December. X. Tebeth, or Thobeth.

11. Запиату. XI. sebeth, or sabath. 12. February. XII. Adar, and Ve Adar.

7 E Adar, was an intercalary Moneth, added fome years unto the other twelve, to make the Solary and Lunary year agree; which (befides the general inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter feason, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the Hebrews, because of the divine Precept. For God appointed especial fection. Yet, as making an estimate at ran-Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a dom, the Athenians held the year to contain Moneth of the year, and withall on a fet day, both of the Moon, and of the Moneth: as the Feast of the First-fruits, the new Moons, three hundred and fixty days filled up the and the like; which could not have so been Grecian year (besides many collateral kept, if either the day of the Moon had fallen in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it felf been found far distant from his place in the feafon of the year.

Other Nations, the better to observe their Solemnities withe due time, and to ascertain By this account, neither did any certain age all reckonings and remembrances (which of the Moon begin or end their Monthlis; is the principal commodity of time that is, neither could their Moneths continue many the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, beshifted by little and little from Winterto by adding fometimes, and fometimes abating Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as one or more days, as the errour committed the days forgotten to be inferted line the in foregoing years required. The errour Almanack by men, but not forgotten by the grew at first, by not knowing what number superiour bodies in their courses, thouldon of days made up a compleat year. For cupy their own rooms in their due turns though by the continual course of the Sun, Now, because the solemnity of the Olympian causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed games was to be held at the full Moon, and each other, it is plain enough, even to the withall, on the fifteenth day of the Month most savage of all people, when a year hath Hecatombeon (which answereth in a manner passed over them; yet the necessity of or- to our fune) they were carefull to take dinary occurrences, that are to be numbred order, that this Moneth might ever begin by a thorter tally, makes this long measure with the new Moon; which they effected by of whole years infufficient for the smaller fort of more daily affairs. Therefore men ob-

on of the Moon, by which they divided the the year into twelve parts, subdividing the Moneth into 29. days and nights, and those again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are fenfibly and eafily dif- 10 61 cerned; fo the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the understanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moon, containing less time by 11.days, or thereabout, than the yearly course of the Sun through the Zodiak, in the space of fixteen years, every Moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the year, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to add some days to the year, making it to confift of twelve Moneths, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errours. For neither did the Sun determine his yearly revolution by any fet number of whole days; neither did the Moon change always at one hour; but the very minutes and leffer fractions were to be observed by him, that would feek to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certain rule.

Here lay much Wisdom, and deep Art, which could not foon be brought to perthee hundred and fixty days; wherein most of the Greeks concurred with them. That proofs) it is manifest by that which Pliny di- !!! rectly affirmeth, telling of the Statues, erect ed in the honour of Demetrius Phalerem, which were (faith he) 360. whilest as yet the year exceeded not that number of days. years in their own places; but must heeds adding some two days to the last Moneth of every year; those games being held once in ferved the Monethly conspicuous revoluti- four years. This intercalation sufficed not

had they not fought to keep all upright, by intercalating in each other Olympiad, that is, each eighth year, one whole Moneth, which they called the second Posideon, or December; taught them to make one Month of 29, days, the whole year. Thus, with much labour, they kept their year, as near as they could, unto the high way of the Planets; but thefe marks, which they observed, were found at length to be deceitfull guides. For it was not pollible fo to fashion this eighth years intercalation, that it should not deceive them in 11.hours and 18.minutes at the least, or some ways in 34.hours and 10.miuutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences, would in iew Ages, have bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good method, 'likely to continue, was Meton the Athenian, who not regarding the Olympiads, and the eighth years intercalation, devised a Cycle of 19. years, wherein the Moon, having 235. times run out her circuit, met with the Sun in the same place, & on the same day of the year; as in the 19. year before past she had done. This invention of Meton, was entertained with great applause, and passing from Greece to Rome, was there inferted into the Kalendar perceiv'd, was veryapparent in a few of those Cycles; the new Moons anticipating in one Cycle 7. hours, and some minutes, of the precise rule. Therefore Calippus devised a new

to make the matter even; which caused examining the courses of those heavenly bothem fomtimes to omit one day in the fourth dies, reduced the year unto the form which year, which was the second of the Moneth is now in use with us, containing 365, days Bedromion (agreeing nearly with our Au- and 6 hours, which hours in four years, make entilometimes not to omit it, or (which is all | up one whole day, that is intercalated eveone) to insert another for it in their fourth ry fourth year, the 24. of February. The cor-Lunary year, accounting by the Moon, after rection of the Julian year by Pope Gregory a manner that was not vulgar. All this not- the 13. Anno Dom. 1582. is not as yet enterwithstanding, their Moneth of June would tained by general consent; it was indeed every year have grown colder and colder, but as a Note added unto the Work of Cafar; yet a Note of great importance. For whereas it was observed, that the Sun, which at the time of the Nicene Council, An. Dom. 234. entred the Aquinochial on the 21. day of which was the device of Harpalus, who also March, was in the year 1583. ten days sooner found, in that time Pope Gregory strook out another of 30. days & so successively through of the Kalendar ten days, sollowing the 4. of October; fo that in stead of the fifth day, was written the fifteenth; by which means the movable Feasts depending on the Sun's entrance into Aries, were again celebrated in fuch time, as at the Nicene Council they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the Council of Trent ordained, that from thence forward, in every hundred year, the Leap-day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred; because the Sun doth not in his yearly course take up full fix hours above the 365. days; but faileth so may minutes, as in 400. years make about three whole days.

But the Cycle of 29. years, which the Hebrems used, was such as neither did need any nice curiofity of hours, minutes, and other lesser fractions to help it; neither did in fumming up the days of the whole year, neglect the days of the Moon, confounding one Month with another For with them it fel out fo, that always the Kalends, or first day of the in Golden Letters, being called, The Golden | Moneth, was at the new Moon; and because Number, which name it retaineth unto this that day was Festival, they were very careday. Hereby were avoided the great and full, as well to observe the short year of the uncertain intercalations that formerly had Moon, passing through all the 12. Signs in been used ; for by the intercalation of seven one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which Months, in the 19 years, all was so even, that is needfully regarded in greater accounts. no sensible difference could be found. Yet | First, therefore they gave it to Nisan, their that error which in one year could not be first Moneth, which is about our March, or April, 30. days; to Jar, their fecond Moneth 29. days; and fo fucceffively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to pass, that every two Moneths of theirs contain'd somewhat e-Cyck, containing four of Metons, that is to venly two revolutions of the Moon, allowing lay, 76. years; and afterwards, Hipparchus, a 29. days 12 hours, and odd minutes, from. noble afrologer, framed another, containing change to change. The spare minutes were four of Calippus his Periods, each of them bestowed among the superfluous, or Epace finding some errour in the former Observa- days swhich made up seven Moneths in 19. tions, which they diligently corrected. The years 5 to fix of which feven were commonlast reformation of the Kalendar, was that ly given 30, days, to one of them 29 days, which Julius Cefar made, who, by advice of or otherwife, as was found requifite. Their the best Mathematicians, then to be found, common year, (as appeareth by the several

days of each Moneth) contained 354. days, which fail of the year, wherein the Sun finisheth his course, 11. whole days, with some fractions of time. But these days, and other broken pieces, howfoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the Cycle of 19. years, were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of the Cycle, it, 19. years before.

Heb. lib. 3. of the Hebrew year, with the manner of their intercalations. Sigonius tells us, that every fecond year, they did add a Moneth of 22. days; every fourth year a Moneth of 23. in regard of 11. days and a half wanting in 12. Moons, to fulfill a year of the Sun. But herein Sigonius was very much deceived. For the Moon doth never finish her course in 22. or 23. days; and therefore to have added fo many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the fashion of all the Moneths in the years following, which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new Moon. Genebrard faith, that every third year, chron. 1.2. or second year, as need required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the years end unto the other 12. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the years the intercalation was (if it be worthy of confideration) me thinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all farr from evenness, untill the very last of the 19. years. For (to omit fuch as erre grofly) fome there are who fay, that after three years, when besides the days fpent in 36. courses of the Moon, 33. days are left remaining, that is, 11. days of each | he forbare to enter Arabia, being then in year; then did the Hebrews add a Moneth of | fight thereof, it feemeth to proceed from 30. days; keeping three days, asit were, in | three respects: the first two, natural; the pluffage unto the next account. The like, third, divine. For, Pharaoh being then at fay they, was done at the end of the fixth | hand, and having received intelligence of year; at which time, besides the intercalary | the way which Moses took, perswaded him-Moneth, remained fix days, namely, three fur- | felf, that the numbers which Moses led, conyears, besides the three formerly reserved. Moneth of 29. days, that being intercalated at the end of the Cycle, makes all even.

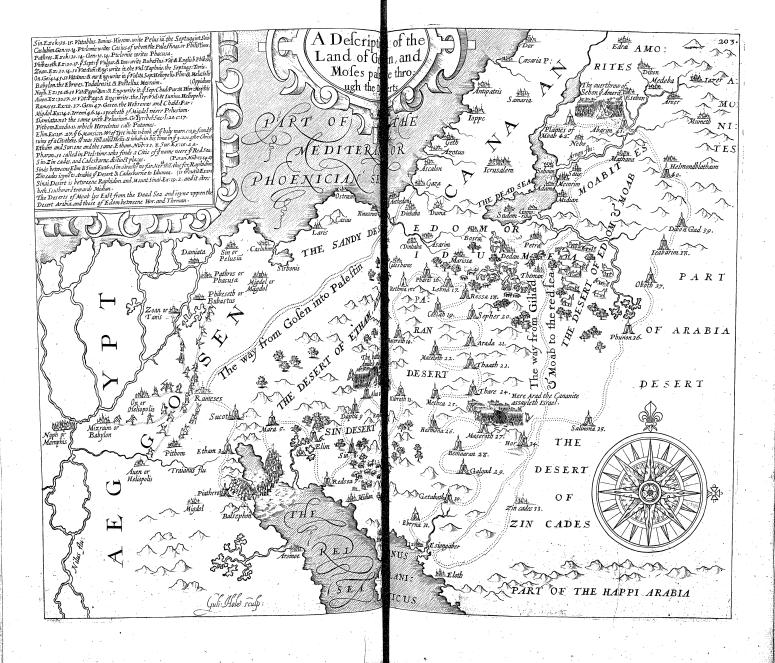
Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet furely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the 18

voidable. Wherefore I preferr the common opinion, which prevents fuch diflocation of the Moneths, by fetting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the 8. year. For the 6. days remaining after the two former intercalations made in the third and fixth years, added unto the 22. days, arifing out of the Epacts of the 7. and 8. years, do fitly ferve both the Sun and Moon were found on the to make up a Moneth, with the borrowing fame day of the year, Moneth, and week, yea, of one day or two from the year following; commonly on the same hour of the day, and this borrowing of two days is so far where they had been at the beginning of from causing any disorder, that indeed it helps to make the year enfuing vary the less Divers have diverily fet down the form from the proper feason of every Moneth. This may fuffice to be spoken of the Hebrew Moneths and years, by which they guided their accounts.

6. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea; and of the divers mays leading out of Egypt.

Rom Succeth, in the morning following, Moses led the Israelites towards the Defart of Etham, to recover the Mountainfoot, by the edge of that Wilderness, though he intended nothing less than to go out of that way, of all other the nearest. But being asfured of the multitude of Horse-men and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himself from being encompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At Etham he refted but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance betweenit and Succoth being about eight miles. That mounting that Month, and the Epall of three | fifting of above a Million, if not of two Millions of Souls (for it is written, Exed. the 12. Thus they go on to the 18. year; at which Great multitudes of fundry forts of people went time they have 18. days in hand: all which, out with them) could not possibly pass over with the Epact of the 19. year, make up a those Defart and high Mountains with 6 great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, but that at the very entrance of that suffer fastness he should have overtaken them, and have destroyed the greatest number of them. For his these his own words, They are tangled in the year every Moneth were removed from his own place by the diffance of 48. days, that is, half a quarter of a year and many state is, half a quarter of a year and many state. is, half a quarter of a year and more; which turning another way, did frustrate. Secondinconvenience, by fuch a reckoning, was una ly, Mofer by offering to enter Arabia that



Mountain foot on the left hand, they were strength and multitudes. better fecured from the over-bearing violence both of Horse and Chariots. Thirdly, Moles confidence in the All-powerfull God was such, by whose Spirit, onely wise, he was of their passage over the Red Sea; and of the directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multimarched with a double pace from Etham towhich Orofins calleth Climax: on the top compounded, is as much to fay, as, Dominus fecula, five custodia; Lord of the watchtower. For the Egyptians believed, or at least made their slaves believe, that if any of them offered to escape that way into Arabia. them to return to their Lords and Mafters. For the Egyptians had gods for all turns. Egyptii din facundi; The Egyptians were fruitfull in gods, faith S. Hierom. But Moses, who encamped at the foot of this Mountain with a million of Souls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the Watchtower afleep, or out of countenance.

Now, these two passages, leading out of Egypt into Arabia upon the firm Land, Moses refused, as well that of Pelusium and Casiotis, the fairest and shortest of all other in respect of Judea, as the other by Etham, from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembred, and took the way by the Valley of Pihacheroth, between the Mountains, which made a streight entrance towards the Sea. After whom Pharaoh made fo great speed with his Horse-men and Chariots, as he gave they of him, even at the very brink and wash | turned to his force, that is, the Sea, moved by of the Sea; in so much as the Hebrews being the power of God, ran back towards the terrified with Pharaoh's sudden approach, Land with unresistible sury and swiftness; began to despair, and to mutiny, at that time and overwhelmed the whole Army of Phawhen it behooved them most to have taken raoh, so as not one escaped. For, it is writ-

way, drew Pharaoh toward the East-side of Moses charge, that themselves foresaw those the Land of Gosen, or Rameses: from whence perils in which they were wrapped. And (missing Moses there) his pursuit after him fear, Which, faith the Book of Wisdom, is the with his Chariots was more difficult, by rea- betraying of those succours which reason offerfon of the roughness of the way; and how- eth, made them both despair in God's former chap. 17. foever, yet while the Hebrews kept the Promifes, and to be forgetfull of their own

6. VIII.

Red Sea it felf.

But Moses, who feared nothing but God himself, perswaded them to be consident tude, confishing of 600000 men, to cast the in his goodness, who hath never abandoned fuccels upon his own understanding, wife those, that assuredly trusted in him; using conduction, or valour. The third day he this comfortable and refolved speech: Fear Exodits. not, &c. for the Egyptians whom we have feen 13. wards the Valley of Pihacheroth, fixteen miles this day, ye shall never see them again. The Lord distant; and sate down between two ledges Shall fight for you. After which, Moses called of Mountains adjoining to the Red Sea, to on God for succour, received encouragewit, the Mountains of Etham on the North, ment, and commandment to go on, in these Exad, 14; and Baalzephon towards the South; the same | words; Wherefore cryest thou unto me? Speak 16, unto the children of Israel that they go forward: whereof there stood a Temple, dedicated to and lift thou up thy Rod, and firetch out thy Baal. And, as Phagins noteth, the word so | hand upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of Israel go on dry ground through the midst of the Sea. Moses obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night, finding the fands uncovered, past on towards the other fide and coast of Arabia; two parts of the this Idol would both arrest them, and force | night being spent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleafed God by a forcible Eastern Wind, and by Moses Rod, to prepare.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the fame dry ground which Moles trod on. Therefore, ss it is written: The Angel of God which went before the Hoft of Ifrael, removed, and went behind them; also the Pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behind Josus 24. them; which is, that it pleased God therein, eitherby his immediate power, or by the miniftry of his Angel to interpose his defence between the Hebrews and their Enemies; to the end that the Egyptians might hereby be blinded, in such fort, as they could not purfue Ifrael with any harmfull speed. But in the morning-watch, Moses seized the other bank of Arabia fide; and Pharaoh (as the dawn of the day began to enlighten the obscure air) finding a beginning of the Sea's return, hastthe Hebrems no time at all to rest them after ed himself towards his own Coast: But Mofo long a march; but got fight of them, and less firetched forth his hand, and the Sea re- 27. courage for their own defence; laying it to ten, that God took off their Chariot wheels,

that is, when the waters began to cover the | where with Illands, but afterwards it extendfands, the Egyptians being strucken with fear of death, ran one athwart another, and mif- it runneth up between Arabia the Happy, and fing the path by which they had past on after the Hebrews, their wheels stuck fast in the mud and quick-fands, and could not be drawn out; the Sea coming against them with supernatural violence.

Lyranus, upon Exod. 14. and others, following the Opinions or old Traditions of wards Sues, and where Moses past, is called the Hebrews, conceived, that after Moses had Heropolites, of the City Hero, sometime Troy, by the power of God divided the Red Sea, and that the children of Israel were fearfull to enter it, Aminadab, Prince, or Leader of | it was called Hero, many years. The Arabians the Tribe of Judah, first made the adventure; and that therefore was that Tribe, ever after, honoured above the rest, according to the Prophecie of Jacob, Gen. 49.8. Thy fathers Sons shall bow down unto thee. But Hierome upon Hosea 11. condemns this Opinion, And though it be true, that Judah had the first place in all their miracles in the Desart, and, as we now call it, led the Van-guard (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the Red Sea) yet, that Moles himself was the Conducter of Israel at that time, it is generally received. For, it is written in the 77. Pfalm; Thou didst lead thy people, like sheep, by the hand of Moses and

The Hebrews have also another fancie, that the Red Sea was divided into twelve parts, and that every Tribe past over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. Psalm, according to the vulgar: Divisit Mare Rubrum in divisiones; He divided the Red Sea in divisions. Also that the bottom of the Sea became a green Field, or Pasture. But Origen, Epiphanius, Abulensis, and Genebrard, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to confider, | for the King of Portugal, that this Sea was lo that there were not twelve Pillars, nor twelve Armies of the Egyptians. It is written, Plalm 77. v. 16. Thy way is in the Sea : not thy ways: and in the last Book of Wisdom, vers.7. In the Red Sea there was a way.

Now, this Sea, through which Moles past, and in which Pharaoh, otherwise called Chencres, perished, in the 16. year of his reign, is colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narin breadth, and the same also filled every waters. Thirdly, those Portugals report, and

eth it self 58. leagues from coast to coast and Arabia Petraa on one fide, and Athiopia and Egypt on the other, as farr as Sues, the uttermost end and indraught of that Sea; where the Turk now keeps his fleet of Gallies. The Colmographers commonly give it the name of the Arabian Gulf; but the North part toand of later times Sues. Pliny calls it Cambifu, W. by which name it was known faith he before an call this Sea towards the North, Apocopa, Eccant, and Eant. Artemidorus writes it Æleniticum; King Juba, Laniticum; others more properly, Elaniticum, of the Port and City Elana, The which the Septuagint call Elath; Ptolemy, Ela- 8, (6) na : Pliny Lana ; Josephus, Ilana; and Marius Niger, Aila: there is also Ilalah in Asyria, to which Salmanasser carried the Israelites captive, 2 King. 8.11. which Ilalah in Affria. the Septuagint call Elaa; and in the first of Chro.5. Ala. But, as for the Red Sea, on the parts thereof, thus diverfly named, the Moors, and Arabians (Vaffals to the Turk) know it by no other appellation, than the Gulf of Meca, after the name of Mahomet's Town Mecca. The Greeks write it the Sea Erythraum, of a King called Erythras, or Erythraus : and because Erythros in the Greek fignifieth Red; hence it is, that, being denominated of this Erythraus, sind the Son of Perseus and Andromeda, it took the name of the Red Sea, as Q. Curtius conjectureth; which Arianus and Strabo confirm. But it feems to me, by the view of a Discovery of that Sea, in the year 1544, performed by Stephen Gama, Viceroy of the East-India called from a reflection of a redness, both from the banks, cliffs, and fands of many Islands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For, I find by the report of Castro, a principal Commander under Gama (which Difcourse I gave Mr. Richard Hacluit to publish) that there is an Island called Dalagua, sometime Leques, containing in length, 25. leagues, commonly known by the name of the Red | and 12. in breadth; the earth, fands, and Sea, though the same differ nothing at all in cliffs, of which Island, being of a redifficonatural colour from other Waters. But, as lour, serve for a foil to the waters about it; Philostratus in his third Book noteth, and our to make it seem altogether of the same cofelves know by experience, it is of a bluish lour Secondly, the same Castro reporteth, that from 24.degrees of Septentrional latitude,to row strait, between Arabia the Happy, and 27. (which make in length of Coast 180. Athiopia, or the Land of the Abylins: the miles, lying, as it doth, Northerly & Souther mouth of the indraught from the Cape, ly) all the cliffs, and banks are of red earth, which Ptolemy calleth Poffodium, to the other or stone, which by reflection of the Sun-Land of Æthiopia, hath not above fix leagues | beams, give a kind of redish lustre to the

we know it by many testimonies, that there in hatred of the Hebrews, have objected that are found in the bottom of this Sea, towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corral grows, which is carried into most parts of Europe, and elfewhere. There are also on the Islands those, growing under water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances fands, earth, and cliffs, I suppose that it first many places it feemeth to be fuch; which Johannes Barros in his fecond Decade, eighth Book, and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea, from Elana, or Ezion-Gaber adjoining, now Toro, called by the antient Cosmographers, Sinus Elaniticus, which washeth the banks of Madian, or Midian, is for 16. or 17. leagues together, along Toro to Sues, and the end of this Sea, it is in that pursuit. length about 28. leagues, of which, the first afterward, the Lands, both from Egypt and Arabia, thrust themselves into the Sea, and strengthen it so fast, as for 6. miles together. it is not above 3. miles over 5 from thence, upward the Land on Egypt fide, falleth away, and makes a kind of Bay, or Cove, for some 10. miles together, after which, the Land grows upon the Sea again, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at 4. miles breadth, or there about, in which Tract it was that Mofes past it over though others would have it to be over against Elana, or Tero, but without judgment; for from Rameses to Pihacheroth, and Baalzephon, there is not above 30. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at most which Moses past over in three days; and between the Land of Egypt, opposite to Elana, or Toro, the distance is above 80. miles. For Rameses, to which City Moses came (being the Metropolis of Gosen) when he left Pharaoh at Zoan, and took his last leave, standeth in 30. degrees 5. minutes of Septentrional latitude; and Migdol, or the Valley of Pibacheroth, at the foot nine and twenty and a half, which make a difference of five and thirty Enlish miles, the way lying,in effect, North and South.

6. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not a low ebb.

"He Egyptians, and of them the Mem-A phites, and other Heathen Writers, who, do rather prove the miracle, than that there-

Moses past over the Red Sea at a low ebb,upon a great Spring-tyde, and that Pharaoh, conducted more by furythan discretion, purfued him so farr, as before he could recover the coast of Egypt, he was overtaken by the of this Sea, many red Trees, faith strabo, and floud, and therein perished; did not well confider the nature of this place, with other circumstances.For, not to borrow strength from of redness by the shadow of these stones, that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plain, that the Waters were divided, and that took the name of the Red Sea, because in so God wrought this miracle by an Easterly Wind, and by the hand and rod of Moles (which authority to men that believe not therein, perswadeth nothing) I say, that by the same natural reason unto which they fastened themselves, it is made manifest, that had there bin no other working power from above, or affiftance given from God himself to Moses and the children of Ifrael, Northward toward Sues, some 3. leagues, or than ordinary, and casual, then could not 9. English miles over, and from this Port of Pharaoh and all his Army have perished in

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For wherefoever there is any ebbing of 26, have 9, miles breadth, as aforefaid, and the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the Land and run downwards toward the Ocean, leaving all that part towards the Land, as far as the Sea can ebb, or fall off, to the dry land. Now, Moses entring the Sea at Migdol under Baalzephon (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide) must have left all that end of the Red Sea towards Sues, on his left hand, dry and uncovered. For if a paffage were made by falling away of the water 10. or 12. miles farther into the Sea than Sues. and between it and where Moses past, who entred the same so far below it and towards the body of the same Sea; it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleev, or Strait, had been by the ebb of a Spring-tide discovered. when Pharaoh found the floud increasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward Egypt fide, but might have gone on in his return before the tide, on his right hand; and so taken ground again at the end of the Sea, at Sues it felf, "or elsewhere. But the Scriptures do truly witness the conof the Mountain Climax, or Baalzephon, in trary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that Mofes past on between two Seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwise, Pharaoh, by any return of waters, could not have perifhed, as he did; and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, prove the cause to have bin a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himfelf. Again. those words of the Scriptures, that God cansed the Sea to return back by a strong East-wind,

by was caused an ebb more than ordinary; more, there is no man of judgment, that can for that Sea did not lie East and West, but, in think, that Pharaoh and the Egaptians, who effect, North and South. And it must have then excelled all Nations in the observatibeen a West and North west wind, that must one of heavenly motions, could be ignorant have driven those waters away through of the fluxes and refluxes of the Sea, in his their proper Channels, and to the Southeast into the Sca. But the East-wind blew athwart the Sea and cut it afunder: fo as one part fell back towards the South and main body thereof, the other part remained toward sues, and the North. Which being unknown to Pharaoh; while he was checkt by that Sea, which used in times before to ebb hand only; which then falleth most heavily away, the floud prest him, and over-whelm'd on all men, when, looking through no other him. Thirdly, feeing Josephus avoweth, that | spectacle but their own prosperity, they least ted the chase and pursuit of Israel. Further- of I leave every man to his own belief.

own Countrey, on his own coast, and in his own most traded and frequented Ports and Havens; and wherein his people having had so many hundreds of years experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any fore-known or natural accident, but by God's powerfull Moses was not onely of excellent judgment, discernit coming, and least fear it. Lastly, if generally, but also, so great a Captain, as he the Army of the Egyptians had been overover-threw the Ethiopians in battels, being taken by the ordinary return of the floud, imployed by Pharaoh, and wan divers Cities, before they could recover their own coast; feeming impregnable: it were barbarous to their bodies drowned would have been carcondemn him of this großness, and distracti- ried with the floud, which runneth up to on: that rather then he would have endu- sues, and to the end of that Sea, and not red the hardness of a Mountainous passage have been cast a-shore on the coast of Araat hand (had not God commanded to take | bia, where Moses landed, to wit, upon the that way, and fore-told him of the honour Sea-bank over against Baalzephon, on Arabia which he would there win upon Pharaoh) he side; where it was that the Israelites saw would have trusted to the advantage of an their dead bodies, and not at the end of the ebbing water. For he knew not the contra- Red Sea, to which place the ordinary floud ry, but that Pharaoh might have found him, would have carried them; Which floud and prest him, as well when it flowed, as doth not any where cross the Channel, and when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For run athwart it, as it must have done from Ethe people, beholding Pharaoh's approach, gypt fide to Arabia, to have cast the bodies cried out against Moses, and despaired alto- there; but it keeps the natural course together of their safety; and when Moses prayed wards the end of that Sea; and to which unto God for help, he was answered by God; their carkasses should have been carried, if Wherefore crieft thou unto me? Speak unto the the work had not been supernatural and michildren of Israel, that they go forward, and raculous. Apollonius, in the lives of the Falift thou up thy Rod, and stretch out thy hand thers, affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians upon the Sea, and divide it: which proves which stayed in the country, did not follow that there was not at that time of Pharaoh's Pharaoh in the pursuit of Ifrael, did ever after approach any ebb at all, but that God did honor those beasts, birds, plantsor other creadisperse and cut through the weight of wa- tures, about which they were busied at the ters, by a strong East-wind, whereby the time of Pharaoh's destruction; as he that was fands discovered themselves between the then labouring in his Garden, made a god Sea on the left hand toward sues, from of that Plant or Root about which he was whence the Watersmoved not, and the Sea occupied, and so of the rest. But how those which was towards the South on the right | multitudes of gods were erected among hand, so that the Waters were a wall unto them, a more probable reason shall be given them on the right hand, and on the left hand, else-where. Orosius, in his first Book and that is, the Waters so desended them on both tenth Chapter against the Pagans, tells us, fides, as the Egyptians could onely follow that in his time, who lived some 400. years them in the same path, not that the Waters after Christ, the prints of Pharaoh's Chariot ftood upright as walls do, as some of the wheels were to be seen at a low water, on Schole-men have fancied. For had Pharaoh the Egyptian fands; and though they were and the Egyptians perceived any such build- sometime defaced by wind and weather, yet ings in the Sea, they would foon have quit- foon after they appeared again. But here-

CHAP. IV.

of the journeying of the Israelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them; with a discourse of Laws.

9. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie; with a continuation of the Story, untill the Amalekites met with the Israelites.

hinto Midian, when he had lived tourty years, tains in this like in the year of the World, 2474. and two years after was Caleb born. He returned by rims after him, and laftly, Ptolemy the fecond, heaven to core an amptificial River, thereby by the celebration of the Passover; & in the dead trees, he rested divers days. of the night of the same day, were all the first | Whether this Helim were the name of a bly at Rameses, and marched to Succoth.

Ut to go on with the Story of If- taking the branches of a Tree, growing near rael in this fort I collect the times. a Lake of bitter water, and calling the same Moles was born in the year of the thereinto, made the same sweet: a plain type World, 2434. Suphrus then go- and figure of our Saviour; who, upon the verning Afgria; Orthopolis, Sycio- Tree of the Cross, changed the bitterness of nia, or Peloponnesus; Criosus, the Argives; everlasting death, into the sweetness of eter-Orm, Egypt; and Deucalion, Thessaly. He fled anal life. Pliny remembers these bitter Founinto Midian, when he had lived fourty years, tains in his fixth Book, 29. Chapter. From the commandment and ordinance of God began to cut an artificial River, thereby by into Egypt, and wrought his miracles in the Boats and small Shipping to Trade and Nafields of Zoan, in the year, 2514. the last vigate the Red Sea, from the great Cities Moneth of the year. On the 14. day of the upon Nilus. From Marab he removed to first Hebrew Moneth Abib, or the 15. of that Elim, the fixth Mansion, a march of eight Exod, 15. Moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sun-miles: where finding twelve Fountains of fetting in the year of the World, 2514. was fiweet water, and threefcore and ten Palm- Numb. 33.

born flain through Egypt, or in all those parts Town or City in Moses time, I cannot affirm. where the Hebrews inhabited not. The 15. And yet the scarcity of waters in that Reday of the first Month of the Hebrews, called gion was such, as Helim, which had twelve Abib, being about the beginning of the year Fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. of the World, 2514. Moses, with the children William, Archbishop of Tyre, in his History william of Israel removed from the general Assem- of the Holy Warr, found at Helim, the ruines Tyre, Liti, of a great and antient City. And at fuch cap. 16. And departing thence, they made their time as Baldwine the first past that way into third flation at Etham; and journeying from Egypt. Ingressus (saith he) Helim Civitatem Etham, they encamped in the Valley of Pi- antiquissiman, populo Israelitico aliquando fabacheroth, or Miedol, under the Mountain miliarem; ad quem cum pervenisset, loci illius Baalzephon; and in the same night, after incola, Regis adventu pracognito, naviculam midnight, they past the Red Sea; Pharaoh ingredientes, in Mare vicinum se contulerunt; and his Army perishing in their return, about Entring Helim, a very antient City, well known the first dawn of the day. Moses having re- Sometime to the people of Israel; whither, when covered the banks of Arabia, gave thanks he came, the Inhabitants, forewarned of the unto God for the delivery of Ifrael; and Kings approach, took Boat, and shifted themmaking no stay on that coast, entred the De- selves into the Sea lying near them. From Elim farts of Arabia Petrea, called Sur. But find- he returned again towards the South, and ing no water in that passage, he encamped at sat down by the banks of the Red Sea; the Marah, in the Defart of Etham, which in seventh Mansion. For it seemeth, that he had Exod. 15. 22. is called Sur, 25. miles from knowledge of Amalech, who repaired to rethe Sea; where the children of Ifrael, prest fist his passage through part of Arabia. And with extreme thirst, murmured against Moses, who had not as yet trained the Hethe second time; first, at Pharaoba approach at Pibacheroth, and now in Arabia. But Moses the minds of the rest, who encountring with

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CHAP.

to their quiet flavery, than either to entitude of People and Cattel) thought it most dure the wants and perils which every for their advantage to fet upon them at Ruway accompanied them in that passage, or phidim, where the want of water, and all or at this time to undertake or fustain so dan- therthings needfull for the life of man, engerous an enemy; he therefore made stay feebled them. On the other side, Moses perat this Manfion, untill the fifteenth of this fecond Moneth, called Zim, or Jiar; and made Jua, to draw out a sufficient number of the the eighth Mansion in the Defart of Zin; where the children of Ifrael mutinied against Moses the third time, having want of food. In the 16. Chapter of Exodus, Moses omitteth this retreat from Elim to the Red Sea. but in the collection of every feveral encamping in the 33. of Numbers it is fet down.

Here it pleafed God to fend fo many flights of Quails, as the Countrey about their encamping was covered with them. The morning following, it also rained Manna, being the 16. of their Moneth, which served them in stead of bread. For nowwas the store confumed which the people carried with hath dulled, being beaten, and despaired in Exad. 16. them out of Egypt. And though they had great numbers of Cattel and Sheep among them, yet it feemeth, that they durst not feed themselves with many of those; but referved them, both for the Milk to relieve the Children withall, and for Breed to store themselves when they came to the Land promifed.

made two removes of 20. miles; the one to Daphca, the other to Alus, distant from Raphidim fix miles. Here, being again prest with want of Water, they murmured the Jethro courage and affurance, he then refourth time, and repented them of their departure from Egypt, where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the manner of Beafts, than to fuffer a cafual, rael, being himself unable to give order in and fometime necessary want, and to under- all causes and controversies, among so many dergo the hazzards and travels which every thousands of people, full of discontentment manly mind feeks after, for the love of God, and private controversie. and their own freedoms. But Moses, with the fame Rod which he divided the Sea withall, in the fight of the Elders of Israel, brought waters out of the Rock, wherewith the whole multitude were fatisfied.

§. II.

of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battel with the Amalekites, and Jethro's coming; who, being a Kenite, was Prieft of Madian.

his approach, and gheffed that he meant to am, speaking of the Kenites: Strong is thy lead the children of Ifrael through their dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the Countrey (which being barren of it felf, rock, And that Saul spared this Nation, he

the least misery, were more apt to return (would be utterly wasted by so great a mulceiving their resolutions, gave charge to 70. ablest Hebrews, to encounter Amalech, Be- End tween whom and Ifrael the victory remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day; the Hebrews and the Amalekites contending with equal hopes and repulles for many hours. And had not the strength of Moses Prayers to God been of farr greater force, and more prevalent than all refistance & attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are unacquainted with scarcity of food, and those minds whom a servile education their first attempts, will hardly, or never, be brought again to hazzard themselves.

After this Victory, Jethro repaired to Mofes, bringing with him Mofes his Wife, and his two Sons, which either Jethro forbare to conduct, or Moses to receive, till he had by this overthrow of Amalech the better assured himself of that part of Arabia. For it is written From hence towards Raphidim, they in Exod. 18. 1. When Jethro, the Priest of Madian, Moses Father-in-law, heard all that God had done for Moses, &c. of which, the last deed to wit the overthrow of Amalech gave paired to his Son-in-law, Moles, at Sinai; where among other things he advised Moles to appoint Judges, and other Officers over If-

This Jethro, although he dwelt amongst the Madianites, yet he was by Nation a Kenite, as in the fourth of Judges, Vers. 11, 17. it is manifest: where it is written, Now Heber theKenite, which was of the children of Hobab, to wit, the Son of Jethro, the Father-in-law of Moses, was departed from the Kenites, and chatter pitched his Tents untill the Plain of Zaanaim, or which is by Kedesh. Likewise, in the first of Samuel, Saul commanded the Kenites to depart from among the Amalekites, lest he should destroy them with the Amalekites. North For the Kenites inhabited the mountains of 18. Nd while Moses encamped in this place, Sin Kadesh ; and the Amalekites dwelt in ism the Amalekites, who had knowledg of the Plains, according to the faying of Bala-14-15

all the children of Ifrael, when they came up of the issues of Madian, one of the fix Sons which Abraham begat on Kethura: and might also take that name of Kenites from Kethura, of whom they descended by the mother, who (as it feemeth) kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their Parent Abraham, For Moses, when he fled out of Egypt into Madian, and married the Daughter of Jethro, would not (had he found them Idolaters) have made Jethro's Daughter the mother of his children. And although the Kenites are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seed of Abraham should root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from Abraham himself: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of Chus. For in the fifteenth of Genefis, verf. 19. these Keniter, or Chuster, are listed with the Of the time when the Law was given; with di-Hittites and Perizzites, with the Amorites, Canaanites, Gergesttes, and Jebusites, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But thele Kenites descended from Abraham, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether Idolatrous. For, as it is before remembred, Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, was departed from the Kenites; that is to fay, from those Kenites of Canaan, and inhabited in Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh, or Cadesh. Again, Moses nameth that Nation rather, because they were more antient, than by anticipation.

And as of the Kenites, fo we may confider of the Madianites, parted by Moses into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of Madian by the River Zared, afterwards destroyed by Moses. But the Madianites, neer the the Desarts. But the Madianites in Moab, and to the North of the Metropolis of Arabia,

And though it may be doubted, whether that way.

giveth for cause, that they shewed mercy to those of Madian, of whom Jethro was Priest. and the other Cities in Moab were the from Egypt. For these Kenites were a Nation same, yet the contrary is more probable. For of the Madianites, and the Madianites were Moses would not have sent 12000. Ifraelites, as far back as the Red Sea, from the Plains of Moab, to have destroyed that Madian, where his Wives kinred inhabited; feeing himfelf coming with 600000. able men, was encountred by Amalech in that paffage. Neither could Moses forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Desarts, wherein himself and Israel had wandered fourty years.

That Jethro, or Jothor, Raguel, or Revel, and Hobab, were but one person, the Scriptures teach us. For the Vulgar, and Septuagint, which call him Raguel, and our English, Rovel, Exod. 2.18. cals him Jethro, or Jothor, Exod. 3.1. and 4.18. & 18.1. & 6.9, 10, 12. & in Numb. 10.29. Hobab. Others take Jethro and Hobab to be the same, but not Raguel.

6. III.

vers commendations of the invention of

THe rest of the Moneths of this year 2515. were spentin the Desart of sinai, neer the mountain of Sinai, or Horeb, the twelfth Manfion. Eusebius thought that Sinai and Horeb were distinct Mountains: Hierom, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in Exod. 3. 1. it is called Horeb: and in Exodus 24.19. it is written Sinai. In the 106. Pfalm, verf. 19. Hoof the Kenites, before Midian, or any of is called, Galatians 4. vers. 24. And again, reb: in Exodus 19. 11. Sinai. And fo it Abraham's other Sons were born; which he Deut. 4. 10. and 15. and Deut. 5. 2. Horeb. did (referring my self to better judgment) And so it is in the first of Kings 8.6. and the fecond of Chronicles 5. 10. and in Malachie 4.4. Finally, in Ecclefiafticus, 48.7. they are named as one. Which heardest (faith Ecclesiasticus) the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the judgment of the vengeance. Somewhat they are diffioined at the top, by the report of Peter Belonius; who, in the year 1588. banks of the Red Sea, where Moses married de Fumet of France, and travelled to the top his Wife Zippora, and with whom he left her both of Sinai and Horeb: Sinai being by and his children, till after the overthrow of farr the higer hill. From the fide of Horely Amalech, seem likewise not to have been (saith he) there falleth a very fair Spring of corrupted. For these Madianites, with the Water into the Valley adjoining: where he Kenites, affisted Ifrael, and guided them in found two Monasteries of Christian Marronites, containing some hundred Religious called Petræa, were by Ifrael rooted out, Gardens, delicate Fruits, and excellent when those adjoying to the Red Sea were Wine. These (faith the same Authour) give Fa Bell. entertainment to all strangers, which pass cap. 62.

D d

CHAP. IV.

probable: First, because he encamped there- to all Posterity for men of no less vertue, about almost a year, and drew no water, and no less liberally beneficial to their as in other places, by miracle: Secondly, Countreys, than the greatest and most probecause it is written, Exod. 32.20. that when sperous Conquerors that ever governed Moses had broken the golden Calf to pow-them. The Israelites, the Lacedemonians, der, which Aaron fet up in his absence, and the Athenians, received their Laws from he cast the powder thereof into the water, one; as the Israelites, from Moses; the Laceand made the children of Ifrael to drink damonians, from Lycurgus; the Athenians,

year; and he arrived about the five and chies and Estates. fourtieth day after the egreffion; the Law

being given the fiftieth day.

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of Exodus, to the end of that Book; all of the name and meaning of the words, Law in Leviticus; and all in Numbers, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no Story nor other Passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speak somewhat of the Law, and the kinds and use thereof: an indifferent sence used. For, if we conwherby, if the Reader find the Story any way fider it at large, it may be understood dif-joyned, he may turn over a few leaves, for any rule prescribing a necessary mean, and, omitting this, find the continuation order, and method, for the attaining of thereof. We must first consider, that as there an end. And so the Rules of Grammar, can be neither foundation, building, nor or other Arts, are called Laws. Or, it continuance of any Common-wealth, with- is taken for any private Ordinance of Suout the rule, level, and iquare of Laws: fo periours or Inferiours: for the commandit pleased God to give thereby unto Moses ments of Tyrants, which they cause to be the powerfullest man (his miraculous grace observed by force, for their Decrees do excepted) to govern that multitude which also usurp that Title, according to the gehe conducted 5 to make them victorious in neral acceptation of the word Law: of their passage, and to establish them assured- which Esay, Wounto them that decree wicked is the most fixed Director of the Sea-man wife, the word is used for the tumultuato his defired Port: so is the Law of God ry resolutions of the People. For such conthe Guide and Conductor of all in general ffitutions doth Aristotle also call Laws, the rule of all his creatures; the Law hu- that is made tumultuously. So as all Ordimane, depending on both these, the guard nances, either good or evil, are called by of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous Men; the name of Laws. yea, the very spirit, and the very sinews of The word Law is also taken for the moral every Estate in the World, by which they habit of our mind, which doth (asit were) live and move: the Law, to wit, a just Law, command our thoughts, words, and actions: being resembled to an Heart without affe- framing and fashioning them according to ction, to an Eye without lust, and to a Mind it felf, as to their pattern and plat-form without passion; a Treasurer, which keep- And thus the Law of the slesh, which the Dieth for every man what he hath, and diftri- vines call legem fomitis, is to be under buteth to every man what he ought to have. I flood. For every law is a kind of pattern of This benefit the Antient, though barbarous, that which is done according unto it in

Now, that there was fome such Torrent | of gods: and the rest, that made either adof water neer Sinai, in Mojes time, it is very ditions, or corrections, were commended from Solon; the Romans, fometime from On this mountain, the Law by the Angel their first Kings, from their Decem viri, from of God was given to Alofes, where he stayed their Senators, from their Lawyers, and a whole year, wanting some ten or twelve from the people themselves: other from the days: for he removed not till the twentieth Prince, Nobility, and People; as in Engday of the second Moneth of the second land, France, and in other Christian Monar-

6. IV.

and Right.

"He word Lex, or Law, is not always taken alike, but is diverfly, and in ly in their conquest. For, as the North Starr | Decrees, and write grievous things. Like 49 to the haven of eternal life: the Law of though evil and infufficient: Mala lex eft, pair, let Nature, from God his eternal Law deduced, qua tumultarie posita est; It is an evil Law op h

effectmed to highly, that among them, those which sence, as elsewhere, this moral habit on which were taken for the first makers of or disposition of the heart, is called the me Laws were honoured as gods, or, as the Sons frame, or figmentum of the heart: fo in S. Paul

to the Romans it is called a Law; But I fee another law in my members, rebelling against teaching, because every man is thereby the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin. Again, the nature and inhowing led (a) laws, so farr as they agree with the the power of the Law is the power of God:

giens. Lion, to be fierce or valiant. Also private contracts among Merchants, The reign of the Law, is the reign of God. min em and other Tradef-men, do often put on the mane of laws. But law, commonly and prothe table perly, is taken for a right rule, prescribing a funt sequenda, of qua sugienda; Law is the in to de Portina necessary mean, for the good of a Common- rule of life, commanding what to follow, and h son wealth, or Civil Community. The rest, to what to shun: or, Lex est omnium divinarum shand with, the commandments of Tyrants, &c. &c. humanarum rerum Regina; Law is the general which have not the common good for their Queen, or Princess of things both humane and between conductions that leaves and the conduction of the conducti ment not jult, S. Augustine doth not allow for laws, derstanding of the prudent; and the rule of iniqua hominum constituta, quæ nec jura dicenda nec put and a funt : The unjust constituti-

ons of men, which are neither to be tearmed nor All E. thought laws. For, faith Aristotle, Legalia justa 1 5.15 funt factiva, & conservativa fælicitatis; Just laws are the workers and preservers of happines: because by them we are directed ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life, according to Cicero: Yea, to life everlasting, according to Plato, is God, and his worthip: Finis legis Deus whence in the Scripture it is called also a and men permit. yoak, and a band: as confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula; they have broken the yoak,

Testamentum in mortuis ratum est.

The Hebrews call the Law Thorah, of taught his duty both to God and Men. The Greeks call it Nomos, of distributing, because clinations of all creatures, are sometime cal- it distributesh to every man his own due; form reason of the Law eternal; as the law of a Justice being an attribute proper unto God himself. Imperium legis, imperium Dei eft;

Law in general is thus defined by the Philosophers; Lex est vitæ regula, præcipiens què howsoever established: for he calls them right and wrong. For, as a right line is called, Index sui, & curvi, the demonstrance of it felf, and of the crooked; fo is the Law, the judge and measure of right and wrong.

M. Hooker calls the Law a directive rule to goodness of operation; and though Law, as touching the substance & essence, confists in understanding: Concludit tamen actum voluntatis; Tet it comprehends the act of our will. The word Jus is also diversly taken as somethe Scriptures. For the end of the Law, faith time for the matter of the Law, and for common right: fometime for the Law it felf; & cultus ejus. Lex, or the Law, is so called as Jus civile, or Jus gentium. Isidore distinby the Latines, à legendo, or, à ligando, of | guisheth the two general words Jus and Fus; reading, or binding: Leges quia lette & ad | whereof Jus, saith he, hath reference to men, populum lata, saith Varro; For, after Laws Fas to God. Fas lex divina, Jus lex humana. 19d. Elyah were written and published, all men might | To go over another man's field, is permitted read them, and behold in them whereto they | by Gods Law, not by Man's; and therefore were bound. The other Etymologie, a ligando, in a thing out of controversie, Virgil used is no less agreeable with the nature of a Law: | both these words: as Fas & jura simunt, God

The word Jus, or Right, is derived or taken from the old Sustantive Noun jussia,a they have broken the bands. And in the second | bidding or commandment: or, perhaps, from Psalm, Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projici- the Greek zws, which is the name of Jupiamus à nobis funes ipsorum; Let us break their ter, or of the Latine Genitive case Jovis; bands asunder, and let us cast away their cords because, as the Scripture speaks, the judg-Dem.1.17 ment is God's. For, as it is certain that jus- 19.6. The Covenant it is called, because of the | jurandum came of Jovis-jurandum (for so we conditional promises of God; and because find it written in Nonius out of the antient, of God's people's voluntary fubmission of in which sence the Scripture calls it juramen- Exod. 22. themselves unto it: for which word the se- tum Jehova) so also we may say, that Jus came 11. pluagint, and the Epifile to the Hebrews, use of Jovis, quia Jovis est; because as God is the the word Dabhan, a Testament, or last Will: Authour, and Pattern, and Maintainer of which name it hath, because it is not other- right, so also in his Vicegerents, the Magiwife effectual for our falvation, but in respect of the death of the Testator; for with of right. Of this Jus, the just are denominated the state of the death of the Testator; for with of right. out the death of the Testator, the Testa- nated, Justus à jure, and Justitia à justo; The ment is of no force, as Heb. 9. 17. it is faid, Right gives name to the Righteons; and Justice takes her name from the Just.

overy kind hath a proper and peculiar rible confusion.

definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and diftinguish them. I mean, those of the definition of Laws, and of the Law forts of Laws from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals Ut, because Laws are manifold, and that of humane laws to their infinite and hor.

The writ- The Law of Moses, ten is al-so double. The Gospel. Eternal or uncreated. Written. Natural, Divine, National, or which hath (As the Doctrine and Religi-Internal. two parts. Laws positive, Unwritten.) on of the Patriarchs before Laws imposed or imposed, ex-) the written Law of Mofes, or of additiplicating, and which fome call Cabala. on, commonperfecting the ly called posi-Which Cicero in his fe- (Ecclefiafti-Law of Nature, tive. 2 Humane, phichis alcond Book of Invention) cal, and are donble: Calleth Jus Legitimum, divided into the fo twofold. Unwritten As the Laws of Custom and Use.

mas. Lex aterna eft aternus divina sapientia Law, and a fit Princes to command and forbid, conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad guber- is the right reason of the most high God. This nationem rerum ab ipso præcognitarum; The eternal Law (if we consider it in God, or as eternal Law is the eternal conceit of God's God) is always one and the same; the nature Wisdom, as it is referred to the government of of God being most simple: but as it is refer-Th. 9.36. things foreknown by himself. Or, Lex aterna red to divers objects, fo the reason of man est summa atque eternaratio divine sapientie: finds it divers and manifold. It also fecmeth quaterus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita diri- one law in respect of things necessary, as the git, ut illis juxta conditionem ipsarum modum motions of the heavens, stability of the aliquem necessitatis adferat; It is high and earth, Oc. but it appeareth otherwise to eternal reason of divine sapience: a: it direct- things contingent: another law to men, aneth all things in such fort to their proper ends, other to other creatures, having life, and to imposing a kind of necessity, according to their all those that be inanimate. feveral natures, or conditions. Now, the difference lies in this: That as the same divine ed, as by the counsel and providence of understanding directs all these to their pro- God: from this Law, all laws are derived, as per ends; so it is called Providence: but, as from the rule universal, and thereto reit imposeth a necessity, according to the ferred, as the operation of the second to the nature of all things which it directs, fo it is first. called a Law.

ledge, when in his Book of Laws, he wrote in more largely: as well every creature, to their this manner: Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, proper and natural ends, as it doth Manto & ad rette faciendum impellens & à diletto his supernatural: but the divine Law to a avocans: que non tum incipit lex esse cum supernatural end onely: the natural law is scripta est, sed tum orta est. Orta autem simul est thence derived, but an effect of the eternal: cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque asit were a stream from the fountain. princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, ratio est recta summi Jovis; That perfect rea- thence drawn: in that it hath the form of fon and nature of things, incouraging or impel- right reason; from which if it differ, it is then ling to rightfull actions, and calling us back impositio iniqua, a wicked imposition; and onefrom evil, did not (faith he) then begin to be | ly borroweth the name of a law. a law when it was written, but when it had be-

The Law Eternal is thus defined by Tho- | divine understanding, and therefore a true

By this eternal Law, all things are direct-

The eternal, and the divine Law, differ The C Of this eternal Law, Cicero took know- only in confideration; the eternal directing in

The Law humane or temporal is also

To this eternal Law all things are fubing. Being and beginning it had together with jected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures, creatures, or things created; whether necef- the time of the Pædagogie of God's people, inanimate.

16.148. Director: as Praise him all ye his Angels:praise him Sun and Moon, all bright Starrs: Heavens shall not pass: Praise ye the Lord from the earth te Dragons and all Deeps; fire and bail, fnow and vapours, stormy winds which execute his word: mountains and hills, fruitfull trees, and all Cedars; Beafts and all Cattel, &c. Now, as the reasonable creatures are by this eternal Lawbound, by the glory and felicity proposed unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) fo all other natural things and creatures have in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to it, without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For Beasts are led by sense, and natural instinct: thinks without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavie to fall downward; things light to mount upward, &c. and fire to hear what soever is apposed. This kind of working, the Aristotelians ascribe to common nature; others to fate; a difference least of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

who have thence-from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetitions, to conduct them: lo is the object and matter of the Law, the whole creature. For, according to S. Ausuftine,Lex æterna eft qua justum est, ut omnia lint ordinatissima; The Law eternal is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be dis-Posed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which S. Augustine useth a sufficient argument in his first Book of Free-will, the fixth Chapter. For the law of Moses, which had a time prefixed,

fary or contingent, natural or moral, and hu- or Introduction to Christ, should be expired; mane. For the Law eternal runneth through which time of expiration, some think our all the universal, and therefore it is the Law Saviour noted to be come, when on the Cross also of things which are simple, natural and he said, Consummatum est. But I rather think John 18. these words of our Saviour to have no other Pfal. 69, Hence it is, that all things created are figuification, than that now the Prophecie of commanded to praise God their Creator and their giving him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For fo S. John expounds it, when he faith, v.28. That Christ feeing all (other) things to be of heavens, for he hath established them for ever fulfilled, Ut consummaretur Scriptura, That the and ever. He hath made an ordinance which | Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, faid, I thirst: though I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremonial, and of fo much of the judicial, as appertained peculiarly to the Jews, and agreeth not with the Law of the New Testament and Gospel of Christ. For the immutable Law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therfore changed in it felf; but the things prescribed change according to this eternal ordinance, of which the Wifdom of Solomon, and being one, she can do all things, and remaining in her felf, reneweth all.

6. VI.

Of the Law of Nature.

F the Law of Nature, as it is taken in Aug is general, I find no definition among the Ep ad Hil. used in tearms only; it being no other than | School-men; only as it is considered in Man, 89. 00 in God's general providence: for, as it is truly it is called The impression of divine Light, and Evang. faid of God, that he is omnia super omnia: fo | a participation of the eternal Law in the rea- 49. are all things which appear in themselves sonable creature. Lex Naturalis est impression thence derived, there-under subjected, divini liminis in nobis, & participatio Legis thence-from by his eternal Law and provi- aterna in rationali creatura. Ulpian defines The dejusdence directed, even from the greatest to the the natural Law to be the same which Nature just 1. bath taught all living creatures: Jus naturale ii. 1. The Schoolmen are very curious and eft quod Natura omnia animalia docuit: and ample in the consideration of these laws: and he afterward addeth, Justified non humani in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, generis proprium, sed omnium animalium que and object of the eternal Law. But, as the terra marique nascuntur, avium quoque comprofit is manifest in the good of all creatures, | mune oft; The Law of Nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all living creatures, as well Birds, as to those the Land and Sea produceth. But this definition is not general, but of the natural Law in things

The Law of Nature in general, Itake to be that disposition, instinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal Providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is divinum lumen in men inlightning our formal reason; so is it more than sense in Beafts; and more than vegetation in Plants. For it is not fense alone in Beasts, which was cternally by God ordained to last untill teacheth them, at first sight, and without ex-

perience

CHAP. IV.

214 mies of their lives: seeing that Bulls and drvine light; the other, the did ate, or sen and yet the Hare and Deer feedeth by the exercise of Justice and uprightness: and not one, and flieth from the other, yea, though to offer or perform any thing toward others, by them never feen before, and that as foon | fave that which we would be content flould as they fall from their Dams. Neither is it be offered or performed toward our felves. fense, which hath taught other Beasts to pro- For, such is the Law of Nature to the Mind, vide for Winter, Birds to build their Ness as the Eye is to the Body; and that which, or quiet seasons: or the Birds of *India*, to is, the observation of those things which lead make their Nests on the smallest twigs which us thereby to our last end; which is eternal hang over Rivers, and not on any other part life; though of themselves not sufficient of the Tree, or elsewhere, to save their Eggs and young ones from the Monkies, and other Beafts, whose weight such a twig will not bear, and which would fear to fall into the not taken for the law, is, as aforesaid, the Water. The instances in this kind are ex- impression of God's divine light in men, and ceeding many which may be given. Neither a participation of the law increated and is it out of the vegetable or growing nature eternal. For without any law written, the of Plants, that some Trees, as the female of right reason and understanding, which God Palmitto, will not bear any fruit, except the hath given us, are abilities within our felves. male grow in fight. But this they do by that | fufficient to give us knowledge of the good Law, which the infinite and unsearchable and evil, which by our gratitude to God Wisdom of God had in all eternity provi- and distribution of right to men, or by the ded for them, and for every nature created. | contrary, we prepare and purchase for our suprafett, of Nature incorrupt, which S. Augustine purelt reason; in whose highest Turrets, the supragett. calleth the Law of Reason, but by a nature quiet of Conscience hath made her resting loco. ad blinded and corrupted, that the Germans place and habitation; In arce altissima ratio ROW, 7.23 did antiently allow of theft: and that other nie quies habitat. Therefore the Gentilus was permitted to men to use one another's for a witness of those effects: and the repre-Theod.1.9. Wife, and to the women, to choose them bate their thoughts to accuse them. de termidis others besides their Hulband, to beget them | And it is most true, that whosoever is not a affel. Gra- with child: which Law in those parts hath law unto himself (while he hopeth to abuse

against nature and right reason.

that these Laws some men avow to be natural: except it be of this corrupt nature, as the World, sed flos ille, dum loquimur, are files (among others) to pay guile with guile : to Those flowers wither while we discourse of their become faithless among the faithless: to colours, or are in gathering them. That we struction: that Injury is not done to him our selves, and become fearfull Witnesses of fear, and the like. For taking the definition pher Pythagoras teach in this golden, Pre-

perience or instruction, to flie from the ene- Aquinas (the one calling it The impression of week mies of their nives. Recting the more fearfull tence of pradique reason) the same can teach men Hories appear unto the leaft kind of Doggs; us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the land thind of Doggs; and terrible, than the leaft kind of Doggs; are greatered by the land unrightness and a price of buffice and unrightness and a high or low, according to the tempestuous according to David, sheweth us good, that the

without faith and grace. Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is In Man this Law is double, corrupt, and in- felves. For when the Gentiles (faith S. Paul) frank corrupt: corrupt, where the reason of Man which have not the law, do by nature these hath made its self subject, and a Vassal to things contained in the law: they having not Passions, and Affections Brutal: and incor- the law, are a law unto themselves. Now, to rupt, where time and custom hath bred in love God, by whom we are, and to do the Men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, same right unto all men, which we defire is a kind of Law. For it was not by the Law | should be done unto us, is an effect of the Nations were by Law constrain'd to become (saith S. Panl) which show the effects of the law best Idolaters; that by the Laws of Lycurgus it written in their hearts, have their consciences

lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day. the World by the advantage of hypocrise) The Scythians, and the People of both In- worketh nothing elfe, but the betraying of dies, hold it lawfull to bury with them the his own Soul, by crafty unrighteousness, purbest beloved Wives: as also they have many chasing eternal perdition. For it helpethus other cultoms remembred by G. Valentia, not to hide our corrupt hearts from the World's eye, feeing from him, who is an in-And I know not from what authority it is, | finite eye, we cannot hide them : fome Gar. lands we may gather in this May-game of provide for our felves by another man's de- should therefore inhabit and dwell within that is willing; to deftroy those whom we our fecret evils, did that reverend Philosoof natural laws, either out of S. Angustine, or cept: Nil turpe committas, neque coram alin, neque tecum; maxime omnium verere teipsum; (as that good is to be followed, and evil Commit nothing foul or dishonest, saith he, eschewed) and demonstrable, which is evineither to be known to others, nor to thine own dently proved out of higher and more uniheart: but above all men, reverence thine own versal propositions. Again, as it answereth Conscience. And this may be a Precept of the natural appetite, prescribing things to Nature and right Reason; by which law, be defired as good, or to be avoided as evil men, and all creatures, and bodies, are in- (as of the first, to desire to live, and to satisfied to satisfie to live and to s clined to those operations, which are answer- fie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew able to their own form; as Fire to give heat. pains, forrow, and death) in this confidera-Now, as the reasonable mind is the form of tion they divide it, according to the divers Tho. 4.96. Man, so is he aptly moved to those things kinds of appetites that are in us. For in art. 1. first creation.

18 618, which they obey. He made a decree for the is a Being, Ens or Res; so he doth defire and confusion.

By this natural Law, or law of humane not well, fin lieth at thy door.

Volume of this Subject.

monstrable, or needing no demonstration place (saith Valentia) Just is not to be taken

which his proper form presenteth unto him; every man there are three sorts of appeto wit, that which right Reason offereth; tites, which answer the three degrees of and the Acts of right Reason, are the acts of natural Law. The first is, to be that which we Vertue; and in the breach of the rules of are; in which is comprehended the defire, this Reason, is a man least excusable: as being both to live, and to preserve our being and a reasonable creature. For all else, both sen- life, as also the desire of issue, with care to fitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the provide for them: for the Father, after his Law which God imposed on them at their death, lives in his children; and therefore the defire of life comprehends the defire of The Earth performeth her office, accord- children. And to these appetites are referred ing to the Law of God in nature: for it the first indemonstrable laws of Nature, for bringeth forth the bud of the Herb, which the most part. For it needs no proof, that feedeth feed, &c. and the Beast, which liveth | all creatures should desire to be, to live, and thereon. He gave a law to the Seas, and to be defended, and to live in their iffue, commanded them to keep their bounds; when they cannot in themselves. And as Man Rain, and a way for the Lightning of the good, and shun evil. For it is common to all Thunders. He caused the Sun to move, and things, to desire things agreeable to their to give light, and to serve for signs, and for own natures, which is, to desire their own feasons. Were these as rebellious as Man, for good. And so is good defined by Aristotle, whose sake they were created, or did they to be that which all desire. Which definionce break the Law of their natures and tion Basil upon the 44. Psalm approveth: forms; the whole World would then perish, Recte quidem bonum desinierunt, quod omnia and all return to their first Chaos, darkness, expetunt; Rightly have some men defined good, Ethic I. 12 or goodness to be that which all things desire.

The second kind of appetite, is of those Reason, did Cain perceive his own wicked- things which appertain unto us, as we have ness and offence, in the murther of Abel: for sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, we henot onely feared the displeasure of God, defire the delights of every sense; but with but the revenge of men; it being written in such moderation, as may neither glut us with his reason, that whatsoever he performed to- satiety, nor hurt us with excess. For, as Sense wards others, the same by others might be it self is for the preservation of life and bedone unto him again. And that this judg- | ing ; so is it meet, even by the law of Nature, ment of well and evil doing, was put into that the sensitive appetite should not carry our natures by God, and his eternal Law, be- us to the destruction, either of our life or forethe Law written, Moses in the person of being. And although (seeing both these God witnesseth, Gen. 4. If thou do well, kinds of appetites are in Beasts) we may fall thou not be accepted? and if thou do well fay, that Nature hath given divers laws unto them: In which sense the Civilians de-The School-men are large also in this Que- fine natural Right, or fus naturale, to be the flion of the natural Law; the same being same which Nature hath raught all living opened amply by Reinerius, Antonius, and creatures: Yet the School men admit not, Valentia. But it is not my purpose to write a that the instincts of Beast's can properly be called a law, but onely a fus, or Right, But this Law which Thomas Aquinas cal- which is the matter, and aim of every law. leth An act of Reason taken properly; and not | For so they distinguish it; where Ulpian afa habit, as it is an evident natural judgment firmeth, that Jus naturale is that, which Naof practick reason; they divide into inde-

vet where Ulpian also distinguisheth the as by this law, all men are born Lords of the right belonging to living creatures in gene- Earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of porral, from the right belonging to men, calling the one. Jus Natura, the other Jus Gentium: the Divines understand the law of by permitting and commanding that all men Nature more largely, that is, for all evident shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reafon, both in Bealts and Men; and restrain the law of Nations to a kind of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertain properly to Man, as he is a living creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selves: and the laws of this appetite are the commandments of our Religion.

branches and divisions of this law of Nature answering the division of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth; yet is the law of Nature but one law, according to Aquinas: first, because it hath one fountain or root in the natural or motive faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary: fecondly, because all is contained in that general natural precept, That good is to be followed, and ill avoided: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of Nature binds all creatures, it is manifest; and chiefly Man; because he is endued with reason: in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observer or Ascades governed the Assyrians, Marathus that ing the law of Nature increaseth; Post- the Sycionians, Triopus the Argives, Cecrops quam ratio ad perfectium venit, tune fit quod | Attica, and Acherres Egypt: to wit, after the scriptum est, Adveniente mandato, peccatum revixit; When reason grew to perfection, then it seemes, was the first written law which the came to pals, which was written by S. Paul, Nom 1.18. When the commandment came, fin revived. Neither is it a small warrant for this law of invented by the Gracians; no, not in Homer's Nature, when those that break the same, are time, who lived after the fall of Troy 80. years faid by S. Paul, To be delivered over into a reprobate fense (or mind) to do those things which Rom 1. 15, are not convenient : And again, that their consciences bear witness, and their thoughts accuse it might remain a lasting Book of his ex-L. 21 Fid. mascene; Homines facti sunt mali, declinando be without excuse, the slight defences of ouho & 30. in id quod contra naturam est; Men (saith he) ignorance being taken from them. are made evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to Nature: And S. Augustine, Omne vi-

therefore contrary unto it.

for a law, but for the matter of the law. And exceptions in some particulars. For, wheretions, according to unequal merit: by taking from the evil, and giving to the good; and themselves: according to the rules of Justice and Equity.

And though the law of Nature command, that all things be restored which are lest in truft, yet in some cases, this her law she suffereth to be broken: as to deny a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was fober. But the Universal principles can no more be changed, Now, although there are many other than the decrees of God are alterable: who. according to S. Paul, abideth faithfull, and tin cannot deny himself.

s. VII.

of the written Law of God.

Fter the Eternal, and Natural, the law Positive or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather an explication of the former, hath two kinds; Divine, and Humane. Again, the Divine positive law is double; the Old, and New: The Old was given unto Moses in Mount Sinai, or Horeb, at fuch time as the World had stood 2513, whole years: and in promise to Abraham, 430 years. And this, it World received. For the very word Nomos, fignifying a law, was not then, nor long after, at least; and Troy it felf was cast down 335. years, after Mofes led Ifrael out of Egypt. This law, it pleased God to engrave in Stone, that them. For though this law of Nature stretch | pressed Will in the Church: and that the not to every particular; as to command fast- Priests and People might have whereof to ing, and the like; yet it commandeth in ge- | meditate, till the coming of Christ: and that neral all good, and whatsoever is agreeable so these Children of Israel, though bred to right and reason. And therefore said Da- among an Idolatrous People in Egypt, might

The reason known to us, why this law was not written before, is, that when the People tium natura nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam were few, and their lives long, the Elders of eft; Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is Families might eafily, without any written law,instruct their own Children; and yet,as Neither yet are the rules of this law they increased, so doubtless they had, besides of Nature so streight, but that they suffer the law of Nature many precepts from God,

feeming necessary, and hinder common procalled undefiled.

not first conceived in the mind.

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledg of truth, which by reason of diversity of Opinion, and difference of peculiar laws among fundry Nations, we cannot be affured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without errour; and therefore also said David, That the testimony of the Law of God is faithful; giving wisdom to children;

9. VIII. malbata

Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Tatriarchs by Tradition.

left altogether to the law of Reason and Nature, it doth not appear. For the Patriarchs of the first Age received many Precepts from Also the law of honouring and reverence. Gen 34.15 Gm. 38.16

before the law written. But now at length, for God himself, and whatsoever was first imas much as the law of Nature did not define posed by Adam, the same was observed by all kinds of good, and evil; nor condemn | Seth, who instructed Enos; from whom it every fin in particular: nor fufficiently ter- descended to Noah, Sem, Abraham Isaac, Jarifie the consciences of offenders; nor so ex- cob, Joseph, and Moses. Yea, many particular pound divine Worship, as for those after- commandments afterward written, were ages was required, who gave every day less formerly imposed and delivered over by authority than other to the natural law; In tradition; which kind of teaching the Tems these respects it was necessary, that the law afterward called Cabala, or Receptio; Preshould be written, and set before the eyes of cepts received from the mouth of their all men; which before, they might, but Priefts and Elders; to which the Jews after would not read in their own consciences. The | the law written, added the interpretation school-men, and the Fathers before them, in- of fecret Mysteries, reserved in the bosoms large the causes and necessity, why the law of their Priests, and unlawful to be uttered to was written; whereof these are the chiefest. the People. But the true Cabala was not to The first, for restraining of sin, directly be concealed from any; as being indeed the grounded upon this place of David, The law divine Law revealed to the Patriarchs, and of the Lord is undefiled, converting Souls: The | from them delivered to the Posterity, when testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving mif- as yet it was unwritten. The commanddom to children. For the humane law, faith | ments which God gave unto Adam in the be-S. Angustine, meeteth not with all offences, ginning, were, that he should impose names either by way of prohibition or punishment; to all Beasts, according to their natures; to feeing thereby it might take away fomthing | whose perfection of understanding, they were fufficiently known. For, finding the fit; but the divine law written, forbiddeth reason of his own name Adam, or Adamah, every evil, and therefore, by David, it is Earth, or red clay, he gave other names fignificant, not only to Beafts, but to his Children Secondly, it ferveth for the direction of and Nephews, which afterward his iffines our minds. For the laws of men can onely imitated; as the name of seth tignifieth, as take knowledg of outward actions, but not fome take it, one that was laid for the of internal motions, or of our disposition and ground or foundation of the Church, or rawill: and yet it is required, that we be no ther one given in recompence for Abel that . The less clean in the one, than in the other. And was flain; and Enosh fignifieth Man, or mile-common therefore were the words converting our rable, &c. Further, God commanded Adam is cam jer-Sonlis, added by David: wherein are all our to till the Ground, and to live by the labour rest but outward acts first generated, according to thereof: God also gave him the choice of not dethe Cabalifts. Actiones hominum nulla effent, all fruits, but the forbidden; and in Adam frog the miss privis in mente dicerentur; The actions of also was Marriage first instituted, all men earth; and men save at all more when the proceeding the proposed delite as better being appropriate as the same as men (lay they) would be none at all, were they | thence-after being commanded to co-habit not this with their Wives, rather than with their Fa- Prepoliti-

ther or Mother. That murther and cruelty was also for the same bidden, both before the Law written, and which it before the Flood it felf, it is manifest. God hath, achimself making it appear, that it was one of cording to the greatest causes of the destruction of Man- gen. 4 1. kind by the general Flood. For God faid 11em 44.4. unto Noah, An end of all Flesh is come before & Dent. me; for the Earth is filled with cruelty through especially, them : and behold, I will defiroy them * from feeing the Earth. That offence therefore, for which words are all perished, could not be unknown to all but a rethat perished: God's Mercy and Justice in petition of that terposing between the untaught and Re-which is Ow, that in all this long tract of Time, between the Creation and the written to Noah, after the Waters were dried up in minimal. Law, the World and People of God were from the Earth: Whole fleddeth Man's Blood, superficial by Man Shall his Blood be shed; for in the I- Gen 9. 6. mage of God hath He made Man.

Father's curse : as, Cursed be Canaan, a servant Prophets, and in the Psalms. of servants shall be be unto his brethren. Again, we find that the unnatural fin of the istaken for the Law Moral, Ceremonial, and dultery and Ravishment, was before the Law the Law. no less detested than the rest, as appeareth by that revenge taken for Dina's forcing: and by the judgment which Juda gave against Tamar, That she should be burnt; and by the repentance of Pharaoh and Abimelech, against whom this sentence was pronounced, Thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken; for she is a man's Wife. To these we may add the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of clean and unclean Beasts, of Circumcifion, of the brother to raise up feed to his brother that left a Widow childless, and divers other conflitutions, partly Christ's coming it fignifieth the whole policy Moral, and partly Ceremonial, which being delivered before the written Law were after by it confirmed. So that this Divine Law imposed, of which the Law of Moses containeth that which is called, The Old Testament, may be faid, not only to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was engraven in stone, but also in substance to have been given in Precept to the Patriarchs. For, as by the Figure Metonymia, for Interest, Au-S. Paul witnesseth of himself, I knew not sin, but by the Law, fo ever the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, or the force of sin and death, the enforcements though written after offences committed. It of concupifcence, &c. is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kind of unwritten Law; the Angels intuitively; Men, by reason; is thus defined. The law is a doctrine, which Beafts by fense and instinct, without difcourse; Plants by their vegetative powers; and things Inanimate, by their necessary motions, without fense or perception.

6. IX.

Of the Moral, Judicial, and Ceremonial Law, with a note prefixed how the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sence, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

is taken for all doctrin which doth prescribe ultimus humane vite sinis the divine Law (a) and restrain; so the Law, called the Law of they) is the decree of God, prescribing unto Moses in particular, is taken by S. Paul di- men a necessary mean, whereby they may apily verily : as sometime for the Old Testament; as, attain supernatural beatitude, which is the Rom 3 19 Now we know, that what soever the Law saith, it end of man's life. faith to them which are under the Law.

the Prophets and Plalms, it is there taken for part commandeth this or that good to be the five Books of Moses. For so S, Luke hath done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in

ing our Parents, was observed among the diffinguished them; as, All must be fulfilled faithful, and the contrary punished by the which are written of me in the Law, in the

When it is opposed to the Gospel, then it sodomite was punished in the highest de-gree, as with fire from Heaven. The sin of A-man is justified by Faith, without the works of tangle

When it is opposed to Grace, it significth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the Law, and Summum Jus: as, For ye are not un- Galti der the law, but under grace.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or Signs are taken for the things fignified; as the Sacrifice for Chrift, and the like; then it fignifieth but shadows and figures; as, The law was given by Moles, Janus but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of of the Jews Common-wealth; as, Before Faith came, we were kept under the law, &c. Or the Laws law of the Order and Institution of the Aaronical Priesthood; as, All the Prophets & the law, Hills, or the Priests, prophesied unto John. And if the Priefthood be changed, the Law also, to wit, of the Priesthood, must needs be changed.

The word (Law) is sometime also taken thority, and Empire, or for constraining 2006 force; as, The law of the Spirit of life, the law &m

But the Written Law of Moses, or the law of the Old Testament, of which we now speak, was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by Moses, or by him repeated, commanding Holiness and Justice, promiting eternal life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the Law, and threatning Death to those which break the Law in the least. For according to S. James, Whosever James Shall keep the whole, and fail in one point, it is. guilty of all. The definition used by the Schole-men, in which, both the Old and New Law are comprehended, is thus given: Lex divina est divinum decretum, hominibus pra-Ow, as the word (Law) in general, as is | scribens modum necessarium, ut apte percentre aforesaid, hath divers significations, and possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quaest

The Law of Moses hath three parts: Mo-When it is opposed, or differenced from ral, Ceremonial, and Judicial. The Moral particular; as also it declareth, for whose retaineth still. For these things also are treateth of vertue and goodness; the Cere- other. monial of divine fervice, and of holines; (for external worship, and the order of hailowing our felves unto God, is called Cereal; good, or honest to the Moral. The Judi- a farr less degree of necessity. cial part is touching the government of the Common-wealth of the Jews, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as fuch as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

things, Sacraments, and Observances. To Sacrifices belong Beafts, and the Fruits of the earth; to holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcifion, the Paffover, and fuch like. For Observances, they confifted either in prohibition of certain meats, as not to eat the bloud and fat of Beafts; or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mix'd prohibiteth other unnatural and unproper nine points. commixtion; as, Thou shalt not yoak together in a Plough, an Ox and an Af, or cast mingled feed in one field. It also exhorteth to natural compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty, even to Beafts, Birds, and Plants, whereby the

like, to the Ceremonial Law. Neither is there any of these three parts of the law of Moses, but it hath as yet in fome respect the same power which it had before the coming of christ. For the Moral charity one towards another; which for ever remonial, and Judicial. final be required at our hands. Therein al-

creatures of God might be destroyed with-

out any profit to man. For fo some referr

these Precepts, Thou shalt not kill the Bird

fitting on her Nest, nor beat down the Buds of

the Tree, nor muzzle the labouring Ox, and the

fake it is to be done; as, Do this, for I am the commanded in both Testaments to be ob-Lord; whereas the law of Nature commands ferved: though principally for fear of God ir but in general. Again, the Moral law en- in the one, and for the love of God in the

The Ceremonial also lived in the things which it fore-fignified. For the fladow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the bomony) and the Judicial teacheth the particu- dy it self is represented to us. Besides, it lar government, fit for the Common-wealth still liveth, in that it giveth both instruction of the Jews, and prescribeth orders for justice and testimony of Christ, and in that it giveth and equity. And therefore was it faid of direction to the Church, for some Ceremo-S. Paul, The Commandment is just, holy, and nies and Types of holy signification, which cood: just, or justice being referred to the are still expedient; although in a farr fewer Judicial: holy, or holiness to the Ceremoni- number than before Christ's coming, and in

> Lastly, the Judicial liveth in Substance, and concerning the end, and the natural and universal equity thereof.

But the Moral faileth in the point of justification, the Ceremonial as touching the use The Ceremonial is divided into four parts, and external observation (because christ according to the four kinds of things of himself is come, of whom the Ceremonies which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, holy were figns and shadows) and the Judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the Jews Common-weal and Policy.

6. X.

A Proposal of nine other points to be consider-ed, with a touch of the five first.

S for that which remaineth in general confideration of the divine Written Garments of Linnen and Woollen: as also it Law, it may in effect be reduced into these

- 1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
- 2. The Majesty of the Law giver.
- 3. The property and peculiarity of the People receiving it.
- 4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
- 5. The efficacy and power thereof. 6. The difference and agreement of the
- Old and New Testament.
- 7. The end and use of the Law. 8. The sence and understanding of the
- 9. The durance and continuance thereof.
- The dignity of the Law is sufficiently liveth still, and is not abrogated or taken proved by S. Paul, in these words: Wherefore away; faving in the ability of justifying or the Law is haly, and the Commandment is holy, condemning; for therein are we command- and just, and good: which three attributes ed to love and worship God: and to use are referred, as aforesaid, to the Moral, Ce-
- foare we in particular directed, show this proved in all his creatures, who, as he hath ought to be done; which power of direct- given all things their lives and beings, so he ing by special Rules and Precepts of life, it only gave the Law, who could onely give

falvation of Mankind; but he gave it not to by Works, the new by Grace; but in the thing Moses immediately, but by the ministery of it felf, or object and remote end, they Angels, as it is faid: And the Law was ordain- agree; which is, mans happiness and falvation. Gal. 3 19. ed by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator: And

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People receiving the Law, is in three re- which the new taketh witness. Yet the new fpects. First, in that they were prepared. Se- is of more excellency, in that it doth more condly, in that they were a Nation apart and lively express, and openly and directly delidiffevered. Thirdly, in that they were the Children of the Promise made to Abraham. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledg of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and fe- Law, though greatly extolled by the Fravered they were, because of God's choice | phets, and delivered with wonderfull miand election Children of the Promife they racles, yet was it constituted in a policy were, for the Promise was made by God unto Abraham and his feed; not unto his feeds, mife of an everlasting Kingdom, and thereas to Esan and Jacob, but to his seed, as to sore called in the Apocalyps, a Testament and Jacob or Ifrael fingularly, of whom Chrift. Gospel for ever during. Now, to Abraham and his feed was the Pro. mise made; he saith not, to the seeds, as speaking of many, but, to thy feed, as of one, which

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. Augustine; that it because the first and chief part thereol, is was about the middle time, between the the glad tidings of our Redemption: the Law of Nature and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from Adam to Moses: the Law written in the commandments received | are plentiful Interpreters thereof: The word by Moses in the Worlds year, 2514. continued to the Baptism of John; from which time, | prosperous message, or (as Homer usedit) began the Law of Grace, which shall conti- the reward given to the Messenger bring conveniency are formerly given.

to, or fign of our Justification; but not by it glad tidings in general, as in Esay 52. 21.7 felf fufficient, but as a figure of chrift in cere concerning peace. Secondly, by an excelmonies, and a preparation to righteousness in lency it is restrained, to fignifie that most moral precepts. For through the Passion of joyful message of Salvation, as in Luke 2.10. Christ were fins forgiven, who taketh away whence also by figure it is taken for the the fins of the World: and therefore S. Fant | History of Christ; and so we understand the calleth the Rudiments of the Law, beggarly four Gospels. and weak; beggarly, as containing no Grace, weak, as not able to forgive and justifie. The the Doctrine of Christ, as I Cor. 9. 14. and bloud of Goats and Bulls, and the Ashes of an |2 Cor. 8. 18. Heifer could onely cleanfe the body; but they were figures of Christ's bloud, which ken I think, as they are divided in Volumes) doth cleanse the inward Soul. For if the Law is by Daneus comprised in these four. could justifie, then Christ died in vain.

Of the fixth Point, to wit of the difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.

name, and in the mean and way pro- are of God, and therefore both one Tella-He old and new Testament differ in

the end and reward promifed, to wit, the posed for attaining to salvation; as the old

The old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or in the Acts, He gave the Law by the Ordinance the Witness of Gods Will, was called the old, because it preceded the new Testament; 3. The Propriety and Peculiarity of the which is an explication of the old: from neate, the ways of our redemption. It is also called the old, to shew that in part it wasto be abrogated : In that he faith, the New Tella. ment, he hath abrogated the Old. For the old perishable; but the new was given in a pro-

The old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chief part is of the Lawos Mofes, of which the Prophets and Pfalms are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The new Testament is called the Gospel, other Books, as the Epistles, or Letters of the Apostles, and the Atts or Story of the Apostles, Evangelien, fignifying a joyful, happy, and nue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the ing joyful news. It is also sometime taken for a facrifice, offered after victory, or other 5. The fifth confideration is of the effica- pleafing fuccess, as by Xenophon. In the Scicy of this Law, the same being a disposition prures it hath three fignifications. First, for

Lastly, for the preaching and divulging

The agreement of both Testaments (ta-In their Author.

In the substance of the Covenant, or things promised. In the foundation, to wit, Christ. In the Effects, that is, in Righteonfiels and Justification.

In the Author they agree, because both

ment and will of God in fubstance of do- troduction (for to those which acknowledge aterna promitti ; Few (saith he) do understand

1th deci-gustine, Omnino pauci veterem legem intellioil. Dei, gunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena, the old law; not attending that by things earthn Sophon. ly, eternal are promised. And S. Hierom; Noluit 1.3. v. 9. Deus pascere Judæos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut Judai somniant; God would not feed the lews as beafts with corpowords, Ego sum Deus tuus ; 🔗 ero vobis in Despect of the suture; to wit, the safety of their things of this Law. Souls. For as God created both Body and

better part uncared for, which liveth ever. called the foundation of the law laid by the duty to God and Men. Apostles and Prophets; in whom all the profood which we eat in our Sacraments.

knowledg of our fin and mifery, which is full tempest, threatning eternal death. taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it

ctrine. For as there was ever one Church, so their fin and mifery, God sheweth his merwas there one Covenant and Adoption, and cy and falvation) may be faid to agree with one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at the Gospel in the effect. For otherwise, if we chrift, so doth the new Law teach chrift; the sever the law from subordination to the old proposing him as to come, the new as al- Gospel, the effects are very different; the ready come; one and the same thing being one sheweth the way of righteousness by promised in both; both tending to one and works, the other by faith; the law woundthe same end, even the salvation of our Souls; eth, the Gospel healeth; the Law terrifieth, which, according to S. Peter, is the end of our the Gospel allureth; Moses accuseth, Christ Faith. For although it be said, that Moses did defendeth; Moses condemneth, Christ parpromise by observing the law, an earthly doneth. The old restrained the hand, the Hamilat kingdom, a land flowing with Milk and Ho- new, the mind. Data eft lex que non fanaret Rem. ney, the propagation of children, and other (faith S. Augustine) sed que agrotantes probaworldly bleffings; yet all these were but fi- | ret; The law was given, not to help, but to disgures to teach, and pledges to affure the Fa- | cover sickness: and S. Chrysoftom; Data est lex, thers of those spiritual bleffings by Christ; ut se homo inveniret; non ut morbus sanarefor by the earthly, he raised their minds to tur, sed ut medicus quareretur; The law was thehope of heavenly. And the Fathers, not- given, that man might find and know his own withstanding these worldly goods, did yet imperfection; not that his disease was thereby acknowledg themselves strangers, and pil- holpen, but that he might then seek out the Phygrims, expecting the heavenly Hierusalem; sician. For Christ came to fave the World, according to this place of the Hebrews; All which the Law had condemned. And as these died in faith, and received not the pro- Moses was but a Servant, and Christ a Son; so mises, but saw them afar off, and believed them; the greatest benefit was reserved to be confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims brought, as by the worthiest person, saith Heb. 7. on the earth. To which purpose also S. Au- | Cyril; for this law made nothing persect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

6. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

THe seventh Consideration is of the end, and use of the Law; which is to bring ral gifts and riches, as themselves dream. And us to Christ; for finding no righteousness in this may be gathered out of God's own our own works, we must seek it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and um; Iam thy God, and I will be your God. For utmost end; the next and proper end of the the words, I wil be your God, prove that it was Law, is to prescribe righteousness, and to exnot for the present, or for perishable things, act absolute and perfect obedience to God. that God gave them this promife, but in re-

The fecond end of the Law, is to render Soul, so hath he of his goodness, not left the us inexcusable before God; who knowing fo perfect a Law, do not keep it; the Law The agreement between the old and new requiring a perfect and entire, not a broken Testament in substance, inferrs also the or half obedience; but both inward and agreement in foundation. For Christ is outward righteousness, and performance of

The the third and chief end of the law, miles of God in the old and new, are affured: is, as hath been faid, to fend us to Christ, and the Fathers having eaten the same spiritual his Grace, being in our selves condemned and loft. For the law was delivered with The agreement in effects, is, in that the thunder, and with a most violent and fear-

The fourth end of the law was to defign, were, serveth in subordination to the Gospel, and preserve, the place of the Church and the proper effects wereof are mercy and sal- true People of God; and to hold men in vation; to which the law ferving as an in- one Discipline, and aw, till the coming of

CHAP. IV.

chrift; after whom the Church was to be ments, and his Ordinances, and his Laws, that differfed over the whole World.

end and use of the Ceremorial law, is to mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keep the 69 confirm the truth of Christ, and the new Teflament. The use of the Judicial, to teach us mandatum ejus vita eterna est; I know that his natural equity and right, whereto we must Commandment is life everlasting. And if this conform our felves.

ral, we are taught the worthip and fervice of but a lyar, that professeth to love God, and God; by the spiritual, the figures and mysti- neglecteth to observe the word of his Will.

cal fore-speakings of christ.

pter shall from of Christ: before which time, and while excepted) yet, if we rightly consider the from Ju- Christ taught in the World, both the old and merciful care which God had of his people do, nor a the new were in force. But after that the in those his Commandments, we shall find in the law given the new were in forced when the Alternation of the Alte true facrifice was offered upon the Altar of our felves, how we borrow liberty, and rathe Cross, then the Jewiff facrifices and ce- ther let slip our affections, and voluntarily remonies, which were Types and Figures of loosen them from the chains of obedience, Christ (Christ being the Body of those sha- to which the Word of God, and Divine Readows) cealed to bind the conscience any son hath sastened them, than that we areeslonger; the mysterie of our Redemption cusable by those difficulties and impossibilibeing now by Christ, and in him, finished. In ties, which our mind (greedy of liberty) protoken whereof the veil of the Temple rent pofeth to it felf. For, this is the love of God, afunder; noting that the ceremonial veils that we keep his Commandments, and his and shadows were now to be removed, not Commandments are not grievous, 1 Joh.5. 12. that the moral law of the Commandments and if we examine every Precept apart, and was hereby abolished, or weakned at all; then weigh them each after other, in the otherwise than that it had not power to con- | ballance of our consciences, it is not hard for demn according to the Jewish doctrine, as a- any man to judg, by what easie persuasions, forefaid. For the observing of the law was by we steal away from our own power, asunchrist himself severely commanded; our love | willing to use it against our pleasing desires. towards God being thereby to be witneffed. And herein David to much rejoiced, as he preferred the observation of the law before all that the World could yield. In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in s John 5. omnibus divitiis; I have been delighted in thy law as in all manner of riches : And again, The law of thy mouth is good for me above thoufands of gold and filver. This is the love of God (faith S. John) that we keep his commandment. T acknowledg, ferve, and love one God. And that there is no excuse for the neglect Now, whereby are we entited to the breach of the things commanded in the law, God of this Precept? feeing every reasonable himself in Deuteronomy witnesseth. This Com- man may conceive and know, that an Infinite Deta. 30.
11,12,13. mandment (faith he) which I command thee power cannot be divided into many infinithis day, is not hid from thee, neither is it farr ties; and that it is of necessity, that by this off. It is not in heaven, that thou houldest fay, Almighty Unity, all things have been caused, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it and are continued. And if brute Bealtshad us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? this knowledg of their Creator, and how in Neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest his Providence he hath also provided for fay Who Shall go over the Sea for us, and bring every of them, Which giveth to Beafts their it us? &c. but the word is very near unto thee, food, &c. there is no doubt, but they would plant even in thy mouth, and in thy heart for to do it. also serve and love him onely. Behold (faith Mofes) I have fet before thee this day life and death, good and evil, in that I com- Idolatry, and worship of Images; the making mand thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention to walk in his ways, and to keep his Command- of an ill intent in the beginning, feeing this

thou mayft live, &c. Neither is it said in vain These be the ends of the Moral Law. The in S. Matthew: Si vis advitamingredi, serva (es. Commandments; and in S. John, Scio quia be the charity of God, or of Men towards The sence and understanding of the law God, as S. John hath taught, to wit, that we is double, literal, and spiritual; by the lite- keep his Commandments; certainly, heis with all his Power. And, though I confessit Lastly, for the durance or continuance of not in mans ability, without the special grace Gen. 49.10. Laftly, for the durance of continuance of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulfil the law (Chrift only asman of God, to fulf

6. XIII.

Of the several Commandments of the Decalogue; and that the difficulty is not inrespect of the Commandments, but by our de-

Or by the first, we are commanded to

The fecond Precept is the forbidding of

of is generally true; Omnia mala exempla bonis Parents, with whom we are one and the initiis ortasunt; Allill examples did spring and same, is a gratitude which Nature it self hath fion was to keep the memory of men famous gave us life and being, have begotten us, and himself thereby. For what reasonable man, if them violence, was made death. he be not for faken of God, will call on those blind, deaf, dumb, and dead stocks, more that is, Thou shalt not do the acts following worthless than the most worthless of those, the affections of hatred. For the Law of that having life and reason, implore their God, and after it, our own laws, and, in effect, help, which have neither; yea, of more vile the law of all Nations, have made difference price and baser, than the basest of Beasts, who between slaughter casual, and furious. Afhave sense and estimation? For what do we feel to enim tha (faith Bracton) imponit nomen thereby (faith the Wisdom of Solomon) but operi tuo; It is the affection and will that call to the weak for help, pray to the dead for makes the work fuch as it is. And certainly, life require aid of him that hath no experience, who loever cannot for bear to commit Murallilance in our journeys of him that cannot go, ther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any and success in our affairs of him that bath no use of his own will. power? And whether the Idolater, or the Block to which he prayeth, be more fenflefs, David maketh a doubt. For (faith he) they all the rest that trust in them.

is neither perfuaded by worldly pleasure, accounted a burthen, to forbear the difflo-pleasure, nor worldly profit; the two greatest in nour and injury, which we offer to others by gindus P4chanters of mortal men. No, we are no way fuch a violation, feeing Marriage is permit-radifum. allured to this horrible disdain of God, un- ted by the Laws of God and men, to all that Devil brought up among men, without all fire, and fire to flame. fubtilty of argument, or cunning persuasion, tions of the World do not use it.

the Stranger may be refreshed.

arise from good beginnings. For their first ere- taught us towards them, who, after God, for their vertue; until (faith Lastantius) the born us, cherified us in our weak and help-Devil crept into them, and (having blotted less infancy, and bestowed on us the harvest out the first intent) working in weak and and profit of their labours and cares. Thereignorant Souls, changed the nature of the fore, in the Temporal and Judicial Ordione, and the reason of the other, to serve nances, cursing of Parents, or the offering

The next is, That thou shalt not Murther,

The third of the fecond Table, commands us from Adultery. Now, if the prefervation of Virginity have been possible for thouthat make them are like unto them, and so are fands of Men and Women, who in all Ages have mastered their fleshly desires, and have The branch of the third Commandment, returned chafte to their Grave: It cannot be Neptie re-

less the hate of good men, and Gods curse, be affect it. And there is no man living, whom accounted an advantage. For, as our cor- the defire of beauty and form hath so conruptest nature gives us nothing towards it, strained, but he might with ease forbear the so can it satisfie no one appetite, except ever- prosecution of this ill, did not himself give lasting forrow, and Hell dwell in our defire. fuck to this Infant, and nourish warmth, till And therefore this strange custom hath the it grow to strong hear, heat till it turn to

The fourth of the fecond Table, is, That taking thereby the greatest and most scorn- we shall not steal. And, if that kind of vioful advantage over us. For flaughter satis- lent robbery had been used in Moses time, fieth hatred, Theft gives satisfaction to need, which many Ruffians practise now a-days in Adultery to lust, Oppression to covetous- England, and, to the dishonour of our Natinels; but this contemptuous offence of blaf- on, more in England, than in any Region of phemy, and the irreverent abuse of God's the World among Christians; out of doubt, name, as it giveth no help to any of our he would have censured them by death, and worldly affections, so the most salvage Na- not by restitution, though quadruple. For, I speak not of the poor and miserable Souls, The fourth Commandment, to keep the whom hunger and extreme necessity infor-Sabbath day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, ceth; but of those detested Thieves, who, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the to maintain themselves Lord-like, assault, labourer, and consolation to their Masters. rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and And, that this law was imposed on man for labouring man; or break by violence into his benefit, Moses teacheth in the reason of other mens houses, and spend in Bravery, the law i as in Exod. 23.12. And in the seventh | Drunkenness and upon Harlots, in one day, day thou shalt rest, that thine Ox, and thine what other men have sometime laboured As may rest, and the son of thy Maid, and for, all their lives; impoverishing whole Families, and taking the bread and food from The first of the second Table, to honor our the mouths of their children. And that this

Commandment

CHAP. IV.

would foon appear, if Princes would refolve, but for a few years, to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and argument of sparing the first offence, that incourageth these Hellhounds. And if every man prefume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Commonwealth, but these men would in a short time impovérish or destroy it.

from which, if men could not forbear, all furety of effate and life were taken away. fer the same death or punishment, which he fought by falfhood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandments, forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man either the bodies of even those which we resist and bridle) are the r wives for concupifcence, or their goods here forbidden. For though he that bridled for delire of gain. And this Precept feemeth his evil defires, be much better than he that the hardest for men to observe; so esteemed | yieldeth unto them; yet, such a man acby reason of our frail affections; and yet, if cording to the Heathen Philosopher, is not we judg hercof rightly, it may be doubted, worthy the name of a vertuous man. For whether it extend to all our inconfiderate | Ariftotle himfelf makes Continentia, not to fancies, and vain thoughts. For, although it be vertue, but only a degree unto it; confebe not case to master all our sudden pas- sing, that though the Continent man do well fions, yet we may refrain and hinder the in bridling his evil affections, yet he dothnor growing, and farther increase, if we please all, seeing he ought not so much as to have to intend our firength, and feek for grace. them at all. Neither is it much more, that How the word Covering, reacheth to all true Divinity delivereth touching this matthose, it is to be considered. For, Concupiter: For, as he saith, that in the Continent feentra, according to some, En efficientus ha- man the having of these evil desires, though bendi appetitus ; An unbredlea, or unrestrain- he resist them, is the cause that he cannot ed appetite of having: And, as touching such be called a vertuous man: fo we, that the an appetite, we cannot excuse our selves by having of them is a fin. Onely in this weekany our natural frailty, or unadvised error; cel him here; that we are able out of Divi-But, as I suppose, the word concupiscence is nity, to give the true reason of this doctrine; more largely taken, either for a determi- which is, that every one finneth, that doth nate and unbridled evil intent, or for some not love God with his whole heart and afurging inclination thercunto. All the que- fection: whence it followeth, that the evil flion is of the later fort; which is, Allus defires of the Continent man; that is, of him imperfeelus, id est, non deliberatus ratione, que est principium proprium actus boni aut vitioli: Such passions, or inclinations are imperfeet alls, that is, not deliberated upon by reafon, which is the proper Principle of a good or vicions action. And fure, it may feem, that fo make us know, that by our faithful endealong as we refift fuch motions, they harm us not: as they fay, Quamdin refragamur, with nessour love toward himselfs we may not nocent: nocent autem cum cas dominari per- fafely give liberty to our vanities, by calling mittimus; As long as we give no affent unto back upon God (who is Justice it self) that them, it is thought by some, that they hurt us he hath given us Precepts altogether be not; and that then onely they hurt, when we youd our power, and Commandments in fuffer them to bear fivry. But these men, as possible for us to keep. For, as he is accurred it feems, make nothing forbidden in the (faith Saint Hierom) that avows that the tenth Precept, but what hath been forbid- Law is in all things possible to be observed: den in the other: for in every Command- fo he hath made this addition: Maledian

Commandment might eafily be observed, it ment, not onely the outward act, but also the inward affent unto evil, though it break not out into act, is forbidden; therefore. that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the rest, the distinction of defires is to be held; that some are with affent, and unbridled; others bridled. and without affent. For, even so the Moral Philosopher can tell us that the continent man The fifth Commandment of this fecond hath evil defires, but without affent (for Table, is, the prohibition of falle witnes: they are bridled by the ftrength of right reason) as on the other side, the Incontinent hath good defires but restrained and sun-And so much did God detest a false witness, pressed by contrary passions. The evil deand a falle accuser, especially, in matters lires, when they are accompanied with as criminal, that the Law ordained him to fuffent, are in every Commandment forbidden, together with the outward act : and therefore if we will have any thing proper to this Commandment, we must needs say, that the evil desires of the continent man (that is, which bridleth them, must needs be sin: seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to vours to keep his Commandments, we witqui dicit impossibilia Deum pracepisse; Accursed us see the inconveniences in this life, which (in themselves, and not through our fault) these Laws. impossible. Nowas the places are many which command us to keep the Law; fo is our weakness also in the Scriptures laid before us, and therefore it is thus fafely to be underfood, that we should without evasion, or without betraying of our felves, do our faithful endeavours to observe them : which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our defires therein. For that there is no man just, David witnesseth : Enter net into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight, no sless that liveth shall be justified. And in the first of Kings, There is no man that sinneth not; And again, Who can fay, I have made my heart clean? But, feeing there is no fin grievous without deliberation; let every man's bringeth therewith this disadvantage, and ill conscience judg him, whether he give way willingly, or restrain himself in all that he can, yea, or no? For when a King gives to his subject a commandment upon pain of loss of his love, to perform some service: if the subject neglecting the same feek to satisfie his Soveraign with shifting excuses, out of doubt fuch a Prince will take himself to be derided therein.

§. XIV.

If there were not any Religion, nor Judgment to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessary to be observed.

Nd if we confider advisedly, and so-A berly, of the Moral Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of Moses gave unto his People, it will appear, that fuch was his merciful Providence in the choice of them, as, were there neither pain nor profit adjoyned to the observing, or not observing of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet, if we did not for our own fakes strive to observe these Laws, all Society of men, and all endeavours, all happiness and contentment in this life would be taken away, and every State and Common-weal in the World fall a bleffing: to the end that the innocent cy of State, and neceffity, hath made it death. might be defended, that every man might

is he that faith, that God hath comanded things would follow by the breach and neglect of

As first, what would the issue be, if we acknowledged many gods? would not a farr greater hatred, warr, and bloud-shed follow, than that which the difference of Ceremony, and diversity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, even among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of Gold, Metal, dead Stones, and rotten Wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loss of time, and an impoffibility to receive thence-from, either help or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandment to man, that who oever taketh the Name of God in vain, shall not at any time benefit himself by calling God to witness for him. when he may justly use his Holy Name.

The observing the Sabbath Holy, giveth rest to Men and Beasts, and Nature her self requireth intermission from labour.

If we despise our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our children, to fcorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If Murther were not forbidden, and feverely punished, the race of mankind would be extinguished; and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himself.

If Adultery were lawful, and permitted, no man could fay unto himfelf; This is my Son: there would be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to Posterity, no endeavour by vertue and undertaking to raife Families; murthers and poisonings between Man and Wife would be daily committed; and every man subject to most filthy and unclean Diseases.

If Stealth and violent Rapine were fuffered, all mankind would shortly after perish, or live as the Salvages, by Roots and Acorns. For no man laboureth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And fuch is the mifto the ground and dissolve. Therefore these chief of Robbery, as where Moses for lesser Laws were not imposed as a burthen, but as crimes, appointed restitution fourfold, poli-

To permit false Witnesses, is to take all enjoy the fruits of his own travel, that right | mens lives and estates from them by corrumight be done to all men, from all men: ption; the wicked would swear against the that by Justice, Order, and Peace, we might vertuous; the waster against the wealthy; live the lives of reasonable men, and not of the idle Beggar and Loyterer, against the Beafts; of free-men, and not of flaves; of careful and painful Labourer; all trial of civil men, and not of Salvages. And hereof making our humane reason onely Judg, let banished out of the World.

The

other men, bringeth no other profit than a Nonfirmatur trable temporis, quod de jure ab diffraction of mind, with an inward vexation; for while we covet what appertains to grounded upon good right, is not made good by others, we neglect our own: our appetites continuance of time. And (faith Ulpian) quad with are therein fed with vain and fruitles hopes, ab initio viciosum est, non potest traclu tempofo long as we do but covet; and if we do at poris convolescere; Course of time amends not tain to the delire of the one, or the other, to that which was naught from the first beginning. wit, the Wives, or goods of our neighbours; For these two desences are necessary in all we can look for no other, but that our felves laws of cuftom; the one, that it be not reshall also, either by theft or by strong hand, pugnant to the law Divine, and Natural; the be deprived of our own.

The second Book of the first Part

them, but rules and directions for the ge- which is againft the law, had its beginning neral and particular good of all living? from evil deeds, and therefore not without Surely, for our own good, and not in respect the former considerations to be allowed. And of himself, did the most merciful and provi- it is true, that all customs of this nature, were dent God ordain them; without the obser- but tollerated for a time, by the law-maker, vation of which, the vertues of heavenly though they have been fince continued; bebodies, the fertility of the earth, with all cause posterity is not bound to examine by the bleflings given us in this life, would be what cause their Ancestors were thereto unto us altogether unprofitable, and of no moved. For, Non fufficit fimplex toleratio. And use. For we should remain but in the state it is in this fort over-ruled in the law; Per poof brute Beafts, if not in a farr more unhap- | pulum consueinelo contra legem induci non po-

py condition.

§. X V.

Of humane law, written, and unwritten.

"Umane law, of which now it followeth to speak, is first divided into two (viz.) Written, and unwritten. The unwritten confifts of usage, approved by time; which Isidore calls Mores; and he defines Mores to be which humane actions are ruled and direct-Consuetudines vetustate probate; to be cufloms approved by antiquity, or unwritten lanes, the advisement of wife men, and the reftraint Now cuftom differeth from use, as the cause from the effect; in that custom is by use and ignorantly. Isidore calls the law, a Continuicontinuance established into a law, but yet on written, agreeing with Religion, sutest

tures, containing innumerable particulars; All that flands with reason. the first are written customs, received and Lastly, and more precisely, it is thus defined on exercifed by Nations, as the cultons of Eur-Humane law is a righteous decree, agreeing 74. gundy and Normandy, the antient general cu- with the law natural and eternal; made by any from of England, and the customs of Castile, the rational discourse of those, that exercises and other Provinces.

in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and ought to be a righteous decree, S. Augustine Mannors. The general or National cuftoms teacheth, faying, Mihi lex effe non videtur que are some written, others unwritten.

dom written, but witneffed by testimony of except it agree with the law natural and the inhabitance. The custom of the Dnichie eternal. For there is no law just and legitof Cornvall, comprehending also the Stanna- mate (saith S. Angustine) which the Law In Reg. 19 of Devon, as touching Tinn, and Tinn causes makers have not derived from the eternal are written in Devon, but not in Cornwall. Nibil justum atque legitimum est, quod non ab tal But howsoever, use and time hath made aterna lege sibi komines derivaverunt. these customs as laws, yet ought every cu-

The covering of that which belongs to | stom to be rationabilis, as well as prescripta. other, that the cause and reason bestrong, Wherein then appeareth the burthen of proving a right birth, and necessary conti-Gods Commandments, if there be nothing in mance; it being manifeft, that every cuftom test, nisi de voluntate illius qui novam legem & novam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps eft; The people cannot bring in a new custom against law, save by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the Prince.

Humane law, generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doom of practick reason; by ed. Papinian calls the law a common precept, of offences committed, either willingly or there, where the law is defective, faith Islave. for government and common profit; And And of cultoms there are two general na- more largely, Omne id quod ratione conflit;

publick authority; prescribing necessary The second are these petty customs, used observances to the subject. That every iaw justa non fuerit; It seems to be no law at all to The particular or petty customs are sel- | me, which is not just; and just it cannot be,

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by

discourse of reason, whereby it is distin- Nations do not agree in or easily assent unto taken and deduced.

especially answering these four conditions in that is, the Civil Law. the former definition. First, as it is drawn | The law now commonly called the Civil out of the law of Nature; fo every particu- Law, had its birth in Rome; and was first writsome principle or rule of the natural.

of Nations, and the Civil.

principles of the Scriptures, and other divine | The difference antiently between Laws and the Natural, sometime of the Humane.

guilhed from the law natural, to wit, the na- because they depend on particular circumtural, demonstrable, or needing no demon- stances, which are divers, and do not fit all stration, from whence the law humane is Estates. Hereof Ulpian, Juscivile neque in token and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an interest it in aque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, I file omnia ci servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus ci servit: itaque cum aliquid authorifedMagistracy, it cannot be doubted, | vel detrahimus juri communi, jus proprium, jur. he the government of what kind foever. id ift, Civili efficients; The civil Law (faith he) For it falleth otherwise under the title of doth neither wholly differ from the law of Nathose decrees called Violentia, or iniqua con- ture and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: litutiones; Violences, or wicked constitutions. therefore, when we add ought to, or take from Of humane law there are four properties, the law that is common, we make a law proper,

lar of the humane law may be refolved into ten by the Decem-viri, 303. years after the foundation of the City. It was compounded Secondly, it is to be confidered as it is re- as well out of the Athenian and other Greciferredunto, and doth respect, the common an laws, as out of the antient Roman customs and laws Regal. The Regal laws were de-Thirdly, it is to be made by publick au- vised by the first Kings, and called Leges Regia.or Papyriana, because they were gather-Fourthly, concerning the matter of the ed by Papyrius, Tarquin then raigning. For, Dion. Had. law, it prescribeth and directeth all humane though so many of the former laws as mainactions. And so is the law as large and divers, tained Kingly authority, were abolished as all humane actions are divers, which may with the name; yet those of Servius Tullius, fall under it. For according to Thomas. Alia for commerce and contracts, and all that lex Julia de Adulteriis, alia Cornelii de Sicari- appertained to Religion and common Utiis; The law of Julian against Adultery, is one the lity, were continued, and were a part of the Cornelian against Ruffians, is another. Now, laws of the twelve Tables. To these laws c. Signon. the humane law generally taken is in respect of the twelve Tables, were added (as the of Pownof these considerations, divided into the law times gave occasion) those made by the Se-penius. nate, called Senatus-consulta: those of the

The law of Nations is taken less or more common people, called Plebei-scita, those of properly; less properly for every law which the Lawyers, called Responsa-prudentum; is not of it felf, but from other higher prin- and the Edicts of the Annual Magistrate; ciples deduced : and so it seemeth that Olpi- which Edicts being first gathered and interan understands it: for he defineth Jus Genti- preted by Julian, and presented to Adrian um, or the law of Nations, to be that which is the Emperor, they were by him confirmed, only common amongst men, as Religion, and and made perpetual laws, and the Volume the Worship of God; which is not in the ve- styled, Edictum perpetuum; as those and the ry nature of this law of Nations; but from the like collections of Justinian afterward were.

Revelations. But the law of Nations proper- Edicts, which the French call Reglements, ly taken, is that dictate, or fentence, which is consisted in this, that laws are the Constitudrawn from a very probable, though not tions made or confirmed by Soveraign Aufrom an evident principle, yet so probable, thority (be the soveraignty in the People, in that all Nations do affect unto the conclusi- a few, or in one) and are withall general and on, as that the free passage of Ambassadors be permanent: but an Edict (which is but granted between enemies, &c. which Nati- Jusjum Magistratus, unless by authority it be onal law, according to divers acceptations, made a Law) hath end with the officer, who and divers confiderations had of the humane made the same, saith Varro. Qui plurimum law, may be sometime taken for a Species of Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt; They who ascribe the most to an Edict, say that Juscivile, or the civil Law, is not the same it is a law for one year: Though Midore doth in all Common-wealths, but in divers Estates also express by the word Constitutions or it is also divers and peculiar, and this law is Edicts, those Ordinances called Acts of not so immediately derived from the law of Prerogatives; as, Constitutio, vel Edictum est Nature, as the law of Nations is: For, it is quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edipartly deduced out of fuch principles, as all cit; An Ordinance or Edict is that which

a King

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Lastly, the humane Law is divided into the isby the antient custom of England, that the Secular, and into the Ecclesiafical, or Canon. eldest Sons should inherit without partition. The Secular commanding temporal good, to In Germany, France, and elsewhere otherwit, the Peace and tranquility of the Com- wife, and by partition. In Ireland, it is the mon-weal; the Ecclesiafical, the spiritual custom of all Lands (that have not been good, and right government of the Ecclefire refigned into the Kings hands) that the elaftical Common-wealth, or Church: Illud na- deft of the House shall enjoy the Inheriture legem, hoc divinam spettat; That respett-tance during his own life; and so the eth the law of Nature, this the Law of Good. Second and third eldest (if there be so ma-And so may Jus Civile be taken two ways; ny brothers) before the Heir in linealde-First, as diftinguished from the law of Nari- scent; this is called the custom of Tanifry. ons, as in the first division: Secondly, as it is For example, if a Lord of Land have four the same with the Secular, and diverse from Sons, and the eldest of those four have also the Ecclesiastical. But this division of the a Son, the three brothers of the eldest Son School-men is obscure. For although the Ci- shall, after the death of their brother, envilbe the same with the Secular, as the Civil joy their Fathers Lands before the grandis a law, yet the Secular is more general, and child: the custom being grounded upon comprehendeth both the Civil, and all other the reason of necessity. For the Iris in forlaws not Ecclesiastical. For of Secular laws in mer times, having always lived in a subuse among Christian Princes, and in Christian divided civil Warr, not onely the greatest Common-weals, there are three kinds; the against the greatest, but every Baron and Civil, which hath every where a voice, and Gentleman one against another, were enis in all Christian Estates (England excepted) forc'd to leave successors of age and abimost powerful; the laws of England, called lity, to defend their own Territories. Now, Common, and the laws of cuftom, or Provin- as in Normandy, Eurgundy, and other Procial. In Spain, befieles the law Civil, they vinces of France, there are certain peculiar have the customs of Castil, and other Pro- and petty Customs, besides the great and we praise, approve, and by our Kingly Authority approbation of the People confirmed. confirm. The Common Law of England is

other fmall Courts. approved by the Kings thereof from Age comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, to Age: as that custom by which no man and instigation: the former binds us by fear, shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, nor to avoid vice; the later encourageth with otherwise destroy d, but he must first be put hope, to follow vertue. For, according to to answer by the Law of the Land, was con-

a King or Emperour doth ordain, or proclaim. firmed by the Statute of Magna Charta. It vinces. In France, belides the Civil, the general cultom of the Land, so are there in customs of Burgundy, Bloys, Berri, Nivernois, England, and in every part thereof. But the and Lodunois, &c. Tous liez situes & assis en greatest bulk of our Laws, as I take it, are Lodunois, feront governez selon les costumes du the Acts of Parliament; Laws propounded dit pays; All places lying within the precinits and approved by the three Estates of the of Lodunois, Stall be governed according to the Realm, and confirmed by the King, to the customs of that place. There are also in France obedience of which, all men are therefore the customs of Normandy, and these of two bound, because they are Ads of choice, and kinds; General, and Local; and all purged and felf-defire. Leges nulla alia cansa nos tenent, reformed by divers Acts of the three Estates. quam quod judicio populi recepte sunt; The The Charters of confirmation of these and Laws do therefore bind the Subject, because wife tient cultons, before and fince their refor- they are received by the judgment of the Sub in mation have these words: Nos autem Regi- jest. Tum demum humana leges habent vim Again frum prædictum, usus laudabiles, & consue- suam, cum fuerint non modò institute, sed tudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus, etiam firmate approbatione communitatis, Il case of authoritate Regia confirmamus, The Regifier aforesaid laudable use and antient costs. fler aforefaid, laudable use, and antient customs, when they shall not onely be devised, but by the state of the state of

Isidore fastneth these properties to every also compounded of the antient cultoms of christian Law, that the same be honest, that the same, and of certain Maxims by those it be possible, that it be according to Nacustoms of the Realm approved. Upon ture, and according to the custom of the which customs also are grounded those Countrey; also for the time and place, con-Courts of Record, of the Chancery, Kings venient, profitable, and manifest; and with Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, with out respect of private profit, that it be witten for the general good. He also gives These antient customs of England have been four effects of the Law, which Modellins tricem, commendatricemque virtutum: It be- lex facit ut ipfe fit Rex; Rightfully ought the or binding us to the observation of things that doth make Kings, commanded, or forbidden, is an effect commonto all laws; and it is two-fold: the one to the humane law, he is therein miltaken. constraineth us by fear of our consciences, For Kings are made by God, and laws dithe other by fear of external punishment. vine; and by humane laws onely, declared These two effects the Law performeth, by to be Kings. As for the places remembred coactive and Directive.

end of the Law, to make men vertuous. For compt of their actions to God onely. laws being fuch as they ought to be, do both by prescribing and forbidding, urge us to onely have I sinned; therefore the Prince Plates well-doing; laying before us the good and the evil by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative commanding are those into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which David comprehendeth the whole body and subflance thereof: faying Declina à malo, & fac bonum, Decline from evil and do good.

6. X V I.

That onely the Prince is exempt from humane laws, and in what fort.

?Ow, whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any perought to be subject, but not to that which constraineth. For, as touching violence, or punishments, no man is bound to give a prejudicial judgment against himself; and, if much less have inferiours over their superiours, from whom they receive their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of Laws, simply then is the Prince so much above the laws as the Soul and Body united, is above a dead and sensies Carkais. For by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince only by the King is truly called, Jus vivum, & lex his own will, and regard of the common good. animata: An animate, and living law. But of Braston out of Justinian; Merito debet

hooveth the Law to be a mender of Vices, and a King to attribute that to the law, which the law commender of Vertue. The part obligatory, first attributeth to the King; for it is the law

But whereas Bracton ascribeth this power the exercise of those two powers, to wit, by the Divines and Lawyers, which inferra kind of obligation of Princes, they teach no The second of these two effects remem- other thing therein, than the bond of conbred by Modestinus, is Instigation, or incou- science, and profit arising from the examples ragement to Vertue, as Ariftotle makes it the of vertuous Princes, who are to give an ac-Tibi foli peccavi, faith David; against thee

cannot be faid to be subject to the law; Leg. Princeps non subjicitur legi. For seeing, according to the school-men, the law humane, good, and power negative forbidding evil, is but quoddam organum, & instrumentum potestatis gubernativa: non videtur posse eius obligatio ad cum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humana non pertinet; sed vis potestatis humanæ non se extendit ad gubernatorem in quo illa residet. Ereo, neque lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia activa, est principium transmutandi aliud; Seeing bumane law (fay they) is but a kind of organ, or instrument of the power that governeth, it feems that it cannot extend it felf to bind any one whom no humane power can controll or lay hold of : but the Governour himself, in whom fon, it is doubtfully disputed among those | the governing power doth reside, is a person that that have written of this subject, as well cannot by himself, or by his own power, be con-Divines as Lawyers; and namely, whether | trolled. And therefore the law which is made Soveraign Princes be compellable; yea, or by such a power, cannot bind the Law-maker no? But whereas there are two powers of himself: for every active ability, is a cause or the Law, as aforesaid; the one Directive, the principle of alteration in another body, not in other Coadive: to the power Directive they | the body in which it felf refides. And feeing Princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the law; Ergo, etiam potest Greg. Vaipsemet Princeps, sive Legislator sua se voluntate lensia de pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; There-Leg. equals have not any power over each other, fore also may a Prince, or Law-maker, at his own will and pleasure, deliver himself from the bond of the Law. Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: Subditi tenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis. Princeps

Now, concerning the politick laws, given this is true, that by giving authority to laws, by Moses to the Nation of the Israelites, Princes both add greatness to themselves, whether they ought to be a President, from and conserve it; and therefore was it said which no civil Institutions of other People should presume to digress, I will not pre-Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei : nam sume to determine, but leave it as a questi-

vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni com-

munis; The subjects are bound to fulfill the Law

CHAP. V.

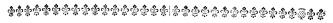
may be bold to affirm, That we ought not to meetly Ecclefiastical, and therefore the Jes feem wifer than God himfelf, who hath told us, that there are no laws forighteous, as those which it pleased him to give to his Elect that prepareth his whole heart to seek the People to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their feveral qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no less than in their peculiar Languages; which disagreeable conditions to govern aptly, one and the fame law very hardly were able. The Roman civil laws Moses do partly bind and partly are let free. did indeed contain in order a great part of They do not hold affirmatively, that we are the then known World, without any notable inconvenience, after such time as once now, which was inflicted then; but negait was received and become familiar; yet tively they do hold, that now the punishwas not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural ed, where sentence of death is given by customs of the fundry people which it governed. For, whether it be through a long | Chrift the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemen-1/6.5 continued persuasion; or (as Astrologers more willingly grant) fome influence of Moses law, and mitigate the punishment of the Heavens; or, peradventure, some tem- death, but they cannot add unto it, to make per of the foil and climate, affording mat- the burthen more heavie: for to shew more ter of provocation to vice (as plenty make rigour than Mofes, becometh not the Gofpel. the Sybarites luxurious; want, and opportunity to fteal, makes the Arabians to be gument, which hath been the subject of ma-Thiever) very hard it were to forbid by ny learned discourses, neither will I take law, an offence to common with any people, upon me, to speak any thing definitively in a as it wanted a name, whereby to be diftinguilhed from just and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdom of Congo unhappily diverted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first imbraced, but after, that the defence of it hath always been vewith great fury rejected, because plurality of Wives was denied unto them, I know not how necessarily, but more conscientioully than feafonably. In fuch cases, methinks it were not amils to confider, that science of a Judg may rest, with equal saif to the Israelites, rather in regard of their sentence upon doubts arising out of any law natural disposition (for they were hard-

on for fuch men to decide, whose protes the rigour of Moses law required; even as fions give them greater ability. Thus much 1 the good King Hezekiah did, in a matter capable of dispensation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull unto him, Lord God, the God of his Fathers, though he be not cleanfed according to the purification of the Sanctuary; which Prayer the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well observed by Mr. Doctor Willet, that the moral Judicials of tied to the same severity of punishment ment of death should not be adjudg-Moles; Christian Magistrates ruling under cy and Mercy, may abate of the severity of

But I will not wander in this copious arcase which dependeth still in some controversie among worthy Divines. Thus much (as in honour of the Judicial law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly fay, ry plaufible. And furely, howfoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and onely law; yet shall we hardly find any other ground, wheron the conthe high God himself permitted some thing saction in making interpretation, or giving besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judg could hearted) than because they were consonant have been witness, of whom Fortesiae, that unto the antient Rules of the first perfection. notable Bulwark of our laws, doth speak, So, where even the general nature of man complaining of a judgment given against a doth condemn (as many things it doth) for Gentlewoman at Salisbury, who being accuwicked and unjust; there may the law, sed by her own man, without any other given by Mose, worthly be deemed the proof, for murthering her Husband, was most exact reformer of the evil, which for- thereupon condemned, and burnt to allies: ceth man, as near as may be, to the will the man who accused her, within a year afand pleasure of his Maker. But where nater, being convict for the same offence, conture or custom hath entertained a vicious, fest that his Mistris was altogether innocent yet not intolerable habit, with fo long and of that cruel fact, whose terrible deathhe then (though over-late) grievoufly lament poling it would feem as uncourth, as it were ed; but this Judg, faith the same Author, to walk naked in England, or to wear the Sapius ipfe mihi fassus oft, quod nunquamin cost English fashion of apparel in Turkie; there vita sua animum ejus de bac facto ipje purga may be a wise and upright Law-giver, ret; He himself often confessed unto me; that without prefumption, omit fomewhat that be should never, during his life, be able to clear

his conscience of that fact. Wherefore, that fear is the beginning of Wisdom. To which acknowledgment which other Sciences yield purpose, well faith Saint Augustine, Condiunto the Metaphylicks, that from thence are tor legum temporalium fi vir bonus eft, drawn Propositions, able to prove the prin- sapiens, illam ipsam consult aternam, de qua ceptes of Sciences, which out of the Scien-ces themselves cannot be proved, may just of temporal Laws, if he be good and wife, ly be granted by all other politick institu-doth therein consult the Law eternal, to detions, to that of Moses; and so much the termine of which, there is no power given to more justly, by how much the subject of the any soul. And as well Prince Edward, in Metaphysicks which is, Ens quatenus Ens; Forteseue his Discourse, Nemo potest melius, Being as it is being; is infinitely inferiour ant alind fundamentum ponere, quam positi to the Ens Entium; The Being of beings, the Dominus; No man can lay a better, or another onely good, the fountain of Truth, whose foundation, than the Lord hath laid.



CHAP. V.

The Story of the Israelites from the receiving of the Law, to the death of Moses.

Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, for their marches through the Wilderness with a note of the reverence given to the Worship of God, in this ordering of their troups.

from God, and pub- of greatest dignity. LORD, such Princes and Leaders, as in camped on the South-side of the Tabernacle. Worth and Reputation were in every The third Army marched under the Stan-Tribe most eminent. The number of the dard of Ephraim, to whom were joyned the

of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able the Tribe of Judab were 74600. fighting men, led by Naasson; in Islachar, 54400. led by Nathaniel; in Zabulon 57400 led by Eliab. ezer; Asper 41500. under Pagiel; Nepktali All these marched under the Standard of the 53400. under Abira. Tribe of Judah, who held the Vaunt-guard, and was the first that moved and march.

Tribes, there were ordained Captains over Tribes, there were ordained Captains over

Hen Moses had re-|general encamping on the East-side of the ceived the Law Army, which was held the first place, and

lished it among the The second Battalion or Army, called in People, and finished the Scriptures, the host of Reuben, had joynthe Tabernacle of the Ark, and Santhuary; cd unto it Simeon and Gad, in number, he mustred all the Tribes and Families of 151450. All which marched under the Stan-Ifrael; and having seen what number of Men dard of Reuben. In the Tribe of Reuben were ht to bear Arms, were found in every Tribe, 46500. under Elizar; in Simeon, 59300. from twenty years of age upwards; he ap- under shelumiel; in Gad, 45650. under Eliapointed unto them, by direction from the Japh: These had the second place, and en-

whole Army was 603550, able men for the Regiment of Manasse and Benjamin; who Warrs, besides Women and Children; also, joyned together, made in number 108100. besides the strangers which followed them able men. These marched in the third out of Egypt. This great Army was divided place, encamping on the West quarter of the by Moses into four gross and mighty Battali- Tabernacle. Ephraim had 40500. under Elilions, each of which contained the strength shama; Manasse 32200. under Gamliel; Benjamin 35400. under Abidam.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, Men, confifted of three Regiments, which of the general Army, containing 157600. may well, in respect of their number, be cal- able men, marched under the Standard of led Armies; as containing the three whole Dan; to whom were joyned the two Tribes Tribes of Judah, Isachar and Zabulon. In of Nephtali and Asher. And these had the

ed, being lodged and quartered at their Thousands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and

CHAP. V.

and infurrection against Moses; Numb. 16. verse 1. and 2. For there arose up against Moses 250. Captains of the Assembly, famous and between him and the Tabernacle, in in the Congregation, and men of renown; of number 86cc. The third Company were of which number were Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Which three principal Mutineers, with manded, in number 6200. and these were those 250. Captains that followed them, lodged on the North-side, within the Army were not any of the Princes of the Tribes or of Dan. On the East-fide, and next within general Colonels before spoken of, as by those Tribes and Forces which Judah led, their names, Numb. 1. is made manifest.

of the Land of Promife, and other things of the People; under whom, as the chief of all more consequence, long after following; but the other Levitical Families, was Eleazar, even in forting them under their feveral the fon of Aaron, his successor in the high Standards in the Wilderness it was observed. Priest-hood. For Judah had the precedency, and the greatest Army, which also was wholly compounded of the Sons of Leah, Jacob's Wife. Tabernacle being always fet in the middle Reuben having loft his birth-right, followed and center thereof. The reverend care in the second place, accompanied with his which Mases the Prophet, and chosen servant brother Simeon, who had under-gone his of God, had in all that belonged even to Fathers curse; and with Gad, the Son of his the outward and least parts of the Taber-Mothers Hand-maid. Joseph, who, in tempo- nacle, Ark, and Sanctuary, witnessed well ral bleflings, had the prerogative of the first- the inward and most humble zeal born toborn, a double portion, was accompted as wards God himself. The industry used in two Tribes, and divided into two Regi- the framing thereof, and every, and the least ments; the younger (according to Jacob's part thereof; the curious workmanship prophecy) taking place before the elder, he thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge was affifted by Benjamin, his best beloved and expence in the provisions; the dutiful brother, the other fon of Rachel. To Dan, the observance in the laying up, and preserving eldest son of Jacob's Concubines, was given the holy Vessels; the solemn removing therethe leading of the fourth Army, according to Jacob's prophecy. He had with him under his Standard, none of the children of Leah, or Rackel, but only the fons of the Hand-maids.

the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, furrounded by the Levites. Near unto which, as the Heathens of these four powerful Armies which guardwere dedicated to the fervice and attendance thereof: of which, 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their feveral ofare written in the third and fourth of Numbers. And as the Armies of the People obferved the former order in their incampings: Army, and Standard of Ephraim, over whom pear to the simple multitude, no less variable

over Tens; as it may appear by that mutiny | Eliasaph commanded, in number, 7,500. The Family of Cobath on the South-fide, guided by Elizaphan, within the Army of Reuben. the Family of Merari over whom Zuriel comdid Moses and Aaron lodge, and their chil-The bleffing which Israel gave to his dren, who were the first and immediate children, took place not only in the division Commanders, both of Ceremonies, and of

This was the order of the Army of Ifrael, and of their encamping and marching; the of; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine In the middle of these four Armies, was Age, by those of the Family, by the Anabaytift, Brownist, and other Sectaries, as all colt and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be ferved and worshipand Pagans could not approach, by reason | ped, is accompted a kind of Popery, and as proceeding from an Idolatrous disposition; ed the same; so was it death for any of the insomuch as time would soon bring to pass children of Ifrael to come near it, who were (if it were not refifted) that God would be not of the Levites, to whom the charge was turned out of Churches into Barns, and from committed. So facred was the movable thence again into the Fields, and Mountains, Temple of God, and with such reverence and under the Hedges, and the offices of guarded and transported, as 22000. persons the Ministery (robbed of all dignity and re-(pect) be as contemptible as those places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-government, left to newness of Opinion, and mens fancies; fices and functions; the particulars whereof yea, and foon after, as many kinds of Religions would spring up, as there are Parish Churches within England; every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy fo did the Lewites quarter themselves, as in with the Spirit of God, and his imagination an inner square, on every side of the Taber- with the gift of Revelation; infomuch, as nacle; the Gesturites on the West, within the when the Truth, which is but one, shall apthan contrary to it felf, the Faith of men will | Cups, to 120. shekels of gold; which makes him to becom a Lutheran; Si me adjungo sed quid sequar, non habeo: If I adjoin my self

6. II.

The offerings of the twelve Princes: the Paßover of the second year: the departing of Jethro.

Ow, when Moses had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the fervice of God, written the laws, numbred his Army, and divided them into the battels and troups before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all forts; The twelve Princes of Commanders of the Tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, fix covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the Sanctuary excepted, which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the Sons of Korah, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots, in which was conveyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the Levites for that service, namely, to the fons of Gershan and Merari.

Besides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offerthe hemotopic friends of frinces, offer-bosonic ded unto God, and for his fervice in the lighth Temple, a Charger of fine Silver, weighing four 130. flekels; a filver Bowl of 70. flekels, 2500 after the flekel of the Sanctuary; and an offering friends after the flekel of the flekels, which the third they performed at the same time when the strength Altar was dedicated unto God by Aaron; and before they marched from Sinai towards their conquest, besides the Beasts wards their conquest, besides the Beasts they which they offered for facrifice, according maded, to the law Gremonial, the weight of all the law flower Chargers, and twelve silver flower flow Bowls, amounted unto 2400, means of means, ver; and the weight of gold in the Incenfe-Bowls, amounted unto 2400. shekels of sil-

Some yet; and the weight of government stele is but half as the state of silver is about ?. Groats, the common stele is but half as the state of the bous to prove that the common, and the Sanctuary Sittle were all one, 9,5. Namb. 10, 11. Exid. ult. 34. Nam. 9. 17.

foon after die away by degrees, and all Re- of shekels of silver, 1200. every shekel of ligion be held in scorn and contempt. Which gold valuing ten of filver, so that the whole distraction gave a great Prince of Germany of gold and filver which they offered at this cause of this Answer to those that persuaded time, was about four hundred and twenty pound sterling. This done, Moses, as in all nobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis: si me aliis ad- the rest, by the Spirit of God conducted, jungo, à volis condemnor; quid fugiam video, gave order for the celebrating of the Puliover, which they performed on the fourto you, I am condemned by others; If I joyn teenth day of the second Moneth of the sewith others, I am condemned by you: what I could year; and on the twentieth day of the should avoid I see, but I see not what I should same, the cloud was lifted up from above the Tabernacle, as a fign of going forward; Moses beginning his march with this invocation to God: Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee; flie before thee. Then all the people of Ifrael removed from their encamping at the foot of the Mountain Sinai, towards Paran, the Army, or great fquadron of Juda, led by Naalbon, taking the Vaunt-guard, followed by Nathaniel and Eliah. Leaders of the Tribes of Islachar and Zabulon; after whom the rest marched, as in the Figure express'd. And because the passage through so many Desarts and Mountains, was exceeding difficult: Mofes leaving nothing un-forethought, which might serve for the advancement of his enterprise, he instantly intreated his Father-in. law, whom, in the tenth of Numbers, he calleth Hobab, to accompany them in their journey towards Canaan; promiting him fuch part and profit of the enterprife, as God should bestow on them; for this man, as he was of great understrnding and judgment (as appeared by the counsel he gave to Moses for the appointing of Judges over the People) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himself inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at Midian or Madian: and (as it feemeth) a man of great years and experience; for he was then the Priest or Prince of Madian, when Mofes fled first out of Egypt, and married his Daughter, which was 42: years before this request made. And though Moses himself had lived 40. years in these parts of Arabia, through which he was now to travel; yet the better to affure his paffage, and so great a multitude of fouls, which could not be so few as a Million, it was necesfary to use many guides, and many conductors. To this request of Moser, it may feem by the places, Exod. 18. 27. and Numb. 10.30. that Jethro, otherwise called Hobab, yielded Judie 1; not; for it is evident, that he went back 1. Alo from Moses into his own Countrey. But be- 1 Sam. 15. cause it appeareth by other places of Scri- 6. And prure, that the Posterity of this Hobab was 15. mingled with the Israelites, it is most likely 1 chron.;

that this his return to his own Countrey, was Jer. 33.

rather

take his leave of his own Country, by fetting things in order, than to abide there.

6. III.

The Voyage from Horeb to Kades; the Mutinies by the way; and the cause of their turning back to the Red Sea.

Fter this dismission of Hobab, Israel be-A gan to march towards the defarts of Paran; and after three days wandring, they fate down at the sepulchres of lust, afterward called Tabeera, or Incensio; by reason that God multitude (Jossa and Caleb excepted) who confumed with fire those Mutineers and Murmurers, which rose up in this remove, which hapned about the 23.day of the same Moneth. And from this 23 day of the second Moneth of the second year, they rested, and fed themselves with Quails (which it pleased God by a Sea-wind to cast upon them) to the 24 day of the third Moneth; to wit, all the they threatned to stone these encourages Moneth of Sinan, or June; whereof furfeiting, there died great numbers; from whence desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the Numb. 11. in the following Moneth, called Thamus, anand 13. Iwering to our July, they went on to Hazeroth, where Miriam the fifter of Moses was these wicked purposes, and interposing the ftricken with the leprofie, which continued fear of his bright glory between the unadupon her seven days, after whose recovery Israel removed toward the border of Idumea, and encamped at Rithma, near Kades Barnea, from whence Moses sent the twelve discoverers into the Territory of Canaan, both to inform themselves of the fertility and ftrength of the Countrey; as also to take knowledg of the ways, passages, rivers, fords and Mountains. For Arad King of the Canaanites, surprized divers companies of the Israelites, by lying in ambush near those ways, wrath of God was turned against Israel; whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, fo many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was fuch, as they efteemed their deliverance from the Egyptian slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible Wilderness (for fo Moses calleth it) with the Victory which he gave them against the powerful Amalekites, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on, and preserved them, but to bring them, their Wives and Children to be flaughtered, and given for a prey and spoile to the Amorites, or Canaanites. For, it was reported unto them by the searchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and miles, which have never been frustrate.

rather to fetch away his Family, and to defended with many ftrong Towers and Castles, that many of the people were Giantlike (for they confess'd that they faw the Sons of Anac there) who were men of fearful stature, and so far over-topped the Ifraelites, as they appeared to them and to themselves, but as Grashoppers in their respect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a Captain (or as they call it now aday, an *Eletto*) to carry them back again into *Egypt*; so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every Soul of the whole being confident in Gods promises, persuaded the people to enter Canaan, being then near it; and at the mountain foot of Idumaa, which is but narrow; laying before them the fertility thereof, and affuring them of Victory. But as men whom the paffion of fear had ry. But as men whom the pathotrof leaf had bereaved both of reason and common sense, 10, to death; accompting them as men either lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted vised fury of the multitude, and the innocency & conftancy of his fervants, preferved them thereby from their violence; threatning an entire destruction of the whole Na- North tion, by fending among them a confuming 21. and merciles Pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion, which they had made, fince God delivered them from the flavery of the Egyptians. But Moses (the mildest or meekest of all men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies; allegthrough which the discoverers and searchers ing, that this so severe a judgment, how deof the Land had formerly palt. Now, after | fervedly foever inflicted, would increase the the return of the discoverers of Kades, the pride of the heathen Nations, and give them occasion to vaunt, that the God of Ifrael failing in power to perform his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruit less Desarts. Yet, as God is no less just than merciful, as God is flow to anger, fo is his wrath a confuming fire; the same being once kindled by the violent breath of man's ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand less heavie than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity; so by the measure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and derifion) he fuffered not the wicked to pass unpunished;referving his compassion for the innocent; whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to preserve, and in them to perform his pro-

6. IV.

Of their unwillingness to return; with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

them, after they had so often plaid and offer to enter the Land, contrary again Sun and Moon in after-times, it is proved e.g. v. 4. to the advice of Moses; who assured them out of fundry other places. that God was not among them; and that the Ark of his Covenant should not move,

Now, after the broken Companies were 33.3. returned to the Camp at Cades, Moses, accord- Hier. 19. but by his direction, who could not err; ing to the commandment received from v.13,8c. and that the Enemies fword, which God God, departed towards the South from had hitherto bended, and rebated, was whence he came to recover the shoars of the now left no less sharp than death; and in Red Sea. And so from Cades, or Rithma, he

fordan, there were confumed eight and thirty years; and the whole number of the 600. and odd thousand, which came out of Egypt (Moses, Josua, and Caleb excepted) were dead in the Wilderness, the stubborn and careless generations were wholly worn out, Ow, when Moses had revealed the purposes of God to the People, and children; which were increased to 600000. made them know his heavie displeasure and more. For, besides the double fault. towards them, they began to bewail them- both of refusing to enter the Land upon the felves, though over-late; the times of grace return of their discoverers, and the presumand mens repentance, having also their ap- ption then to attempt it, when they were pointment. And then when God had left countermanded: it seemeth that they had them to themselves, and was no more among committed that horrible Idolatry of worflipping Moloch, and the Host of Heaven. Amoss. dallied with his merciful fufferings, they For, although Mofes doth not mention it, yet Jan, 42. would needs amend their former disobe- Amos doth, and so doth the Martyr Stephen 5 1 King. 17. dience by a fecond contempt, and make as also that the Israelites worshipped the 16.8 cap.

the hands of the Amalekites and Cana- removed to Remmonparez, so called of abunanites, no less cruel. But as men from dance of Pomegranates there found, and diwhom God hath with-drawn his Grace, do vided among them. From whence he went always follow those counsels which carry on to Libnah, taking that name of the them to their own destructions: so the He- Frankincense there found. From Libnah he Numb. 33. brews, after they had forsaken the oppor- crossed the Valley, and sate down at Ressa. tunity by God and their Conductors offer- near the foot of the Mountain. And after he ed: and might then have entred Judaa had rested there, he bended towards the before their Enemies were prepared and West, and encamped at Ceelata; where one of joyned; did afterward, contrary to Gods the Hebrews, for gathering broken wood on Commandment, undertake the enterprise the sabbath, was stoned to death. After of themselves, and ran head-long, and with- which, Moses always keeping the Valley, beout advice, into the Mountains of Idumea. tween two great legdes of Mountains (those There the Canaanites and the Amalekites which bound the Defart of sin, and those being joyned, and attending their advan- of Pharan) crofs of the same from Ceelata, and tage, set on them, brake them, and of their marched Eastward to the Mountain of Sanumbers flaughtered the greatest part: and | pher, or sepher; this making the twentieth following their victory and perfute, con- Mansion. From thence he passed on to Hafumed them all the way of their flight, rada; then to Maceloth; and then to Thahah, even unto Hormah: the Amalekites, in re- and so to Thara, or Thare; the four and twenvenge of their former loss, and overthrow tieth Mansion. Where Moses rested, the peoat Raphidim: the Canaanites, to prevent ple began that infolent and dangerous mutitheir diplantation and destruction threat- ny of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; who for ned. Of which powerful affembly of those their contempt of God and his Ministers, two Nations (affifted in all likelihood with were some of them swallowed up alive, and the neighbour Kings, joined together for by the earth, opening her mouth, devoured; their common (afety) it pleased God to others, even two hundred and fifty which forewarn Moses, and to direct him another offered Incense with Korah, were consumed way, than that formerly intended. For he with fire from Heaven; and 14700. of commanded him to return by those pain- their party, which murmured against Moses, ful pallages of the Defarts, through which stricken dead with a sudden petitlence: one they had formerly travelled, till they found of the greatest marvels and judgments of the banks of the Red Sea again; in which God that hath been shewed in all the time retreat, before they came back to pass over of Moses his Government, or before. For

thority, were fuddenly fwallowed up alive the hot and thirfty fand, before they can into the Earth, with their Families and recover the banks of the Red Sea. goods; even while they fought to overthrow the Order, Discipline, and Power of ney towards the Red Sea, and encamped at the Church, and to make all men alike there- Hebrona, & from thence to Essangeaber; which in, rebellioully contending against the High | City in Josephus time, had the name of Be-Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had renice; and in Hierons, Fssia. From thence, committed the government both of his keeping the Sea, and Eloth on his right hand, Church, and Common-weal of his People. he turned towards the North, as he wasby And the better to assure the people, and out God commanded; Essengaber being the farof his great mercy to confirm them, it pleatheft place towards the South-East, that Decide towards the South-East, the Sou feth him in this place also to approve by mi- Moser travelled in that passage. racle the former election of his fervant Aaron, by the 12. Rods given by the Heads of Eloth and Madian, were not at this time in the 12.Tribes; of which Moles received one the possession of the Kings of Edom. For it is of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: aid, That the Lord spake unto Moses and Aathe Tribe written, and Aaron's on that of Le- this time in the South border of Idumes. vi, it pleased God, that the Rod of Aaron re- And if Estiongaber, and the other places near ceived, by his power, a vegetable spirit, and the Red sea, had at this present been subhaving lain in the Tabernacle of the Congre- ject unto the Idumaans, Moses would also gation before the Ark one night, had on it have demanded a free paffage through both Buds, Blossoms, and ripe Almonds.

to Methra; and thence to Esmona; and thence And they arose out of Midian, and came to Pato Moseroth (or Masurit, after S. Hierom) ran, and took men with them; which were and from Moleroth to Benejacan; and so to those Companies that followed young Adad Gadgad, which Hierom calleth Gadgada; of Idumaa into Egypt, when he fled from Jothence to Jetabata, the Corrieth Mansion; ab. Likewise it is said of solomon, that he where, from certain fountains of water ga- made a Navie of Ships in Estongaber, besides thered in one, Adricomius maketh a River, Eloth, in the Land of Edom. which falleth into the Red Sea, between

Madian, and Assongaber.

Now, although it be very probable, that at Aliongaber, where Solomon furnished his of Moses arrival at Zin Kades: and of the Fleet for the East-India, there was store of Herod.1.3. fresh water; and though Herodotus maketh mention of a great River in Arabia the Stony, which he calleth Corys, from whence (faith The North, and pitched in the Wildams) he) the Inhabitants convey water in Pipes of Zin, which is Kadesh; or in Beroth, of the of Leather to other places, by which device children of Jacan; where they fate downin the King of Arabia relieved the Army of the first Moneth of the fourtieth year, after Cambyfes; yet is Adrichomius greatly de- they left Egypt. For, at the next Mansion, ceived, as many times he is, in finding these Aaron died in the first day of the fifth Springs at Gadgad, or Jetabata, being the Moneth of the fourtieth year; the nine and nine and twentieth, or thirtieth Mansion. For thirtieth year taking end at Essengaber. And it was at Punon, that those Springs are spoken at this City of Cades (for so it was thought of, which in Deuteronomy the tenth, and the to be) or near it, died Miriam, or Mary, and seventh Verse, is also called Jetabata, or Moses sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seen Jotbath, a Land of running waters, and in S. Hieroms time, as himself avoweth. From which by all probability fall into the River hence, ere they departed to the Mountain Zared, the next adjoyning. And that these Hor, all the people murmured most violent Springs should fall into the Red Sea at Af- | ly against Moses, by reason of the scarcity of ongaber, or Eloth, I cannot believe, for the water. For neither the punishments by fire way thither is very long. And this I find in from Heaven; by being devoured and fival Belonius, that there are divers Torrents of lowed up by the Earth; by the fudden freshwater in those sandy parts of Arabia; Pestilence, which often seized them; not

among fo great a multitude, those lay-men, which though they continue their course who would have usurped Ecclesiastical aufor a few miles, yet they are drunk up by

From Jetabata, Moses directed his jour-

It feemeth that Esiongaber, or Asiongaber. which, being all withered and dried Wands, ron in the Mount Hor, near the coast of the main and on every Rod the name of the Prince of Land of Edon; so as the Mount Hor was at 13 them. It is true, that in the future the Idu-From Tharah, the whole Army removed | means obtained those places: for it is said;

6. V.

accidents while that they abode there.

mured, repined, and rebelled, repenting perceive. them of their changed estates, and casting and neither trusted his promises, nor feared of God are without beginning; fo his mercies being without end, he commanded Mofer to ftrike a Rock adjoyning, with his Rod. and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattel were fatisfied. Nevertheless, because promifed, whereto perchance their worldly defires might invite them. But it pleafed him to end the travels of Aaron at the Mountian Hor, being the next, and the four and thirtieth Station. At which Mountain Hor. Aaron was despoiled of the garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on Eleazar his Son, as God hath commanded. Which done. Moses and Eleazar descended the Mountain; but God received Aaron on the top thereof, and he was no more feen.

CHAP. V.

any miracle formerly shewing, either the are: Whereof the West part Moses calleth love or wrath of God, could prevail with Mosera, and the East part Horeb. By the West this Nation any longer, than while they were | part Moses encamped, as he past towards the full fed and fatisfied in every of their ap- Red-Sea on his left hand; by the East part, petites; but in flead of feeking for help and as he went back again North-wards towards relief at Gods hands, when they suffered Moab, as in the description of Moses his pashunger, thirst, or any other want, they mur- fage through Arabia, the Reader may

Now, it was from Cades, before they came ungratefully on Moses all their misadven- to Hor, because Hor belonged to Edom, that tures; yea, though they well knew that Moses sent messengers to the Prince of Idutheir own fathers had left their bodies in mea, praying him that he might pass with the Defarts, and they were now entred into the people of Ifrael through his Territory the fourtieth year, wherein all their miferies into the Land of Canaan, which bordered it. were to take end. And being, as it were, in For it was the nearest way of all other from fight of the Land promised, they again as ob- the City of Kadesh, where Moses then enfinately tempted God as in former times, camped; whereas otherwise, taking his journey by the Rivers of Zared, Arnon and his indignation. But as the will and purposes | Jordan, he might have run into many hazards in the passage of those Rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now. the better to persuade the Prince of Idumaa hereunto, Moses remembred him, that he was of the fame Race and Family with 1/-God perceived a kind of diffidence both in rael; calling him by the name of Brother, be-Mofes and Aaron at this place; therefore he cause both the Edomites and Israelites were permitted neither of them to enter the Land | the Sons of one father, to wit, Isaac; inferring thereby, that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to affist the Canaanites; against whom, Esau his Ancestor had made Warr, and driven out the Horites (who were of their antient Races defeended of Cham) out of the Region of seir, calling it by his own name, Edom, or Idumea. He also making a short repetition of Gods bleffings beftow'd on them, & of his purpofes; and promifes affured Edom, or the King thereof that he would no way offend his people, Of this Mountain called Hor, otherwise or waste his Countrey, but that he would re-Mosera, as in Deut. 10. vers. 6. those Horites strain his Army within the bounds of the took name, which the Idumeans had former- Common, and Kings high ways, paying moly vanquished. Some there are which make ney for whatsoever he used, yea, even for the Mosera, which was the seven and twentieth water, which themselves or their cattel Mansion; and Mosera, which they write should drink. For Moses was commanded by Moseroth, for difference, which was the four God, not to provoke the children of Esan. Dent. 2. 4. and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called Hor, But the King of Idumaa knowing the to be two distinct places; because Moses in strength of his own Countrey, the same bepassing from Cadesbarne towards Estongaber, ing near Canaan, rampir'd with high and encamped at Mosera, after he departed from sharp mountains; and withall suspecting, as Hesmona, and before he came to Benjaacan. a natural wise man, that 600000. strangers And this Mosera, which is also called Hor, he being once entred his Countrey, it would came unto after he had left Cades, where rest in their wills to give him law, resolvedly Miriam, Moses sister, died; the first being the refused them passage, and delivered this an- Numb. 20. feven and twentieth, and the fecond being fiver to the Messengers: That, if they at-20, 21. the four and thirtieth Mansion. But for Hor, tempted to enter that way, he would take which is also called Mosera, it should have them for enemies, and refift them by all posbeen written, Hor juxta Mosera; Hor near sible means. And not knowing whether such Mosera; for it is but one root of a Mountain, a denial might satisfie or exasperate, he gadivided into divers tops, as sinai and Horeb thered the strength of his Countrey toge-

ther, and shewed himself prepared to de- which, without direction from God by Mofend their passage. For, as it is written, fes, would have entred Canaan from Cades Numb. 10. Then Edom came out against him (to wit, Mo-(es) with much people, and with a mighty ber of that Army were of the Canaanites, bepower. Whereupon Moses understanding, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of seir, or Idumea, and that the Land promised, was that of Canaan: like unto himfelf, who was of natural understanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of Warr that the World had, he refused to adventure the Army of Israel Moses was returned from the Red Sea, and against a Nation, which being overcome, in his way towards Canaan, and that the gave but a passage to invade others; and South part of Canaan was first to be invawhich, by reason of the seat of their mountainous Countrey, could not but have endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of Israel, and rendred them less able, if not altogether powerless, to have conquered the rest.

6. VI.

Of their compassing Idumaa, and travelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.

E therefore leaving the way of *Idn-*mea, turned himself towards the East, and marched towards the Defarts of Moab. Which, when Arad the King of the Canaanites understood, and that Moses had blanched the way of Idumea; and knowing that it was Canaan, and not Edom, which Ifrael aimed at, he thought it fafest, rather to find his enemies in his neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his own; which he might have done with a farr greater hope of victory, had Mojes been enforced first to have made his way by the Sword through Idumea, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than Arad hoped for, yet, being resolved to make trial, what courage the Ifraelites brought with them out of Egypt, before they came nearer his own home; leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Defart, he fet upon fome part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great space, and for the many herds of cattel that they drave with them, could not encamp fo near together, but that fome quarter or other was evermore fubject to surprise. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he flew some few of the Israelites, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now, it is very probable, that it was this Canaanite, or his Predecessor, which joyned his forces with the Amalekites, and gave an overthrow to those mutinous Ifraelites, and fourteenth Verse, nameth this Arad by

barne. For it feemeth, that the greatest numcause in the first of Deuteronomy 44. the A. morites are named alone, without the Amalekites, and are faid to have beaten the Ifraelites at that time. And this Arad, if he were the same that had a victory over Ifrael, near Cadesbarne; or if it were his Predeceffor that then prevailed; this man finding that ded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of Moses purpose to pais Moab, determined, while he was yet in the Defart, to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the third Verse of the twelfth Chapter of Numbers, that the Ifraelites utterly destroyed the Canaanites, and their Cities, they are much mistaken that think, that this destruction was presently performed by the Israelites. But it is to be understood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of Josua. For had Moses at this time entred Canaan in the perfute of Arad, he would not have fallen back again into the Defarts of Zin and Moab, and have fetch'd a wearisome and needless compass, by the Rivers of Zared and Arnon.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that Arad did not inhabit any part of Canaan it felf, butthat his Territory lay without it, and near to the Mountain Hor. For Hor and Zin Cades were the South borders of Edom, and not of Cana- North an. And it was in the South of the Land of 40. Canaan, that Arad dwelt; which South part of Canaan, was the North part of Edom.

Again, Horma (for fo farr the Ifraelites,after their victory, persued the Canaanites) is seated in the South of Judea. There is also a City of that name in Simeon. But there is no fuch place to the South of Edom. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this Victory, it were enough to prove, that the same was obtained in the suture, and in Josua histime, and not at the instant of Arads affault. For, had the Ifraelites at this time fack'd the Cities of Arad, they would not the next day have complained for want of Water and Bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also Water and Bread. But it was in the time of Jossa, that the Israelites took their revenge, and after they had pass'd Jordan; Josua thengoverning them, who in the twelfth Chapter the name of his City fo called; and with him, they kept the way to Diblathaim, one of the the King of Horma; to which place the Ifra- Cities of Moab; which Hieremy the Prophet, elites persued the Canaanites. And he named Chap. 48. Verf. 22. calleth the Honge of Diblathem amongst those Kings, which he van- thaim, the same which afterward was dequished, and put to death.

again by their beholding an artificial Serpent, by his commandment fet up.

From the Mount Hor, Mofes leaving the orway from Galaad, Traconitis, and the Countreys of Moab, to the Red Sea, that is, to Esiongaber, Eloth, and Midian; which way, as it lay North and South, so Ifrael, to shun the border of Edom, and to take the utmost East part of Moab, cross'd the common way towards the East, and then they turned again towards the North, as before.

From Phunon he went to Oboth, where he entred the Territory of Moab, adjoyning to the Land of Suph, a Countrey bordering

stroyed among the rest by Nebuchadnezzar. Now, after this affault, and surprize by From thence they came to the River Arnon; Arad, Moses finding that all entrance on that and encamped in the Mountains of Abarim; fide was defended, he led the people East- though in the 22. of Numbers, Moses doth not ward to compais Idumea, and the Dead Sea, remember Helmondiblathaim, but speaketh and to make his entrance by Arnon and the of his remove from the River of Zared, Plains of Moab, at that time in the possession immediately to the other side of Arnon; of the Amorites. But the Ifraelites, to whom calling Arnon the border of Moab, bethe very name of a Desart was terrible, be- tween them and the Amorites; speaking as gan again to rebel against their Leader; till he found the state of the Countrey at that God by a multitude of fiery Serpents (that is, time. For Arnon was not antiently the borby the biting of Serpents, whose Venom der of Moab, but was lately conquered from inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made the Moabites, by Sehon, King of the Amorites; them know their error, and afterward, even from the Predecessor of Balac Peor according to his plentiful grace, cured them then raigning. From Diblathaim, Moles fent messengers to Sehon, King of the Amorites, to defire a passage through his Countrey; which, though he knew would be denyed dinary way which lyeth between the Red him, yet he defired to give a reason to the Sea and Cologria, encamped at Zalmona; and neighbour Nations of the Warr he underthence he removed to Phunon, where he took. And though Edom had refused him crected the Brazen Serpent; making these as sehon did, yet he had no warrant from journies by the edg of Idumea, but without God to enforce him. Moses also in sending it. For Phunon was sometime a principal City messengers to Sehon, observed the same preof the Edomites. Now, where it is written in cept which he left to his Posterity and Suc-Numb.21.4. That from Mount Hor they depart- cellors, for a law of the Warr; namely, in ed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved Deut. 20. 10. in these words; When thou the people, it was not thereby meant, that the | comest neer unto a City to fight against it, thou If aelites turned back towards the Red Sea 3 fast offer it peace; which if it do accept of and neither did they march (according to Fonsca) per viam qua habet à latere mare rubrum; therein be tributaries unto thee, and serve thee; By the way that sided the Red Sea, but indeed but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the they cross d; and went athwart the common | males thereof with the edg of the sword. Which ordinance all Commanders of armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

§. VII.

Of the Book of the battels of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Books menti oned in Scripture, which are left.

Ow, concerning the Warr between If Numb. 213 rael and Sehon, Moses seemeth to referr on the Dead Sea; and from thence to Abarim, a great part of this Story to that Book, enthe eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, tituled, Liber bellorum Domini; The book of where the Mountains so called take be- Gods battels: and therefore passeth over ginning, and are as yet but small Mountures many encounters, and other things memorof Hills, on the East border of Moab; from able, with greater brevity in this place. His thence they recovered Dibon Gad, or the words, after the Geneva Translation, are River of Zared, which rifeth in the Moun-these: Wherefore it shall be spoken in the book tains of drabia, and runneth towards the of the battels of the Lord, what things he did Dead Sea, not farr from Petra the Metro- in the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon. polis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth The Vulgar Copy differeth not in fende from Station. And having pas'd that River, this: But the Greek Septuagint vary. For they lodged at Dibon Gad, and from thence the Greek writes it to this effect; For the

240 it is faid in the book: The Warr of the Lord of Formation, which others bestow on Rab. hath burnt (or inflamed) 200b, and the brooks of bi Achiba, is no where found. The Books Sumb. 1. Arnon Junius for the Red Sea, which is in the remembred by Josua, Chap. 10. Vers. 13, and Or the Gountier Genevian and Vulgar Edition, names the Re-Gountey General and a Country bordering the Dead called the Book of Jafter, or Jufforum, is fee more, Sea towards the Eaft, as he conjectureth. also lost; wherein the say of the Sun and say, 19 feet. 4. || 2. The Text, he readeth thus. Ideire's diei solet and of the in recensione bellora Jehovæ, contra Vahebum in Regione Suph; & contra summa, slumina rael had avenged themselves of their enethe word Arnonis; Therefore is it spoken in repeating of chap. 18. the battels of Jehovah, against Vaheb in the Countrey of Suph, and against the Rivers, the Rivers of Arnon. In which words he understands, that amongst the Warrs which the Lord disposed for the good of the Ifraelites, there was in those times a famous memory written, according unto the fixty and ninth in the mouth of most men, concerning the Pfalm, Verf. 28. where it is said; Let them fuccession of the Edomites) that these King- Theodoretus, that is was a Commentary upon doms were elective, and not fuccessive. Josua, by an unknown Author. And as Junius in this Translation undertations, doubt whether in this place any spe- Hierom conceives, that the Prophet E/ay was cial Book be meant; and if any, whether the Author. it be not a prediction of Wars in future ages,

> Heathen Magistrates. For the Books of Henoch, howsoever they have been in later and others. ages corrupted, and therefore now suspe-Eted, are remembred in an Epiftle of Thad-

dans, and cited by origen, mest de xão, and by That work also of the Patriarch Abraham,

corded, and how they flood still till if Precept of teaching the Children of 7nda, to exercise their Bows against their Enemies. Some think this to be the Book of eter-

nal Predestination, in which the just are Warr of Schon against Vaheb, the King of the be put out of the book of Life, neither let Moabites, and of his winning the Country them be written with the Righteous. Hierom near Arnon, out of the possession of the Mo- thinks that David by this Book, understood abites. For this Vaheb was the immediate those of Samuel; Rabbi Solomon, that the Predecessor of Ealac, who lived with Mo-Books of the Law are thereby meant, in fer; though it be written that this Ea- which the acts of the just Abraham, of Jaar, and lac was the Son of Zippor, and not of Jacob, and Mojes are written. Others, that Vabeb. For, it seems (as it is plain in the it is was the Book of Exodus. Others, as

The Book of chozai, concerning Mar Maria ftandeth no special Book of the battels of nasse, remembred in the second of Chron. min the Lord: so others, as Vatablus in his Anno- Chap. 33. v. 18, and 19. Of this Book, also lost, red

The fame mischance came as well to to be waged in these places, and to be writ- the Story of Solomon, written by Abia Siten in the book of Judges. Syracides, cap. 46. lonites, who met with Jeroboam, and foretold tells us plainly, that those battels of the Lord him of his obtaining the Kingdom of Ifred were fought by Josus, Who was there (faith | from the Son of Solomon: As to the Book he) before him like to hims for he fought the of Nathan the Prophet, and to those of Jeeds battels of the Lord. But seeing the Histories the Seer, remembred in the second of Chron. of the Scripture elsewhere often pals over | Chap. 9. Verf. 29. With these have the Books matters of great weight in few words, refer- of shemaiah and of Iddo, remembred in the ring the Reader to other books written of second of Chron. Chap. 12. Vers. 15, perished; the same matter at large; therefore it seem- and that of Jehn the Son of Hanani, of the eth probable, that such a book as this there acts of Jehosaphat, cited in the second of was; wherein the several victories by Ifrael Chron. Chap. 2c. Vers. 34. Also that Book obtained, and also victories of other Kings, of Solomon, which the Hebrems write Haftimaking way for the good of the Ifraelites, rim, of 5000. Verses, of which, that part were particularly and largely written. And called Canticum Canticorum, onely remainthat the same should now be wanting, it is eth, 1 Kings 4. 32, and with this, divers others not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, of Solomon's works have perished, as his filled with divine discourse, have perished Book of the natures of Trees Plants, Bealts, in the long race of time, or have been de- Fishes, &c. 1 Kings 4. 33. With the reftremembred by Origen, Josephus, Hierom, Co stroyed by the ignorant and malicious drenus, Ciccus Asculanus, Picus Mirandula,

Of these, and other Books many were confumed with the same fire, wherewith Nebuchadnezzar burnt the Temple of Hit rusalem. But let us return thither where we left, s. VIII. 6. VIII.

When Moses had past Arnon, he incamped on the other side thereof at Abarim, opposite to the City of Nibo; leaving the City of Midian on the left hand, and attempting nothing upon the Meabites on that fide. For Moab did at this time inhabite Due 1. 9, on the South-fide of Arnon, having loft all his anticut and best Territory, which was now in the possession of Schonthe Amorite. For Mofes was commanded by God not to molest Mondy, neither to provoke them to battel, God having given that Land to the children of Lot; the same which was antiently possess by the Eminus, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called Anakims, or the fons of Anac.

Ammonites, because they likewise were descended of Lot: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the Ammonites called Zamzummims. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of Jordan, even to the Defart of Arabia, as well on the been Giants in the Land of the Moabites, cal-

Now Mofes having past Arnon, and being was given to Renben, and unto Gad. incamped at Abarim; and having (as before). fent to sehon, as he had done to Edom, to

pray a paliage through his Countrey, was denied it. For sekon being made proud by of Moles his sparing the iffue of Lot; and of his former conquest upon Vakeb the Moabite: the Giants in these parts; and of Schon | Which Nation the Amorites effected but as firangers and uturpers, (themselves being of the fons of Candan, and the Moabiles of Lot) refuled to grant Ifrael any entrance that way; and withal, prepared to encounter Moles with as much speed as he could, because Moses incamped in the Countrey of his new conquests, to wit, the Plains of Atoab, the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which Moses wasted with the multitude of his people and cattel. Towards him therefore hafling himself, they encountred each other at Jahaz: where Sehon with his children and people were broken and discomsited, and the victory to purfued by Mofes, as few or none of the Amorites escaped. He also flaughtered all the Women and Children of the Amorites, which he found in Effebon, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they be-God also commanded Mojes to spare the ing of the race of Canaan, as those of Basan allo were, and descended of Emoreus, or Amoreus: for Moses calleth the Basanites also Amorites. And although Ifrael might now have taken a ready way and passage into 7udea, being at this time, and after this victory, at the banks of Jordan: yet he knew it to West, as on the East-side of the Mountains of | be perillous to leave so great a part of that Gilead, was inhabited by Giants. And in the Nation of the Amorites on his back, as inhaplantation of the Land promifed, the Ifrae- bited all the Region of Basan, or Traconitis: lites did not at any time pass those Mountains and therefore he led on his Army to invade to the East of Basan, but left their Country og, a person of exceeding strength and stato them, as in the description following is ture, and the only man of mark remaining of made manifest. We find also, that as there the antient Giants of those parts, and who at were many Giants both before and after that time had 60 Cities walled and defenthe floud: fo these Nations, which arriently ced: lying between the Mountain of Herinhabited both the border of Canaan, and mon (which Mountain, faith Moses, the Sidothe Land it felf, had among them many Fa- nians call Shirion, and the Amorites, Shenir) milies of Giant-like men. For the Andrims and the River of Jordan. And it befell unto dwelt in Hebron, which sometimes was called the King of Boson (who attended Moses the City of Arbab, which Arbab in Josua is coming at Edrer) as it did unto seban: for called the father of the Anakims; and the he and his sons perished, and all his Cities greatest man of the Anakims. There had also were taken and possest. After this, Moses with-drawing himself back again to the led Emims: and their chief City was Aroer | Mountains of Abarim, left the prosecution or Ar, mear the River of Arnon. To the Giants of that war unto Jair the fon of Manage: of the Rephaims, the Ammonites gave the who conquering the East parts of Basan, to name of Zamzummins; which were of the wit, the Kingdom of Argab, even unto the fame antient Canaanites: and their chief Ci- Nations of the Geffini and Machati, 60. walkty was Rabba, afterward Philadelphia. They led Cities, called the fame after his own were also called Zuzams, which is as much to name Haooth Jair: of all which conquests fay, as Viri robufti, horrendique Giganter; afterward the half Tribe of Manafie policit Strong men, and fearful Giants, who inhabited other Cities of Ham, or Hom, in the fame part that belonged to Selson the Amorite, Province, and not far to the North of Aroer. with the Mountains of Gilead adjoyning

5. IX.

6. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, and of Moses his death.

The fecond Book of the first Part

Fter these victories, and while Ifrael so-Journed in the valley of Moab, the Madianites and Monbites (over both which Nations it feemeth that Balac King of the Moabites then commanded in chief) fought, according to the advice of Balaam, both by alluring the Hebrews to the love of their daughters, and by perfuading them to honour and serve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themfelves: thereby the better both to defend their own interest against them, as also to of og. and Sehon King of the Amorites, in the beat them out of Moab, and the Countries repetition and expolition of the Law, (oran adjoyning. The Israelites as they had ever iteration of the Law, according to Saint An John been enclined, so were they now easily pergustine) using both arguments, prayers, and density pergustine. fuaded to these evil courses, and thereby drew on themselvs the plague of pestilence, No. 15.1. fides which punishment of God, the most of all-powerful God: He blessed the twelve the offenders among the Hebrews, were by his commandment put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that Phineas the fon of Eleazar had pierced the bodies of Zimri, a Prince of the Simeonites, together with cosbi, a Daughter of one of the chief of the Midianites, the Plague ceawas the love and kindness of his all-powerin profecuting of Zimri (who being a chief God from the labours and forrows of this hand for his fake.

In this valley it was that Moses caused the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to bear arms Nu. 16 31. 601730. of which, as his last enterprise, he appointed 12000, to be chosen out, to invade the Cities of Midian, who, together with the Moabites, practifed with Balaam to curse Ifrael: and after that, fought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worflip of the true God, to the fervice of Beth-Peor: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which Companies of 12000. 18. 31. 8. Moses gave the charge to Phineas the son of Eleazar the high Priest: who slew the five Princes of the Midianites, which were, or had lately been, the vaffals of sehon, as appeareth by Josuah. These five Princes of the Midianites Ilain by Eleazar, were at this

as had not yet used the company of men, but those they faved, and dispers'd them among the children of Ifract to ferve them.

And Moses having now lived 120. years, making both his own weakness of body Dog known to the people, and his unability to travel: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandment to ascend the Mountains of Abarim, and thereon to render up his life: He hastned to settlethe government in Josua, whom he persuaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the conquest begun, affuring him of Gods favour and affiftance therein. And so having fpent these his latter days after the conquest peated unto them; thereby to confirm them in knowledg, love, fear, and service of the ral and most comfortable bleffings: praising ton it the greatness and goodness of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them: He also commanded the Priests to lay up the Design Book of the Law, by the fide of the Ark of God, The last that he indited, was that Profed, and Gods wrath was appealed. For fuch | phetical Song, beginning: Hearken je Hetvens, and I will speak, and let the Earth hear fulness, respecting the ardent zeal of Phineas the words of my month: and being called by among the Hebrews, become an Idolater) as life, unto that Rest which never afterward he forgave the reft of Ifrael, and flayed his hath difquiet, he was buried in the Land of Moab, over against Beth-Peor: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the year of the World,2554

6. X.

Observations out of the Story of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.

Ow let us a little, for instruction, look back to the occasions of fundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this Story of the life of Moses, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promife, and fore-choice of this people) he wrought in all things elle by the medium of mens affections, and natiral appetites. And so we shall find that the wit, Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Rera, the fear which Pharaoh had of the increase of the co.13.11. Dukes of sehon, faith Josiah. He slew also the Hebrews, multiplyed by God to exceeding men, male-children, and women: faving fuch great numbers, was the next natural call of the forrows and loss, which befel himself, of that place; and Jethro's Daughters; an: the contention between the Sherherds gotten.

and the Egyptian Nation: which numbers made him known to their Father; who not when he fought by cruel and ungodly poli- onely entertained him, but married him cies to cut off and leffen, as when he com- to one of those Sifters: and in that Solitary manded all the male children of the Hebrews life of keeping of his Father-in-Law's sheep, to be flain, God (whose providence can- far from the preass of the World, contenting not be relifted, nor his purpoles prevented himself (though bred as a Kings Son) with by all the foolish and salvage craft of mortal the Lot of a poor Heards-man, God found men) moved compatition in the heart of Pha- him out in that Defart wherein he first sufferrash's own daughter, to preserve that child, ed him to live many years, the better to which afterward became the most wife, and know the waies and passages through which of all men the most gentle and mild, the most he purposed that he should conduct his excellently learned in all Divine and Hu-people, toward the Land promised: and mane knowledge, to be the conductor and therein appearing unto him, he made him deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and know his will and divine pleasure for his rethe overthrow of Pharaoh, and all the flow-turn into Egypt. The like may be faid of er of his Nation; even then, when he fought all things elfe, which Moles afterward by by the strength of his men of War, of his God's direction performed in the Story of Horse, and Chariots, to tread them under, Ifrael before remembred. There is not and bury them in the dust. The grief which therefore the smallest accident, which may Moses conceived of the injuries, and of the seem unto men as falling out by chance, and violence offered to one of the Hebrews in of no consequence, but that the same is cauhis own presence, moved him to take re- sed by God to effect somewhat else by: venge of the Egyptian that offered it: the in- yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greature of one of his own Nation, by directing him to discover the saughter of lently, or in many years after, when the the Egyptian, moved him to fly into Madi- occasions are either not considered, or for-



CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of Egypt; and of the Men of renown in other Nations, about the times of Moses and Josua; with the sum of the History of Josua.

How the Nations with whom the Ifraclites were to have War, were divers waies, as it were prepared to be their Enemies.

Egypt, had to do, either in the Wilderlong before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were, prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of Canaan, or at least of Ham; and the rest (as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Israelites) were mingled with them by mutual marriages: whereas the Ifraelites still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so part-

Nlike manner, if we look to the qua- 1 ries or enmities, and partly by reason of dility of the Nations, with whom the versity in Religion, were these Nations, as Israelites, after their coming out of | it were, prepared to be enemies to the Israelites: and to to ferve for such purposes as nefs, or atterward, we shall find them | God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifelt, we must understand that this part of syria, bounded by the mountains of Libanus, and Zidon on the North, by the same mountains continued as far as the Springs of Arnon on the East: by the way of Feypt, and the Red Sea, on the South: and by the Mediterran Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one foringing from the fons of ly in this respect, and partly by antient inju- Cham, the other from sem: but those of H h 2

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ch.p. 10.

about it at a few of his kinred. The other for the great- fed him both to promife and perform it. For son of Ma- est part, were the Canaanites, the antient core, and Lords and potteriors of those Territorics, habited, in effect, all that Tract of Land Bas his Booders by process of time divided into several Far between Havilah upon Tygris, and Sur which themselves were of eminent stature and strength, as the Petrea. Yet howsoever the strength of in the Est were of eminent stature and strength, as the fide of for Anakims, Zamzummims, or Zuzei, Emims, das, about Horites, and others. These (as men most from Abraham, were great; it is not unlikewherethey valiant and able commonly do) did inha- ly, but that some reason which moved them which Job ans, Jebufites, Amorites, Hevites, Hetites, and all Princes and States do not wilingly permit dweit as one of the others, who took name after the fons of Ca- any stranger or powerful Nation to enter one or the maan, and after whom the Countrey in getheir Territories. Wherefore, though all liftee of maan, and after whom the Countrey in getheir Territories. Hus, the neral was still called,

friend was mily, and ffrangers in that Country, especiis called a many and triangers and this was fome cause more frong than themselves, whether they that the Canaanites did not affect them, or indure them, no more than the Philiftims the care of their own prefervation, to joyn did, who descended also of Cham by Mizraim. For though Abraham himself, being a they did it nothing so maliciously and reftranger, was highly efteemed and honoured among them; especially by the Amorites inhabiting the West part of Jordan: yet now even they which descended from Abrabam, or from his kinred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affeftrangers and intruders: making more ac-Ex. 17.16. old pedigree from Abraham.

True it is, that these Nations descended Dem. 11.5, of Abraham, or of his kinred, who had linked themselves, and marched with the Canaanites and others, had so far possest themthey began to be equal in strength to the Deat. 11.5. For the Ifraclites were forbidden to pro- and more stirred up to enmity against Ifra-Ex.17.16. whereas contrariwife Amalek was curfed, and descended from Abraham's kinred, we may endless war decreed against him: but here note, how in the beginning, between the of more elsewhere, Chap. 8. 5.3. Of Ismael's Authours of their Pedigrees, God permit-

Sem, were but as strangers therein for a long | eldest fon Naboth sprung the Arabians of time, and came thither, in effect, but with Petrea, called Nabatheti. Now even as Abra-In termed, a one Family, to wit, that of Abraham, and ham befought God to blefs Ifmael, fo it pleaof him those twelve Princes came, which in Gaz. milies and Names: whereof some of them is the West part of the Desart of Arabia bite the utter borders and Mountains of not to favour the entrance of the Ifraelites their Countries: the reft were the Zidoni- into Canaan, was in respect of fear: because these Families before named, were not so As for the Hebrews which descended of united in and among themselves, but that Elba, his Shem by Alraham, they were of another Fa-they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for dominion : yet fearing a third stood apart or united, they were taught by themselves together against Ifrael: though folvedly as the Canaanites did. For the Edumans onely denied the Hebrews a palfage, which the Moabites durst not deny: because their Country lay more open; and because themselves had lately been beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, ctions from the Ifraelites, as holding them by the Amorites: and as for the Ammenites their Country lay altogether out of theway, count of their alliance with the Canaanites, and the strength of sehon and og, Kings of and the rest of the issue of Cham, with whom the Amorites, was interjacent: and besides they dayly contracted affinity, than of their that, the border of the Ammonites was strong by reason of the mountains which divided it from Bafan. Again, that which moved the Mails Moabites in their own reason not much to interrupt Ifrael, in the conquest of sehon the Amorite, and of og his confederate, was, felves of the borders of those Regions, as that the Moabites might hope, after such a time as the Amorites were beaten by Moses, bordering Canaanites, if not Superiour. For that themselves might recover again their of Lot came those two great families of the own inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Aloabites, and Ammonites: of Efan the Idn. Plains lying between the mountains of And means: of Madian the Madianites: of 15- bia and Jordan: But as foon as sebon was mael the eldeft fon of Abraham, came the je lain, and that the King of Moab, Balac, permaelites, with whom are joyned, as of the ceived that Mojes allotted that Valley to the same Nation, the Amalekites 5 whom though Tribes of Gad and Reuben he began to prathe more common opinion thinketh to have the with Balaam against Ifrael, and by the been a Tribe of Edom, because Esan had a daughters of Midian, as aforelaid, to allure grand-child of that name, yet manifest reathem to Idolatry: and thus at the length fon convinceth it to have been otherwife. the Moabites, by special occasion, were more voke the Edomites, or do them any wrong; el. And as for divers of the rest that were

ted some enmities to be, as it were, presages of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incenfed by the memory of old grudges: and withall, by fome difdain from the elder in nature to the youn-For the Ismaelites being descended from the eldeft fon of Abraham, and the Edomites from the eldest fon of Isaac, Jacob, those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses, being natural men, might scorn to give place, much less to subject themselvs to their inferiours, as they took it: and for a more aggravation, the iffues of Efan, Princes of Idumea, might keep in record, that their Parent was bought out of his birth-

[68.37. Hght by Was deceived of his Father's blefling of Cham by Canaan, as the Hittites, Jebuinto Seir or Idumea.

his Mother and to his Wife: and Amalec Maternal line descended of the Canaanites. held their Paternal name chiefly inhabited. For Efau took two wives of that Nation: one of them was Adath, the daughter of Elon , grand-child of Zibeon, the Hevite, Lord of Seir, before the same was conquered by Efan, and called after his name, Edom, or Edumea.

of the Ismaelites, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, &c. were in process of time corrupted, and drawn from the knowledg derness in the edge of Edumaa. and worship of God, and became Idolaters, Jethro was Priest, or Prince, or both, wor- the Amorites. thipped the true and ever-living God.

6. II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the antient Wars of the Ifraelites.

F the Kings of the Canaanites, descended of cham (for Melchizedek may being but a fecond fon, of a fecond brother; be thought to be of a better Pedigree) we find four named by Moses: and one and thirty remembred by Jojua, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities over which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territory adjoyning, and no other Dominion. These Canaanites in a general confideration are to be 602 17. right by Jacob's taking his advantage, and understood for all those Nations, descended allo by him : and that Jacob, after reconci- fites, Amorites, Gergesites, Hevites, &c. and liation, came not unto him as he promised, to here we understand this name in speaking of the Kings of the Canaanites: and fo also So also in the posterity of Ismael, it might we call the Country of their habitation the remain as a feed or pretence of enmity, that holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God their fore-father was by the inftigation of hath appointed that the feven principle Fa-Sara, cast out into the Defart, with his mo-milies should be rooted out, and that his ther Hagar; and had therein perished, but own people should inherit their Lands and that it pleased God by his Angel to relieve Cities. But if we consider of the name them. Ismael also had an Egyptian both to and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by Jordan, on the was also an Horite by his Mother: which East, and by the Mediterran Sea on the West: Horites were of the antient Canaanites. The in which narrow Country, and in the choif-Edumeans also, or Edomites, were by their est places thereof, those Canaanites which

The first King of these Nations, named in Gen 34. the Scriptures, was Hamor or Hemer, of the the Hittite; and the other Aholibamah, the Hevites, whom Simeon and Levi flew, together with his Son Sichem, in revenge of their fifters ravishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part Laftly it appeareth that all those Families of Canaan towards the South, neighbouring Numar. 1. Edom and the dead Sea; the same which surprised Israel, as they encamped in the Wil-

The third named was Sehon King of Effeinfected and seduced by the conversation bon, who before Moses arrival had beaten the of those people among whom they dwelt, Moabites out of the West part of Arabia Pe- Nu. 114. and by those wives of the Canaanites which trea, or Nabathea, and thrust them over Arthey had married: onely a few of the Ke- non into the Defarts, the same whom Moses nites and those Madianites, which inhabi- overthrew in the plains of Moab: at which ted on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof time he took Effebon, and all the Cities of

> Prefently after which victory, Og was also ub.4. c.5. flain by Ifrael, who commanded the North part of that Valley between the Mountains Nu. 21,35; Traconi, or Galaad, and Jordan, who was alfo a King of the Amorites.

The fifth was Adonizedck King of the Jebusites, and of Hierusalem, with whom Josua nameth four other Kings.

Hoham.

Jef. 113

Hobart King of Hebron. Piram. King of Jarmuth. Japia, King of Laches : and

Deber, King of Eglaa, who were all Amo-John to rifes overthrown in bactel; and hanged by Joseph ant. Josua. After this overthrow Josua nameth Jabin, King of Hazor, and

Jobab, King of Madon: whom he aifo flaughtered, and took his Cities: and this falem. Jabin scemed to have some dominion over Jos. 11. 1. The rest; for it is said in the Text, For Hazor before times was the head of all those

Kingdoms. After these Adonibezek that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had eut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of feventy Kings, inforcing them to gather crumbs under his Table: who, after Juda and Simeon had used the same execution upon himfelf, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: this King was carried to

Hierufalem where he died.

by Jolia. For at such time as he employed Reg. 14.7. where it is also called Joktheel. sifara against Israel, whom he opprest twenty years after the death of Ehad, he inhabired Hazor. This Jabin, Barac (encouraged by Debora) overthrew; and his Captain Sifara had by fael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, a nail driven into his head while he Pful. 23. flept in her Tent: Jabin himself perishing

afterward in that war. I have spoken ellewhere more at large. This description of their Territories. Tethro, if he were not the fame with Hobab, must be his father: and this Hobab had seven daughters. He guided Moses in the Wilderness, and became one of the Israelites: of him descended the Kenites, so called of his father Raguels furname, of which Kenites

kites, he knowing the good affection of the number than of the rest (for they were mul-Kenites to Ifrael, gave them warning to fefrong feats, and lived in the mountains of yet the Amalekites, who together with the the Diebre. the Defarts.

was Heber, which had peace with Jabin the

fecond, even now remembred.

The Kings of the Canaanites, and Madianites, and the Amalekites, as many as I find named, were thefe:

1. Homer the Hevite of Sichem 2. Arad of the South parts

2. Sehon of Effebon

4. Og of Basan

The second Book of the first Part

5. Adonizedek the Jebusite, King of Hieru.

6. Hoham of Hebron

7. Piram of Jarmuth

8. Japia of Lachis 9. Debir of Eglon

10. Jabin of Hazor 11. Fobab of Modon.

12. Adonibezek of Bezek, and

13. Jabin the second King of Hazar.

Of the Madianites these: * Evi or Evis.

Rekam or Recem, who built Petra the Me-field an opolis of Putron Good Ville tropolis of Petrea, so called by the Greek: single and by Efay, cap. 16. v. 1. and Selah, which is stead who as it seemeth had rebuilt Hazor, burnt as much as Petra: and so also it is called 2 of the is

Zur Hur and. and the 1100). Which le Reba * Oreb led against Zeb Zebah Zalmunna.

After the death of Barac, Judge of Ifrael, wet the The Madianites had also their Kings at the four last named of these Madianite Kings im his times, but commonly mixt with the Moa- vexed Ifrael feven years: till they being put interbites: and they held a corner of Land in to flight by Gideon, two of them, to wit, 0- down Nabathea: to the South-East of the Dead reb and Zeb, were taken and flain by the E. dought sea. They descended from Madian Abra- phraimites, at the passage of fordan, as in the assumption hams son, by Cethura. Raguel surnamed Ge- 6.7. and 8. of Judges it is written at large. thegleus or Jethres, faith Josephus, called Je- Afterward in the pursuit of the rest, Gideon thro in Exedus, Kenis in the first of Judges, the himself laid hands upon Zebah and Salmans, fon of Dashan, the grand-child of Jexanie, or Zalmanna, and executed them, being prior Joksham, the great grand-child of Abra- foners; in which expedition of Gideon there ham by Cethuca, was Priest or Prince of the perished 120000. of the Madianites and their Madienites by the Red Sea : whose Daugh- | confederates. Of the Idumaans, Moabites, ter or Neece, Moses married, and of whom, and Ammonites, I will speak hereafter in the

Of the Amalekites and Ismaelites.

F the Kings of the Amalekites and Isma-Felites, I find few that are named; and At fuch time as Saul invaded the Amale- though of the Ismaelites there were more in tiplied into a greater Nation, according unparate themselves: and yet the Kenites had to the promise of God made unto Abraham just Midianites were numbered among them, of Agag, as the Egyptians the name of Pharaoh when Saul governed Ifrael. For Saul pur- as names of Honour. fued them from Sur unto Havilah, to wit, o-That the twelve Princes which came of 15- were vanquished. mael, were content to leave those barren that joyned with them (for fo feem the Amalekites to have been, and fo were the Madianites:)themselves taking possession of a betwas very fruitful, though adjoyning to the Shur. Defart in which Mofes wandred, afterward called Nabathea: the same which neighboureth Judea on the East-side. They also peothe people were in after-times called Napathei (B) changed into (P.)

Kedar, the second of Ismaels sons, gave his own name to the East-part of Basan, or Batanea, which was afterward possest by Manasse, to much thereof as lay within the mountains Traconi, or Gilead. Which Nation Lampridius calleth Kedarens, and Pliny, Cedreans.

Abbeel fat down in the Defart Arabia, near the Mountains which divide it from the Happy: and gave name to the Adubens, which Ptolomy calleth Agubens.

Mibsam was the Parent of the Masamancuses, near the Mountain Zamath, in the same Arabia the Happy.

The Raabens were of Milhma: who joynwhere Ptolomy setteth Zagmais.

meth fometimes stood.

patheans in the same Happy Arabia.

Thema is seated.

Of Jetur the Itureans, or Camathens: of whom Tohu was King in Davids time.

Of Naphri, the Nubeian Arabians, inhabiting Syria Zoba: over whom Adadezer commanded, while David ruled Ifrael.

worshiped the Fire with the Babylonians.

were more renowned in Moses time than the to theirs, and the antient Syrians, Adad to rest of the Ismaelites. So also were they theirs, and the Arabian Nabatheans, Aretas,

The Amalekites were the first that fought Exod. 17. ver a great part of Arabia Petraa, and the with Moses after he past the Red Sea: when Defart. The reason to me seemeth to be this: of all times they flourished most, and yet

Afterward they joyned with the Canaan-Defarts of Arabia Petraa, called Sur, Paran, ites, and beat the Ifraelites near Cadesbarne, Num. 14. and sin, to the issue of Abraham by Cethura, After the government of Othoniel, they joyned them with the Moabites: after Barac, with the Madianites, and invaded Israel. God commanded that as foon as Ifrael had reft, ter foil in Arabia the Happy, and about the they should root out the name of the Ama-Mountains of Galaad in Arabia Petraa: For lekites: which Saul executed in part, when Nabaioth the eldest of those twelve Princes he wasted them from the border of Egypt, to planted that part of Arabia Petraa; which the border of Chaldea: from Havilah to

In Davids time they took Siklag in Sime- 1 Sam, 30, on: but David followed them, and surprised them, recovering his prisoners and spoils. pled a Province in Arabia the Happy, whereof And yet, after David became King, they again vexed him, but to their own loss.

In Ezekias time, as many of them as joyn- 2 sans 8:1 ed to Edumaa, were wasted and displanted 12. by the children of Simeon.

s. IV.

Of the instauration of Civility in Europe about these times, and of Prometheus and Atlas.

Here lived at this time, and in the same age together with Moses, many men exceeding famous as well in bodily strength as in all forts of learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the writed to the Orchens, near the Arabian gulf, ten Law of the living God, fo did Art and Civility (bred and fostered far off in the Of Duma were the Dumaans, between the East, and in Egypt) begin at this time to dis-Adubens and Raabens: where the City Du- cover a passage into Europe, and into those parts of Greece, neighbouring Alia and Ju-Of Massa the Massari, and of Hadar, or daa. For if Pelasgus, besides his bodily Chadar, the Athrita, who bordered the Na- strength, was chosen King of Arcadia, because he taught those people to erect them Thema begat the Themaneans, among the simple Cottages, to defend them from rain Arabian Mountains, where also the City of and storm: and learned them withal to make a kind of Meale, and bread of Acorns, who before lived, for the most part, by Herbs and Roots: we may thereby judge how poor and wretched those times were, and how falfly those Nations have vaunted of those their antiquities, accompanied not on-Cadma, the last and twelfth of Ijmaels sons, ly with civil learning, but with all other was the Ancestor of the Cadmonaans: who kindes of knowledg. And it was in this age were afterward called Afite, because they of the World, as both Eusebius and S. Augu-Aug. 183 fine have observed, that Prometheus flourish- vit, Dei. The Amalekites gave their Kings the name | ed : Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse

perhibetur; Of whom it is reported, that he World long after them. Besides these sons of formed men out of clay, because he mas an ex. Japenus, Ffculus finds two other, to wit, ocellent teacher of mildom: and to the ophrajius ceanus and Hefterus, who being famous in To have reference 12 wife inventions: and B- las of Lybia, or Marritania, there were ocesson. It made report that by the fealing of Ju-thers which bare the same name: but of the in Prost. school february schools affirmeth, That by the stealing of Juvind. Julian and the brother of Prometheus, it let the knowledg of Lyhan, and the brother of Prometheus, it let 8. lib. Piters fire was meant, that the knowledg of Lyhan, and the brother of Prometheus, it let the fire and other large that the fire Mountains which cook is 18. deci- Prometheus reached to the Stars, and other was that those Mountains which cross Afri-Stone, and Clay: meaning, that before his the fon of Neptune. birth and being, those people among whom Cicero in the fifth of his Tusculan questions on of Prometheus, being bound on the top express divine knowledg. Nee vero Atlas fuf-Lad Viva mum afcer dife Cancafum, ut jereno colo quam faftened to Cancafus, nor Cepheus with his be might in a clear skie differn a far off the ous fables. tings and rifings of the Stars: though Dio hers diverfly.

> Of this mans knowledg Æschylus gives this estimony.

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Ast agebant omnia Ot fors ferebat: donoe ipse-erperi Signorum obitus, ortugue qui mortalibus Sunt utiles : & multitudinem artium His repperi: componere inde literas ; Mairemque Musarum auxi cgo Memoriam Perutilem cundis. Oc.

first found out how Stars did set and rise: A profitable art to mortal men: And others of like use I did devise: As letters to compose in learned wife I first did teach: and first did amplifie The Mother of the Muses, Memorie.

Africanus makes Promethens far more an-Aug. 1.18. tient, and but 94. years after Ogyges. Porphy-6.3. dec. rius fayes, that he lived at once with Ina- facius Tzetzes, a curious fearcher of antiquivii. Dei, chus, who lived with Ifanc.

be faid, that they were born before Moses his Philosophy. dayes, and therefore are by others efteemed of a more anrient date: yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other

homines, quia obtimus supientia doctor fuisce ages among men, which came into the expounded the invention of fire afcribed to the West, gave name to the Evening, and Prometheus, Ad inventa sapientic pertinere; so to the Evening Star. Also besides this Atcelefrial bodies. Again, it is written of him, ca, to the South of Marocco, Sus, and Hea, that he had the art fo to use this fire, as there- with the Sea adjoyning, took name, which by he gave life to the Images of Wood, memory Plato in Critias bestowes on Allar,

he lived, had nothing else worthy of men, affirmeth, that all things written of Promebut external form and figure. By that ficti- theus and Atlas, were but by those namesto of the Hill Caucasus, his entrails the while tincre calum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucaso, devoured by an Eagle, was meanr the inward nec stellatus Cepheus cum uxore tradereur. care and reffless defire he had to investigate nist divina cognitio nomen corum ad errorem the Natures, Motions, and Influences of hea- fabula traduciffet; Neither should Atlas be venly bodies; for fo it is said: Ideo altiffi- laid to bear up heaven, nor Prometheus to be longiffine aftra fienorum obitus & ortus feeta- wife to be stellified, unless their divine knowrety That he ascended Cancains so the end that ledg had raifed upon their names these errone-

Orpheus fometimes express'd Time by Prodorus siculus expounds it otherwife, and metheus, fometime he rook him for saturn; as, Rhea conjux alme Prometheu. But that the Story of Prometheus was not altogether a fiction, and that he lived about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiqua- Lik. 18 ries, and among them Eusebius and S. Augu- cap 8 4 fine have not doubted : For the great judge divinition ment which Atlas had in Astronomy, faith S. Augustine, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, Pleiades and Hyades. Others attribute unto him the finding out of the Moons course, of which Archas the fon of Orchomenus challengeth the invention. But Fortune govern'd all their works, till Of this Areas, Areadia in Peloponnesus took name; and therefore did the Arcadians vaunt that they were more antient than the Moor: Et Luna gens prior illa fuit: which full. is to be understood, faith Natalis Comes, before there had been any observation of the Meons course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that befrow the finding out thereof upon Endymion: others (as Xenagoras) on Typhon: yet Ities, gave it Atlas of Libya: who, befides his There lived also at once with Moles, that gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and famous Atlas, brother to Prometheus, both incomparable strength: from whom Ibales being the fons of Japetus, of whom though it the Milestan, as it is said, had the ground of

§. V.

of Deucalion and Phaeton.

Nd in this age of the World, and while And in this age of the World, and while Moses yet lived, Deucalion reigned in Thefaly, Crotopus then ruling the Argives. This Deucalion was the fon of Promotheus. faith Herodotus, Apollonius, Hesiodus, and Hesiodus gave him Pandora for mother ; the rest Clymene : Homer in the fifteenth of his Odysses, makes Deucalion the fon of Minos: but he must needs have meant some other Dencalion; for else who either Ulyses was mistaken, or Homer, who for Unifer, after his return from Troy, feigned himself to be the brother of Idomeneus, who was fon to this later Deucalion, the fon of Minos: but this Minos lived but one age before Troy was taken: (for Idomeneus ferved in that war) and this Deucalion the fon of Prometheus, who lived at once with Moses, was long before. In the first Deucalion's time happened that great inundation in Thessaly: by which in effect every foul in those parts perished, but Deucalion, Pyrrha his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this Deucalion, and Pyrrha his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be lovers of Vertue, of Justice, and of Religi-Of whom ovid:

Non illo melior quisquam, nec amantior aqui Vir fuit : aut illa reverentior ulla dearum.

No man was Better, nor more just than hee: Nor any woman godlier than fliee.

Itis also affirmed, that Prometheus foretold his fon Deucalion of this over-flowing, and advised him to provide for his safety: who hereupon prepared himself a kind of Vessel, which Incian in his Dialogue of Timon calls Cibotium; and others Larnax; And because to these circumstances, they afterhould verily think that Story had been but Taantus, Sanconiatho, who lived about the an imitation of Noah's flood devised by the the war of Troy, gives the invention of let-

Greeks, did not the time so much differ, and S. Augustine with others of the Fathers and Aug. de reverent Writers approve this Story of Den-118 (10) calion. Among other his children, Deucali- ex Eufeb o on had these two of note; Hellen, of whom wind Greece had first the name of Hellas; and Melantho, on whom Neptune is faid to have begot Delphus, which gave name to Delphos, fo renowned among the Heathen for the Qracle of Apollo therein founded.

And that which was no less strange and marvellous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened under Phaeton; not only in Ethiopia, but in Istria, a Region in Italy, and about Cuma, and the Mountains of Vesuvius: of both which the Greeks, after their manner, have invented many strange fables;

6. VI.

Of Hermes Trismegistus.

PUt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, Mercurius was the most famous and renowned; the same which was also called Trismegistus, or Ter Maximus; and of the Greeks, Hermes.

Many there were of this name; and how flood in Theffaly, those people exceeded in to distinguish, and set them in their own all kind of wickedness and villany: and as times, both S. Augustine and Lastantius find the impiety of men is the forcible attractive it difficult. For that Mercury which was of Gods vengeance, to did all that Nation efteemed the god of Theeves, the God of for their foul fins perish by waters: as in the Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and time of Noah, the corruption and cruelty of the god of Eloquence (though all by one all mandkind drew on them that general name confounded) was not the same with destruction by the flood universal. Onely that Mercury, of whose many works some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and certain of the Greeks reckon five Mercuries. Of which, two were famous in Egipt, and there worshipped; one, the for of Nilus, whose name the Egyptians seared to utter, as the Jews did Tetragrammaton; the other that Mercury, which flew Argus in Greece, and flying into Egypt, is faid to have delivered literature to the Egyptians, and to have given them laws. But Piodorus affirm-Lud. Pions eth, that Orpheus, and others after him, out of cibrought learning and letters out of Egypt tero in Aug into Greece: which Plato also confirmeth , 18 c. 264 faying; That letters were not found out by that Mercury which flew Argus, but by that antient Mercury otherwise Thever; whom Philo Byblins writeth Taantus ; the Egyptians, ward add the fending out of the Dove, to Thorth; the Alexandrians, Thot, and the difcover the waters fall and decrease, I Greeks, (as before) Hermes. And to this

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ters. But S. Augustine making two Mercu- on a pillar crected on the Tomb of Isis. Lod. ##66 . ries, which were both Egyptians, calls neither c. 6 de of them the fon of Nilus, nor acknowledg-Prop from eth either of them to have flain Argus. For he finds this Mercury the flayer of Argus, to the grand-child of that Atlas, which lived while Moles was yet young. And yet L.Vives upon S. Augustine seems to understand them to be the fame with those, whom Cicero, Alexandrinus, and the reft have remembred. But that conjecture of theirs, that any Grecian Mercury brought letters into Fgpt, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity) that all the knowledg which the Greeks had, was transported out of Egypt or Phanieta, and not out of Greece, nor by any Grecian into Egypt. For they all confess, that Cadmus brought letters first into Baotia, either out of Fgypt, or out of Phanicia: it being true, that between Mercurius, that lived at once with Asofes and Cadmus, there were these descents cast; Crotopus King of the Argives, with whom Moles lived, and in whose time about his tenth year Moses died 5 after Crotopus, Sthenelus, who reigned eleven years; after him Danaus hfty years; after him Linceus: in whole time, and after rather resolve, that these works which are him in the time of Atinos King of Crete, this Cadmus arrived in Bwotia. And therefore it cannot be true that any Mercurius about Moses his time, flying out of Greece for the flaughter of Argus, brought literature out of Greece into Egypt. Neither did either of those two Mercuries of Egypt, whom Saint Augustine remembreth, the one the grandfather, the other the Nephew or grandchild, come out of Greece. Eupolemus and Artapanus note, that Mofes found out letters, and taught the use of them to the Jews: of whom the Phanicians their neighbours received them; and the Greeks of the Phanicians by Cadmus. But this invention was also ascribed to Moses, for the reason before remembred; that is, because the Jews and the Phanicians had them first from him. For every Nation gave unto those menthe honour of first Inventors, from whom they received the profit. Ficinus makes that Mercury, upon part of whole works he commenteth, to have been four descents after Atofes; which he hath out of Virgil, who cals Atlas, that lived with Moses, the maternal grand-father of the first famous Mercury, whom others, as Diodorus, call the Counseller and Instructer of that renowned Isis, wife, of Offris. But Ficinus giveth no reason for From in his opinion herein. But that the elder Mer-Praf. Pre-mand Mer. cury instructed Isis, Diodorus Siculus affirm-curi trif-eth, and that such an Inscription was found megis.

Vives upon the fix and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Book of Saint Augustine, de Civitate Dei, conceiveth, that this Atercury, whose works are extant, was not the first which was entituled Ter Maximus, but his Nephew or Grand-child, * Sanchoniaton, an ancient. 00: Phanician, who lived thortly after Mofes in hath other fancies of this Mercury ; affirming the fancies that he was the Scribe of Saturn, and called by the Phanicians, Taautus, and by the E. 45 gyptians, Thoot, or Thoyt. It may be, that the many years which he is faid to have lived, the to wit, three hundred years, gave occasion de to some Writers to find him in one time, and to to others in other times. But by those who have collected the grounds of the Egyptian Philosophy and Divinity, he is found more antient than Moses: because the Inventor of the Egyptian Wisdom, wherein it is said, that

Mofes was excellently learned. It is true, that although this Mercury or Hermes doth in his Divinity differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images , which Moses of all things most detested : yet whosoever shall read him with an even judgment, will now extant, were by the Greeks and Egyptian Priests corrupted, and those sooleries inferted, then that ever they were by the hand of Hermes written, or by his heart and spirit devised. For there is no man of understanding, and mafter of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the fame Tract, those things which are directly contrary indo-Ctrine, and in nature : For out of doubt (Mofer excepted) there was never any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a stile more reverend and divine unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two Treatises now among us; the one converted by Apuleius, the other by that learned Ficinus, had been found in all things like themselves: I think we it had not been perillous to have thought with Eupolemus, that this Hermes was Moses himself; and that the Egyptian Theologic hereafter written, was devised by the first, and more antient Mercury, which others have thought to have been Joseph, the son of Jacob: whom, after the exposition of Tharaoh's dreams, they called Saphanetphane, which is as much to fay, as Absconditorumrepertor; A finder out of hidden things. But these are overventurous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledg of him: of whom, whosoever he were, Last antius wilt-

tmentes, in quibus Majestatem summi ac sincularis Dei afferit, iifdemque nominibus appelat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem ; He hath written many Books belonging to, or expressing the knowledg of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Majesty of the most High, and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which we do. The same Father also feareth not to number him among the Sybils and Prophets. And so contrary are these his acknowledgments to those Idolatrous fictions of the Egyptians and Grecians: as for my felf I am perfuaded, that whatfoever is found in him contrary thereunto was bycorruption inserted. For thus much himself confelleth: Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens & spiritus: 6 omnia in ipfo & fub ipfo funt. Verbum enim ex cius esse prodiens, perfectissimum exiftens, & generator, & opifex, Oc. God (fai h he) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountain and life, and power, and light, and mind, and spirit: and all things are in him. and under him. For his Word out of himleit proceeding, most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful nature, made it also fruitful and producing. And he was therefore (faith Suydas) called Ter Maximus, quia de Trinitate loguutus est, in Trinitate unum esse Deum asserens; Because he spake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. Hie ruinam (faith Ficinus) previdit prisce Religionis, his ortum nove fidei, hic adventum Christi, hic futurum judicium resurrectionem saculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This Mercury forefam ing, the ruine of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the of Jannes and Jambres, and some other that coming of Christ, the future judgment, the resurrection, the glory of the bleffed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.

To this I will onely add his two last speeches reported by Calcidius the Platonist, and by Volteran out of Surdas. Hactenus, fili, pulsus à patria, vixi percerinus & exul, nune incolumis repeto. Cumque post paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis: nam ad illam optimam beatamque Civitatem regredior, ad quam universi cives mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namque solus Deus est sum-

11664 eth in this fort : Hic Cripfit libros, & quidem in a short time) by being loosed from these multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum per- bonds of flesh and blood, depart from you, see that you do not bewail me as a man dead; for I do but return to that best and blessed City, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) shall repair. Therein is the onely God, the most high and chief Prince, who filleth or feedeth his citizens with sweetness more than marvellous: in regard whereof, this being which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life. The other, and that which feemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in fense, but not in words: with Suydas: O colum, magni Dei sapiens opus, teque Ó vox Patris quam ille primam emilit, quando universum constituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus Verbum. & Spiritum, cunct a comprehendentem, Miferemini mei : I adjure thee O heaven, thou wife work of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole World, by his onely begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Have mercy upon me.

But Suydas hath his invocation in these words: Obtestor te calum, magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris, quam loquntus est primum cum omnem mundum sirmavit, obtestor te per unigenitam Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto; I beseech thee O heaven, wife work of the great God, I befeech thee O voice of the Father, which he Spake first when he established all the world. I befeech thee by the onely begotten Word containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.

§. VII.

lived about those times.

Here were also in this age both Asculapins, which after his death became the god of the Phylicians, being the brother of Mercurius, as Vives thinks in his Commen- L. Vives in tary upon Augustine, de Civitate Dei, lib. 8.1.8 Aug. and also those two notorious Sorcerers, Jan- c. 10. nes and fambres, who in that impious art excelled all that ever had been heard of to this day: and yet Moses himself doth not charge them with any familiarity with Divels, or ill Spirits: words indeed that felmus Princeps, qui cives suos replet suavitate dom came out of his mouth : however by mirifica: ad quam hac, quam multi vitam ex- the Septuagint they are called sophifta, or istimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita; Venesici, and Incantatores; Sophists, Poy-Hitherto, O fon, being driven from my coun- foners, and Inchanters: by Hierome, Sapientes, try, I have lived a stranger and banished man: & malesici; Wise men, and evil doers and but now I am repaired homeward again in safe- so by Vatablus, who also useth the word Ma-17. And when I shall after a few days (or gi. The Greek it self seems to attribute some-

what of what they did to natural Magick: | us inflictute the like games to Minerva: Er : 11. calling them corporats, workers by drugs. The Concean, Sorcerers and Inchanters: Junius, Supicetes, Prafrigiatores. & Magi. Magician and Wife men here by him are taken in one sence: and Prestigiators are such as dazel menseyes, and make them feem to fee what they fee not : as false colours, and false thapes. But as fome vertues and tome vices are so nicesly distinguished, and so resembling each other as they are often confounded; and the one taken for the other (Religion and Superfition having one face and countenance) fo did the works and working of Moles, and of Pharao's Sorcerers appear in outward thew, and to the beholders famous in Planicia; nor that Hercules, acof common capacities, to be one and the fame art and gift of knowledg. For the Divel changeth himself into an Angel of light: fit, non Thebanum Herculem, sed Egypinm ad and imitateth in all he can the water and workings of the most High. And yet, on the contrary, every work which furmounteth the wildom of most men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the help or ministery of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things, are fuch, as where he also bestoweth the knowledg to understand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to pass, which seem altogether impossible, and above nature or art: which two speculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the Cabalifts difting withed by thefe names ; Opus de Berclub, & opus de mercana: the one they call, Sapientiam natura; The Wisdom of nature: the other, Saprentiam divinitatis; The Wildom of divinity : the one Jacob practifed in breeding the pied Lambs in Mejopotamia; the other Mofes exercised in his miracles wrought in Fgpt, having received from God the knowledg of the one in the highest perfection, to wir, the knowledg of nature : of the other fo far as it pleafed God to proportion him, both which he used to his glory that gave them: assuming to bimfelf nothing at all, either in the leaft or most. Also S. Augustine noteth, that from the time that Miofes left Egypt, to the death of Jolhua, divers other famous men lived in the World, who, after their deaths, for their eminent vertues, and inventions, were numbred among the gods: as Dionyfins, otherwife Liber Pater, who taught the Greciansthe use of the Vine in Attica? at which time also there were inflituted Musical plays to Apollo Delphicus: thereby to regain his favour, who brought barrenness and scarcity upon that part of Greece because they resisted not the attempts of Danaus, who spoiled his Temple, and fet it on fire: fo did Erithoni-

wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of orl, in memory of her that first preft it out of the Olive.

In this age also Xanthus ravished Europa, and begat on her Radamanthus, Sarpedon and Minos, which three are also given to Juniter by other Historians. To these Saint Augustine addeth Hercules; the same to be to whom the twelve labours are afcribed, native of Tyrinthia a City of Peloponnesus: (or as others fay, onely nurfed and brought up there) who came into Italy, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that Hercules, which Eusebius furnameth Delphin. cording to Philofiratus, which came to Gades, whom he calleth an Egyptian: Manifestum Philip Gades pervenisse, & ibi finem statuisse terre (faith Phinofiratus ;) It is manifest, that it was the Egytian Hercules, and not the Theban, which travelled as far as the straights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also while Moses wandered in the Defarts, Dardamis built Dar-

But whofoever they were, or how worthy soever they were that lived in the Dayes and Age of Mofes, there was never any man, that was no more than Man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things; whom he favoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; never any man more familiar and conversant with Angels; never any more learned both in Divine and Humane knowledge; never a greater Prophet in Ifrael. He was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World Universal, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detellation of Idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syracides calleth Moses the beloved of God and men, whose remembrance is bless sym ed. He made him (faith the fame Author) 14. like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies, made him glorious in the fight of Kings, shewed him his glory, canf. ed him to hear his voyce, sandified him with faithfulness and meckness, and chose him out of all men.

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by Clearchus the Peripatetick: by Megastenes, and Numenius the Pythagorian. The long lives which the Patriarchs enjoy

riens, Acufilans, Ephorus, and Alexander the without any figure at allaherein. Hiltorian, confirm. The universal flood which greeing with the books of Miefes. Eupolemon vine, and Moral. writeth the very fame of Abraham, which In the Mathematical part, which is diffin-Caldeans was invented. Is justitia pietateque in bounding out their proper Lands and sua (faith Eusebius out of the same Author) Territories, when their fields and limits, by fic Deo gratus fuit, ut divino pracepto in Phat the inundations of Nilus, were yearly overniciam venerit, ibique habitaverit; For his flown and confounded, fo as no man could suffice and piety he was so pleasing unto God, know what in right belonged unto him. as by his commandment be came into Phani- For the second part, to wit, Aftronomy, cia, and dwelt there. Likewise Diodorus Si- the site of the Countrey being a level and culus in his second Book and fifth Chapter, spacious Plain, free and clear from the speaketh reverently of Moses: There are clouds, yielded them delight with ease, in many other among prophane Authors, which observing and contemplating the risings, faldo confirm the books of Moses, as Eusebius lings, and motions of the Stars. hath gathered in the ninth of his Preparation Stiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribucrunt : their Kings, and good Men. Hemque Afros & Gracos, qui diis hominum The Natural part of this Wisdom, which figuram affinxerunt: id vero solum esse Deum, handleth the principles, causes, elements, of bealts and cattel: Also that the Africans proper souls, &c. and Greeks greatly erred in giving unto their gods the shapes of men's whereas that onely is called Theology, teacheth and believe that

ed before the flood, remembred by Moses, side) a morthy Temple and place of prayer was Efficus, Hieronymus, Zegptius, Hecatous, Ela- to be creeded unto him, and he to be worshipped

Now concerning the Egyptian wildom, God revealed unto Moses, Eerosus, Nicolaus for which the Martyr Stephen commended Asia, 133. Damascenus, and others, have testified. The Moses, saying, That Moses was learned in all building of the Tower of Babel, and confu- the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty fion of tongues, Abydenus, Estieus, and Sy- in his works and words; the same is correbilla have approved. Berefits also honoureth sted (how truly I know not) by Diodorus, Abraham. Hecataus wrote a book of him. Diogenes, Laertius, Iamblicus, Philo Judans, Damascenus before cited, speaketh of abra- and Ensebius Casarienses, and divided into hams passage from Damaseus into Canaan, a- four parts, viz. Mathematical, Natural, Di-

Moles did. For beginning with the building guilh'd into Geometry, Aftronomy, Arithmeof Babel, and the overthrow thereof by di- tick, and Almick, the antient Egyptians exvine power, he faith that Abraham, born in ceed all others. For Geometry which is by the tenth generation, in the City called Carinterpretation, Measuring of grounds, was merins, or Vrien, excelled all men in wif- uleful unto them: because it confisting of dom: and by whom the Afrology of the infallible principles, directed them certainly

Arithmetick also, which is the knowledge to the Gospel, Chapter the third and sourth, of numbers, they studied; because without to whom I refer the Reader. Lastly, I can- it, in Geometry and Astronomy, nothing can not but for some things in it commend this be demonstrated or concluded. But of Munotable testimony of Strabo, who writeth of fick they made no other account, nor desired Moses in these words: Moses enim affirmavit, farther knowledg, than seemed to them sufdocebatque Egyptios non reste sentire, qui be- ficient to serve and magnifie their gods,

quod nos, & terram, & mare continet, quod and operations of natural things, differs litcolum, & mundum, & rerum omnium natu- tle from Peripatetical Philosophy; teaching, ram appellamus: cujus profecto imaginom ne- that Materia prima is the beginning of all mo sana mentis, alichjus earum rerum, qua things; that of it all mixt bodies, and living penes nos funt, similem audeat effingere. Pro- creatures have their being; that Heaven is inde(omni simulachrorum effictione repudiața) round like a Globe; that all Stars have a dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituen- certain fovent heat, and temperate influendum, ac fine aliqua figura colendum: Moses ces, whereby all things grow and are produaffirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought ced; that rains proceed and be from mutaamis, which attributed unto God the images tions in the air; that the Planets have their

God indeed, which containeth both us, the the world had a beginning, and shall perish; earth and sea, which we call heaven, the world, that men had, their first original in Egypt; and the nature of all things, whose image, doubt- partly by means of the temperatures of that les, no mise man will dare to fashion out unto Country, where neither Winter with cold, the likeness of those things, which are amongs nor Summer with hear, are offensive; and us. That therefore (all desifing of Idols caft no partly through the fertility that Nilus giveth

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and hath transmigration from body to body . That God is one the Father and Prince of all gods, and that from this God, other gods are, as the Sun and Moon, whom they worthipped by the names of Ofiris and Ifis, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, because the true similatudes of thians are thought to have been delighted the gods is not known; that many of the gods have been in the estate of mortal men. and after death, for their virtues and benefits bestowed on mankind, have been Deified; that those beasts, whose Images and Forms Kingdom, unless he would acknowledge the Kings did carry in their Arms, when they obtained victory, were adored for gods: because under those Ensigns they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover the Egyptian Divines had a peculiar kind of writing, myflical, and feeret, wherein the highest points was to be concealed from the vulgar fort, were obscured.

forts, viz. Epiftolar, which is used in writing his men did hasten away, as a Bird through common Epistles; Sacerdotal, which is pe- the aire, or creep into holes as a Mouse, or culiar to their Priests; and Sacred, which run into the waters which they had passed as Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: a Frog, they should not escape his arms, but the one proper, which is expressed by letters either be slain, or, being made Captives, till Alphabetical in obscure and figurative his grounds. The same History is with little words; as for example, where it is written: difference reported by Herodotus. The this by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moon doth by the Sun borrow part of Laws, which (according to Laertins) Marthe light of God: because Light is an Image curius Trismegistus, or Ter Maximus devised: of Divine beauty; the other lymbolical, or by fignatures, which is threefold, viz. Imitative, Tropical, and Ænygmatical: Imitative, which designeth things by characters, like to the thingsfignified, as by a Circle the Sun; and by the Horns of the Moon, the Moon it felf: Tropical or transferent, which applys the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures, to fignifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections, and actions of their gods, and of men. So with the Egyptian Divines, the Image of an Hawke fignifieth God, the figure of the Hornet fignifieth the Sun, the picture of the Bird Ibis fignifieth the Moon: by the form of a Man, Prudence, and Skilfulness: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse, Liberty: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fish, Harred is to be understood: Ænigmatical is a composition, or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sence, the monstrous Image of a Lions body having a Manshead, was graven on their Temples and Altars, to fignific that and obscure. So the Image of the Sun set on ten in that Tongue. Clemens Alexandrians data

in those places. That the foul is immortal, the head of a Crocodile, (which liveth as well in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth, that the Sun nourisheth Meteors in the Air, aswell from the Waters, as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Ear, fignifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and governing all things. The Seywith this kind of writing. For Pherecides 87rius reporteth, That when Darius fending letters, threatned Idanthura, King of the Seythians, with ruine and destruction of his subjection: Idanthura returned to him a Mouse, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Ploughshare: which Orontopagas, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to fignifie, that by the Mouse, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their air: by the Dart, of their Religion and worship of God, which their weapons: by the Plough, their Lands were fignified to be ready to be delivered to Darius, as their Soveraign Lord. But Xy-Clemens distributeth the whole sum of phodres made another construction, viz. that this later Egoptian learning into three feveral the King meant, That except Darius with

The fourth and last part, which is Moral and Politick, doth contain especially the who in his Books or Dialogues of Pimander and Asclepius, hath written so many things of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (faith Sixtus Senensis of the Trinity, and of the coming of Christ, as of the last and fearfull day of Judgment : that (as faith the same Author, the opinion being also antient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Books of Mysteries of the Egyptians, taking two very antient Historians for their Authors, to wit, selencus and Menatus, affirmeth, that this Mercury was not only the Inventor of the Egyptian Philofophy, but of all other learning, called the Wisdom of the Egyptians, before remembred: and that he wrote of that subject 36525. Books or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Books; of Aereal Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestial a thousand; which because they were out of the Egyptians language converted by certain learned Philosophers into natural Greek, they feemed to have been first writwriteth, that among the Books of Hermes, to | Moses) to march in the head of the rest, and, wit, of the Wiscom of the Egyptians, there as we call it in this age, to lead in the Vauntwere extant in his time 36. Of Phylick, fix guard, which through all the Defarts of A-Books; of the orders of Priests, ten; and of rabia, from the Mount Sinai to this place. Astrology, four.

6. VIII.

A Brief of the History of Josua; and of the space between him and Othoniel: and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to Josua: and of the breach of Faith.

Fter the death of Moses, and in the one selves from the fixth day to the ninth; and Aand fortieth year of the Egression, in on the tenth day of the first moneth Nisan;

18 18 define dates with the reign of Amyntas, the tieth year in the Defarts should be circumtion. Del. eighteenth King in Affyria; with Corax the cifed, which ceremony to that day had been

ver, which he was to passover. Which dif- full by circumcision to distinguish them from coverers being faved, and fent back by Ra- other Nations, at fuch times as they lived by hab, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a themselves, and a-part from all Nations. Tavern or Victualling-house, made Josua know, that the inhabitants of Jerico, and the children of Ifrael celebrated the Passodown his Army to the banks of the River yet full ripe, and eat thereof.

And as Moses began to distribute those Canaan with dry feet.

those of the Tribe of Juda had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and Country, and Cities of the Amorites by the help of the rest, conquered for them: it agreed with justice and equality, that Renben, Gad, and the half of Manaffe should also affist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession. On the banks of Jordan they refted them-

the first moneth called Nisan, or March, Josua, or March, they pas'd over to the other side, the son of Nun, of the Tribe of Ephraim, be taking with them twelve stones from the dry ing filled with the Spirit of wildom, took on ground in the midft of the River: which, him the government of Ifrael: God giving for a memory of that miracle by God him comfort, and encouraging him to pais wrought, they set up at Gigal, on the Eastthe River of Jordan, and to polless and di- fide of the city of Jerico, where they incam- Fof 419. vide among the Ifraelites, the land promised. ped the first night. At which place Josua gave The beginning of Josua's rule, Saint Augu- commandment, that all born in the last for- 16.5.21 fixteenth King in Sicyonia, when Danaus go- omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. Augustine Aug 4.3. verned the Argives; and Erichhonius, Athens. giveth for cause, The peoples contempt of in J. Joha imitating in all things his Predecef- their Superiours. Thomas excuseth it in this Thompast, for, fent over Jordan certain discoverers to fort; That the Israelites knew not the cer-3, quest 70. view the feat and strength of Jerico, the next tain time of their removing from one place art. 4 ad. 3. City unto him on the other fide of the Ri- to another: Damascen, That it was not need-

On the fourteenth day of the same moneth, those of the Country about it, hearing of the | ver now the third time; first, at their leavapproach of Ifraei, had lost courage. Where- ing Egypt; secondly, at Mount Sinai; and upon the day after the return of the Spies, now at Gilgal. After which, being defirous Jol. 5. 10. which was the fixth day of the one and for- to taste of the fruits of the Country, and hatieth year after the Egression, Josua removed ving, as it were, surfetted on Manna, they from sittim in the plains of Moab, and drew parched of the Corn of the Land, being not

put themselves in order to follow the Ark of Regions beyond Jordan, to wit, the Lands God, when the Levites took it up, and moved of the Amorites, which Og of Basan, and Sehon towards the River, giving them withal this held, so did Josua perform the rest; and afforcible encouragement, That they should ter a view and partition made of the Territhereby affure themselves of his favour and tories, he gave to each Tribe his portion by presence, who is Lord of all the world, when lot. But this partition and distribution was the River of Jordan should be cut off and not done at once, but at three several times; divided, and the waters coming from above first, by Moses to Gad, Reuben, and the half Jos. 143. should stand still in a heap, whereby those Tribe of Manasse, of the Lands over Jordan; below towards the Dead Sea wanting sup- secondly, by Josua, to the Tribe of Juda, Eply, they might pass over into the Land of phraim, and the other half Tribe of Manase, about the fifth year of his government; He also commanded Réillen, Gad, and the proved in the 14. of felia. v. 10. and a third half Tribe of Manasse, to prepare themselves division was made to the other seven Tribes (according to their Covenant made with at Shilo, where Josus seated the Tabernacle of Jos. 18. the Congregation.

The victories of Josia against the Kings rites, which attempted Gibeon by surprise. down in his own books, as I shall not need to | Gilgal, and set on them early the next day; lengthen this part by their repetition. In when he overthrew Jabin and his confedewhose Story I chiefly note these particulars. rates. After which, making the best profit First.how in the beginning of the war, those of his victory, he assaulted the great City little kings, or reguli of the Canaanites, had of Hazor. not so much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the Israelites; but according to the custom of these estates, as the stay of the River fordan at the Springs, from whose Governours God hath taken a- fo as the Army of Ifrael past it with a dry Min way all wisdom and foresight, they left those foot; the fall of Jerico by the sound of the count way all wisdom and forefight, they left those of their own Nation, which were next the invaders, to themselvs, and to their own defences; hoping that the fire kindled fomewhat Gibeon, wherby more of them perished than far off, might again have been quenched, ere by the fword of Ifrael: again, the arrest of it could spread it self so far as their own the Sun in the sirmament, whereby the day Territories and Cities. But after fuch time was so much the more lightened, as the Israas Jerico and Ai were entred, and the Kings, lites had time to execute all those which fied People, and Cities confumed; five of those after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, 31 Kings (all which at length perished in and a work only proper to the all-powerthat war) joyned themselves together, first still God. attempting the Gibeonites, who had rendred themselves to Josua. Onely five (the rest Josua and the Gibeonites, the Doctrine of looking on to the fucces) namely, the King keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently of the Jebusties, in Jebus, or Hierusalem, the taught, as it taketh away all evasion, it ad-Kings of Hebron, Jarmoth, Lachis, and Eglon, mitteth no intrusion, nor leaveth open any addrest themselves for resistance: whose hole or out-let at all to that cunning persistance. Army being by Jofua surprized and broken, diou nes, and horrible deceit of this latter themselves despairing to escape by flight, and hopeless of mercy by submission, creeping into a Cave under ground, were thence by Josua drawn forth and hanged. In the profecution of which victory he also took Makkedath, and Libnah, and Lachis. To the relief whereof Horam King of Gezar haften-Jos. 10. ed, and perithed. After which Josua poffest himself of Fglon, Hebron, and Debir, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countries were possest, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made duft: the rest of the Canaanites, guided by the of Merom, he used such diligence, as he came ties of their inheritance. on them unawares; and obtaining absolute victory over them, he profecuted the same to the utmost effect. And besides the slaughhad it. For first, the commandment which ter of the defendants, he entred their Civies, he received from God to root out this Natiof which he burnt Hazor onely, referving on among the rest, preceded by far the peace the rest for Israel to inhabit and enjoy.

felf a skilful man of War, for that in those fword, and have fack'd their Cities, if there antient times he used the stratagem of an beany evasion from a promise made, where ambush in taking of Ai; and in that he broke of the living God is called to witness. For it

of the Canaanites, are so particularly set For he marched all night from his Camp at Man

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this war, were exceeding admirable Horns; the snowers of Hale-stones, which fell upon the Amorites in their flight from

Fourthly, out of the passage between age, called Equivocation. For, notwithftan- 70/91 ding that these Gibeonites were a people of the Hevites, expresly and by name, by the commandment of God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and as it were, deride Jossa, and the Princes of Israel, by feigning to be sent as Embassadours from a far Country, in which travel their cloths were worn, their bread mouldie, which they avowed to have been warm for newness when they first set out; their barrels and bottles of wine broken; their shoos patch'd: and their sacks over-late counsels of necessity, united them- rent and ragged: Yet Josta having sworn sales of an Army: which Jabin, King of Hazor, durft not, though urged by the multitude practifed and gathered together, by Josua of the people, to lay violent hands on them; discovered, as the same rested neer the Lake but he spared both their lives, and the Ci-

Now if ever man had warrant to break which he had granted them. Secondly,he Secondly, I note, that Josia shewed him- might justly have put these men to the the Armies of the first five Kings of the Amo- was not to the Gibeonites he gave peace, be-

God. He told them, that if they were of after Josua, that Saul, even out of devotion the Hevites, it was not in his power to make flaughtered some of those people descended in Egypt and over Jordan, fought for peace famine; and could not be appealed, till feand protection from his people. Thirdly, the ven of Sauls fons were delivered to the Giaccord, which Israel made with these crafty beonites grieved, and by them hanged up. Canaanites, was without warrant. For it is And certainly, if it be permitted by the accepted their tale, that is, believed what God-mocking equivocation, to swear one they had faid, and counselled not with the thing by the Name of the living God, and to the Devil.

Name of the living Lord, and in his presence, not do it. That this promise (if it be broken) is broness of the Covenant made?

cause he knew them to be a people hated of publick faith. For though it were 400 years a league with them. But it was to a strange of the Gibeonites: yet God, who forgat not people that he gave faith, and to a Nation what the Predecessors and Fore-fathers of which came from far, who hearing of the Saul and the Ifraelites had sworn in his Name. wonders which the God of Ifrael had done affiited the whole Nation with a confuming

written in the same place, That the Israelites help of a ridiculous distinction, or by a mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, these men who reserve in silence a contrary intent: the life were known Idolaters, and served those of man, the estates of men, the faith of Sub-Puppets of the Heathen, men of an apithRe- jects to Kings, of Servants to their Masters. ligion, as all Worshippers of Images are, of Vassals to their Lords, of Wives to their could not challenge the witness of the true Husbands, and of Children to their Parents. God, in whom they believed not. I fay and of all trials of right, will not onely be therefore, that if ever man might have fer- made uncertain, but all the chains whereby ved himself by any evasion or distinction, free-men are tied in the world, be torn a-Josua might justly have done it. For he need- funder. It is by oath (when Kings and ed not in this case the help of Aquivocation Armies cannot pass) that we enter into the or Mental Refervation. For what he sware, Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: he sware in good Faith; but he sware no- it is by oath that wars take end, which weathing, nor made any promise at all to the Gi-pons cannot end. And what is it, or ought beonites. And yet, to the end that the faith- it to be, that makes an oath thus powerful, less subtilty of man should borrow nothing but this; That he that sweareth by the Name in the future from his example, who knowing of God, doth affure others that his words well that the promises he made in the Name are true, as the Lord of all the World is true, of God, were made to the living God, and whom he calleth for a Witness, and in whose not to the dying man, he held them firm and presence he that taketh the oath hath proinviolable, notwithstanding that they, to mised? I am not ignorant of their poor ewhom he had fworn it, were worshippers of vasions, which play with the severity of Gods Commandments in this kind: But this in-For it is not, as faithless men take it, that deed is the best answer, That he breaks no he which sweareth to a Man, to a Society, faith, that hath none to break. For whoto a State, or to a King, and fweareth by the foever hath faith and the fear of God, dares

The Christians in the Holy Land, when they ken to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a were at the greatest, and had brought the Prince; but the Promise in the Name of Caliph of Egypt to pay them tribute, did not God made, is broken to God. It is God onely loofe it again, but were soon after beathat we therein neglect: we therein profess ten out of the Holy Land it self: by reason that we fear him not, and that we fet him at (faith William of Tyre, a reverend Bishop naught, and defie him. If he that without which wrote that Story) that Almerick the refervation of Honour, giveth a lie in the fiftieth King after Godfrey brake faith with presence of the King, or of his Superiour, the Caliph Elhadech, and his Vicegerent. The doth, in point of Honour, give the lie to the King himfelf, or to his Superiour; how by Almerick, drew in the Turk Syracon to much more doth he break Faith with God, their aid : whose Nephew seladine, after he that giveth Faith in the presence of God, had made Egypt his own, beat the Christians Promiseth in his Name, and makes him a wit- out of the Holy Land; neither would the wooden Cross (the very Cross, say they, Out of doubt, it is a fearfull thing for a that Christ died on) give them victory o-Son to break the Promife, Will, or Deed of ver Seladine, when they brought it into the the Father; for a State, or Kingdom, to field as their last refuge, seeing they had forbreak those Contracts which have been sworn themselves in his Name that was crumade in former times, and confirmed by cified thereon. And if it be a direction from

Plate 6. the Holy Ghoft, That he that freaketh lies, busties defend above four hundred years, e-wrighting four busties and that the month which ven till David's time. 258 uttereth them , flageth the foul : how much more perillous is it (if any peril be greater years, eighteen of which he governed Ifrael, than to destroy the soul) to swear a lie? It was Eugenius the Pope, that persuaded, or rather commanded the King of Hungary after his great victory over Amurath the Turk, and when the faid King had compelled him to peace, the most advantagious that ever bi the Authors of the Hebrem Chronologie was made for the Christians, to break his Faith, and to provoke the Turk to renew twenty: Maimonius cited by Maffins, fourthe war. And though the faid King was teen: Joannes Lucidus, seventeen: Sajeafar stronger in the field than ever; yet he mus, ten: Ensebius giveth him seven and loft the battel with 30000. Christians, and his twenty: and so doth S. Augustine: Melanown life. But I will stay my hand: For thon, two and thirty: Codoman, five and this first volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgments upon faith-breakers, be it against Infidels, Turks, or Christians of unto the building of the Temple, it is necesdivers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oaths now-a-dayes, is rather made of them; as finding the reft supplyed othera matter of custom, than of conscience.

God to leave so many Cities of the Canaanites unconquered by Ifrael, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-feeing their Idolatry, and, as it is faid in the Scriptures, To be thorns of errour, fuch as have inferted years be-Total in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them tween Josua and Othoniel, of whom Eusebing Judg 1. to make War. For these Cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, and the cities hereafter finds eight years, to which Arins Montanus Ballon and Cities hereafter finds eight years, and the cities hereafter finds eight years and the cities hereafter finds eight years. named did not onely remain in the Canaanites possession all the time of Josua; but soon after hisdeath the children of Dan were beaten out of the plain Countries, and enforc'd to inhabit the Mountains, and places doman, twenty; and Nicephorus no less than of hardest access. And those of Juda were three and thirty: whereas following the fure not able to be mafters of their own Vallies; because as it is written in the Judges, The Judg 1.34 Canaanites had Chariots of Iron. And those principal Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adjoyning unto Juda, were still held by the remainder of the Anakims, or Philistims: as Joining Azzah, Gath, Afdod; out of one of which

1 Sam. 17. Cities came Goliath, remembred in Samuel. Neither did the children of Manasse over Jordan expel the Geshurites, nor the Maachathites; which inhabited the North parts of Basan, afterward Traconitis.

Nor the Nepthalims possess themselves of Bethshemish, nor of Bethanah; but they inforc'd those Canaanites to pay them tribute. Jof. 13.13 Neither did Asher expel the Zidonians, nor Judg. 1.31 those of Acho, or Acon, Athlab, Achzib, Heblah,

No more could Zabulon enjoy Kitron, and Jos. 16.10. Nahalol, but received tribute from them. Alfo the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among the Ephraims: and among the children of Ma-Jud. 2.17. held Bethshean, Taacnah, Dor, Ibleam, and tituled Liber Justorum, remembred by Jud. nasse, on the West of Jordan, the Canaanites Megaddo; yea Hiernsalem it self did the Je- sua himself; and others, that it was the work

and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which caufeth divers to conjecture diversly of the continuance. Josephus gives him five and twenty years : Seder Ollan Rabeight and twenty; and Maffins fix and twenty. But whereas there passed 480. years from the delivery of Ifrael out of Egypt, fary that we allow to Josua onely eighteen wife, which to me feems the most likely, and, It is also very remarkable, That it pleased as I think, a well approved opinion and a

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480. years from the departure out of Egypt unto the building of the Temple convinceth adhereth 5 and for which he giveth his rea-na fon in his four and twentieth and last Chapters upon Josua: Bunting reckonsit nine years: Bucolzer and Reusner but one; codirection of these 480. years, there can be no void years found between Josua and 0 thoniel, unless they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed unto Josua by the account already specified. The praises and acts of Josua are briefly written in the fix and fortieth Chapter of Ecclesiastious, where among many other things it is faid of him, Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battels of the Lord?

That he wrote the book called by this name, it was the opinion of Arries Montanus, because it is said in the last Chapter, verse 26. And Joiua wrote thefe words in the book of the Law of God: which seemethrather to have been meant by the covenant which Jo-Gra made with Ifrael in Sichem, where they Aphike, & Rebeb, nor inforc'd them to tribute. all promifed to ferve and obey the Lord: which promife Josua caused to be written in the book of the Law: and of this opinion were Cajetan and Abulensis: Theodoret doth likewise conceive, that the book of Josus was collected out of an antient Volume, in-

Som to of Samuel: for whereas Montanus groundeth his opinion upon these words of the 26 16.5. 14, Verse, And Josua wrote these words, Oc. this place hath nothing in it to prove it: for when the people had answered Josua; The Lord our God will me serve, and his voyce will me obey, it followeth that Josua made a covenant the book of the Law of God.

us in Attica, who taught that Nation to yoke beafts together, thereby to till the ground with more eafe and fpeed: And about the fame time the fifty Daughters of Danaus (as it is faid) flew the fifty fons of Egyptus, all but Lynceus, who succeeded Danaus, if the tale be true. There lived also with Josua, Phonix, and Cadmus, and neer the end of

lofua's tife, Inpiter is faid to have ravilled Europa the daughter of Planix Cafterward married to Afterius King of Creta) and begat on her Minos, Radamanthus, are! Sarpedon. But S. Augustine reports this ravishment to be 1%. 18 6 committed by Xanthus, and yet they are more to De civ. commonly taken for the Sons of Japiter, But home with the people, and wrote the same in it may be doubted whether Minos was fa- 04/16. ther to Dencalion, and Dencalion to Idome-nom. Ujad. There lived at once with Josua, Erielhoni- neus, who was an old man at the war of Troy. and Sarpedon was in person a young or frreng man at the fame Trojan war. And fo doth Neftor reckon up in the Councel of the Greeks, Thefens and Perithens for men of Antiquity and of Ages past: Minos being yet more antient than any of these. Eu: hereof elfewhere.



CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Israel that were planted in the borders of Phoenicia, with fundry Stories depending upon those places.

6. I.

The Proeme to the description of the whole Land of Canaan; with an Exposition of the name of Syria.

to follow that of Josua, after whom the Common-wealth of the Jews was governed by Kings, of which fo many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, shall be remembred when we come to the description of Samaria: but because the Land of Canaan, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Story past, with that which followeth, hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a Geographical description of those Regions: that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be understood, and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the neighbour Countries) I have bestowed on every Tribe his proper portion: and do shew what Cities and Places of strength were by the Jews obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when ungrateful for his many graces, they at fundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deaf and now called the Holy Land.

K. k.

He Story of the Judges ought | dead Idols of the Heathen. Divina bonitas (faith Augustine) ideo maxime irascitur in hoc feculo, ne irascatur in futuro : & misenicorditer temporalem adhibet severitatem ne æternam juste inferat ultionem. The divine goodness is especially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully use temporal severity, that it may not justly bring upon us eternal ven.

To the Cities herein described, I have added a fhort Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdoms and Common-weals: and to help my felf herein, I have perused divers of the best Authors upon this subject: among whom, because I find so great disagreement in many particulars, I have rather in fuch cases adventured to follow mine own reason, than to borrow any one of their old

And because Canaan, with Palestina of the Philistims, and the Lands of Og and Schon Kings of Bafan, and the Arabian Amorites; were but fmall Provinces of Syria: it shall be necessary, first to divide and bound the general, and so to descend to this particular,

K k 2

260 Proi. Afic.

imbraced all those Regions from the Euxine mon name to all those of Noah's Sons, who Sea, to the Red Sea: and therefore were the Cappadocians, which look into Pontus, called Leucosyrians, or white Syrians. But taking transfens, or transmittens of going, or passing et Lencograms of winte of the coast of Cilicia, over. And because the children of Abraham which is the North border, unto Idumea, had for a long time no certain abiding: towards the South, Tigris towards the Suntherefore, as he thinks, they were by the rifing, and the Mediterran Sea Westward: it then containeth besides Babylonia, Chaldaa, Arabia the Defart, and Arabia Petræa, that Region also which the Greeks call Mesopotamia, the Hebrews Syria, of the two Rivers, to wit, Tigris and Euphrates, for fo Aran Nago along in it as it were in a yoke.

ria Cava, because it lay in that fruitfull Val- of them belong to Phenicia. ley between the Mountains of Lybanus, and Antilybanus, in which the famous Cities of and Palastina (both which the River of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, with many o- Jordan boundeth; faving that Phenicia thers, were feated. Then Damascena, or sy- stretcheth a little more Easterly towards ria Lybanica, taking name of the City Da- Damascus) that part also of the East of formascus, and the Mountains of Lybanus, the | dan, and within the Mountains of Hermon, Hered in time. Then Phanicia, and the people Syra- | fest by the Amorites, as for that they were Pelim Dia phanicies: and lastly, Syria Palastina bor- conquered and enjoyed by the Israelites; dering Egypt: of which Ptolomy maketh Ju-

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la giveth the name of Syrea Judea.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this Land.

stretcheth from behind Lybanus to the great from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar untill Az-Defarts between Idumea and Egypt: bound- zab (which is Gaza) and this was the length ed by the Mid-land sea on the West, and of the Countrie North and South: then it the Mountains of Hermon, Galaad, and Arnon followeth in the Text; And as thou goeff untowards the East: the same Hills which to Sodom and Gomorab, and Admab, and Smallio. Strabo calleth Traconi, or Traconita, and Ptolemie, Hippus. The name of Canaun it had from Canaan the Son of Cham: Et lingua ap-Called Canaan, faith Montanus: and after Hebrea of the Hologony who had a feel for it is therein written; All the place in the form of the Hologony who had a feel for it is therein written; Hebrea of the Hebrews: who took name from whereon the foal of your feet shall tread, pall Heber, the Son of Sale, according to Saint be jours: jour coast shall be from the Wilder

Syria, now Soria, according to the largest Angustine. But Arias Montanus not so well description, and as it was antiently taken, allowing of this derivation, makes it a compast over Euphrates towards the West Sea. For the word Heber, faith he, is as much as Egyptians called Hebrai, as it were paffengers, which is also the opinion of c. sigonius. and of Eusebius long before them both. It had also the name of Judea from Juda; and Every then afterwards intituled the Holy Land, be. 63. cause therein our Saviour Christ was Born, harajin is expounded: also Padan Aram; and Buried. Now this part of Syria wasathat is, Jugum Syria, because the two Rivers gain divided into four; namely, into Edom, (otherwise Seir, or Edumaa) Galilee, Sama. Edessa, sometime Rages, now Rage, was the ria, and Judea. Galilee is double, the su-Metropolis of this Region of Syria. In Syria periour called Gentium, and the inseriour: taken largely, there were many small Pro- and that Calilec and Judaa are distinguishvinces, as Cwlospria, which the Latins call Sy- ed, it is plain in the Evangelists, though both Latin

Now besides these Provinces of Phanicia, Regal feat of the Adades, the first Kings of Gilead, and Arnon, otherwise Traconi, sell to Syria. Adjoyning to it was the Province of the possession of half Manasse, Gad, and Ru-Sophene, or Syria Soba, Choba, or Zobal: over ben, and therefore are accounted a part of which Adadezer commanded in Solomon's | Canaan also: as well because antiently poswhich Eastermost parts are again divided Prol. Afa daa also a part : and to that Province which into Bafan, or Batanea, into Gilead, Mood, Midian, Ammon, and the Territories of the Moses calleth Seir and Edom, Pomponius Me-Machati, Gessuri, Argobe, Hus. They are known to the later Cosmographers by the name of Arabia in general: and by the names of Traconitis, Pieria Batanea, &c. of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where Moses describeth the Land of Canaan in the tenth of Genesis, he makethno mention of the later Provinces, which fell to Manasse, Gad, and Reuben, for these be his But that Land which was antiently Calmanaffe, Gad, and Reuben, for these believed naan, taketh a part of Phænicia, and words: Then the border of the Canaanites was Seboiim, even unto Lasha: by which words Moses seteth down the breadth, to wit, from the Dead Sea to the Mediterran. But in pellata fuit Canaan; The language was also Deuteronomy it seemeth to be far more large: nels, and from Libanon, and from the River to possess it. Also that you may prolong your Perah, unto the uttermost Sea. Now for the daies in the Land which the Lord sware unto length of the Countrie North and South, your fathers, &c. this discription agreeth with the former:on-

the great Sea Westward. menter menter that he per in gentes amicitium receptas. For Dardanum, who accused S. Hierome, that he diddin David did not at any time enter so far to the overthrew the reputation of the Jews Story, banning thereof, to wit, as long as the heavens possest, but were onely granted by divine promise.

The like condition was also annexed to ly Libanon is put for Zidon; and the Wilder- the enjoying of the Land conquered, and nels for Gerar and Azza, which make no the possession thereof, so long as the heavens difference: but for the breadth and extent were above the earth. For if ye keep dili- Dem. 12. East and West, if Perah be taken for Euphra- gently, saith he, all these commandments, which tes: then the Land promised stretcheth it I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord felf both over Arabia Petræa, and the Defart, your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all as far as the border of Babylon: which the these Nations before you, and ye shall possess Thraelites never possest; nor at any time did great Nations, and mightier than you. And so much as invade or attempt. And there- here, though it be manifest, that by reason fore Vadianus doth conceive, that by the of the breach of Gods Commandments, and River Perah was meant Jordan, and not Eu- their falling away from the worship of his his apprates: taking light from this place of Jo- all powerfull Majestie, to the Idolatry of the (ua: Behold, I have divided unto you by lot Heathen, the conditional promises of God these Nations, that remain to be an inheritance were absolutely void, as depending upon according to your Tribes: from Jordan with obedience unperformed: yet I cannot mifall the Nations that I have destroyed, even unto like that exposition of Melanthon: For, faith he, Oftendit promissionem præcipuam non And though it be true, that David greatly effe de hoc politico Regno; He sheweth that his enlarged the Territory of the Holy Land: chief promise is not of a civil Kingdom. To yet as Vadianus well noteth, if Perah in the which agrees that answer which S. Hierome former place be taken for Euphrates, then made to a certain Heretick in his Epistle ad East as Assyria, or Babylonia. Neither doth and brought the truth thereof in question: the not possessing of all these Countries give by drawing it altogether into an Allegorie. advantage to those that would make any ir- and ad illam duntaxat viventium terram que religious cavill, as touching the promise of in calis est; (that is) Onely to that land of God to the Ifraclites unperformed: For when the living which is in heaven. Quoniam total both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, Judaorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut fell from his worship and service, it pleased vix longitudinem habeat 160, milliarium, lahim not onely to inclose them within that titudinem vero 40. Oin his etiam regiones. Territory, which was for so many people ex- loca, urbes, & oppida sunt plurima, nunquane ceeding narrow; but therein and elsewhere à Judais occupata, sed tantum divina pollicito subject them unto those Idolatrous Nati- tatione promissa; Because the whole Countrey ons, whose false and foolish gods themselves of the Jews is so narrow in compass, that it also served and obeyed. And sure the pro- scarce hath 160. miles in length, and 40. miles mile by which the Hebrews claimed the in- in breadth, and in these are countries, places. heritance of Canaan, and the lasting enjoy- cities, and many towns, which the Jews never were above the earth, was tied to those con- In like manner the same Father speaketh upditions, both in the Verses preceeding, and on Esay, touching the bleffings promised subsequent; which the Israelites never per- unto Hierusalem, where he hath these words: Sap 14 14 formed. And therefore they could not hope De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Pafor other than all mankind could or can ex- lestine regione petendam, qua totius Provinpect; who knew that all forts of comforts cia, deterrina eft: & faxofis montibus affefrom the merciful goodness of God looked ratur, & penuriam patitur sitis: ita ut calefor, as well in this life as after it, are no lon- stibus utatur pluviis, & raritatem fontium ciger to be attended, then while we persevere | sternarum extructione soletur : sed in Dei main his love, service, and obedience. So in nibus, ad quam dicitur, festinaverunt structothe eighth Verse of the eleventh of Deutero- res tui; From whence, saith he, we learn, that nomy, the keeping of Gods Commandments Hierusalem is not to be sought in that region of was a condition joyned to the prosperity of Palestina, which is the worst of the whole Pro-Ifrael. For therein it is written; Therefore vince, and ragged with craggie mountains, Shall ye keep all the Commandements which I and suffereth the penury of thirst: so as it precommand you this day: that ye may be strong, servethrain water, and supplieth the scarsity of and go in, and possess the Land, whither ye go Wells by building of cisterns; but this Hieru-

falson is in Gods hands, to which it is faid, Thy evilders have bastened: to far St. Hierome; where also to prevent mistaking, he thus ex. roundeth himself: Neque Loc dico in suggillationem terræ Judææ, ut kæreticus 8900phanta mentitur: aut quo auferam hiftoriæ veritatem, que fundamentum est intelligentia spiritualis: fed ut decutiam supercilium sudaorusu, qui Synagogæ angultias latitudini Ecclesse proferent: Si enim occidentem tantum sequentur literam, & non spiritum vivisicantem, oftendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem; Neither (saith he) say I this to diferace the land of Judaa, as the heretical Sycophant doth belie me: or to take away the spiritual understanding: but to beat down the Church: For if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shero

which is made the East-bound, should be tation and conquest of Ifrael,

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land. because Asher, Nephtalim, and Zabulon held the Northermost part, and were feated in Phanicia, I will begin with these three, taking Asher for the first: admonifithe Reader touching the names of the later do think fit.

6. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

||. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

He Asherites descended of Asher the fon of Jacob by Zelpha, the hand-maid of Lea, were-increased while they abode in Egypt, to the number of 41500, and odd perfons, all men above twenty years of age, and able to bear arms, at the time when they truth of the history, which is the foundation of were mustered by Moses at Mount Sinai : all which number perishing in the Desarts, there pride of the Jews, which enlarge the firaits of remained of their iffues, besides women and the Synogogue farther than the breadth of the children, 53400. bodies fit for the wars: which past the river of Arnon into the Plains of Moab, and after the conquest of Canaan, the Land of promife, itoming with Milk and had for their portion that part of Phanicia, from Zidon and the fields of Libanus, unto By this it may also be gathered, howfoe- Ptolomais Acon alongst the Sea-coast, conver it be unlikely (feeing the West-bound training thirty English miles, or thereabout: in the place, Deut. 11. 24 had his truth in and from the Mid-land Sea to the East borthe litteral sense, that Empkrates or Perath, der some twelve miles: though Antoninus Antin makes it some what larger. This part of cataken only in a spiritual sense) yet never- naan was very fruitful, abounding in Wine, theless that Hierom's opinion inclineth to Oyl, and Wheat, befides the Balfamum, with this, as if this Perath were not to be under- other pleasant and profitable commodities: stood for Euphrates, and that the promise it according to that Prophecy, After pinguis felf was never to large: much less the plan- panis: Concerning Affer, his bread shall be fat: And he shall give pleasures for a King. Guan

> | II. of Zidon.

of which Tribe yet before I spake, I must He first City seated on the North border of the Territory of Affer, was Ziplaces in this, and the other Tribes to be don, which Josua calleth the great Zidon, mentioned, that he remember that many both for strength and magnitude. The names, by reason of the divers fancies of Greeks and Q. Curtius make Agenor the four-Translators, are diversly expressed, so that der thereof: and Justine derives the name Justin to the unskilfull they may feem divers, when from the abundance of fish found on those they are one and the same: the reason of shores: whereof it hath been called Zidona. this diversity (as by those learned in the But that it was far more antient, Moses, Josha, Grand Hebrew I am taught) is, partly because the and Josephus witness, the same being found. antient Editions of the Hebrew want vowels, ed by Zidon the eldeft of Canaan's fons: and the old Translators imagined other vowels fo strong it was in Josua's time, as neither than now the Hebrem Editions have; and did himself attempt it, neither could the Afpartly, because the Antient expressed or o- lerites, or any of their successours master it: mitted divers consonants, otherwise than but it continued all the time of the Judges and Kings, even unto the coming of Christ, Elast a City interchangeably governed, by their got is own Princes or other Magistrates: though o'3' according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, Esay, Hieremie, Ezechiel, and Zacharie, it was often afflicted, both by the

enemies Sword, and by the Pestilence, rest of the Canaanites) worshippers of Baal The form Map and Description of the Holy Land.

thereof, being by time consumed and lost. this their multiplying of their Baals and A-It feemeth to be more antient than Tyre; | foreths, may be diverfly understood: either which was also built by the Zidonians. For | in respect of the diversity of the forms of the 6. Zuch. as * Strabo noteth, Homer speaking of Zidon, Images, or of the worship in divers places, 91. Herod, neglecteth the memory of Tyre, because it or of the stories depending upon them: was but a member of Zidon; and a City sub- which (as fables use to be) were doubtless

philipping building of the Temple. For as it flourish-bit majin ed in all forts of learning, so did it in all other whom is Mechanical Arts or Trades: the Prophet have been the wife of Adonis: as also Maamuch Zachary calling them the wife Zidonians. The crob. 2. Saturn. cap. 21. fayes, that Adonis was numberfit City was both by nature and art exceeding with great veneration commonly worshipmagaration, having a Castle or Citadell on the ped of the Assyrians: and Hierome upon ments North-fide, franding upon an unaccetitole the received the Idolatrous women are noted to bewail) the Idolatrous women are noted to bewail) to the name of Adon's among the Syrians. So Miles Rock, and compatied by the Sea, which are the Rock, and compatied by the Sea, which are the Rock and compatied by the Sea, which are the Rock and the Rock beside and defended by the Knights of the Dutch that in the working of Affarnews were Order: and another Cafele it hath on the where South-fide by the Port of Egypt, which the threath of the war, it is Colonies befide that of Tyre, into places remote: as unto Thebes, and sephyra, Cities of the more. The sum of Thebes, and sephyra, Cities of the more war, it is considered to the more than the the mourning for Official the form of the mourning for Official the form of the mourning for Official the form of the form Mediterran Sea, neer Ptolomais, or Acon: with the Grecians, Venus loss of Adonis. And to this agreeth that which Plutarch hath, de suches matter of those cleer Glasses which they rocters make at Murana: of which St. Hierom and is called Ammuz: which word may feem to be the same with Ezekiels Thammuz. But the first of the same with Ezekiels Thammuz. But the same with Ezekiels Thammuz. But the same with Ezekiels Thammuz. denling vitrariis officinis nobilit; Zidon a famnis howfoever these Zidonians were thus anti-dothers Class-maker, or a skilful worker in Glass-howses they were more apt to receive the Dostrine

Zidon is feated on the very wash of the and Astaroth: which Idols though common of Astoreth Phonician Sea, which is a part of the Medi- to the other of the iffue of Canaan (as Pineda to fement terran or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North gathers out of 1 Sam. 31.10. and Judg. 10.6.) to have 1/26/30/8 the City of Berythus, and the River Leontis: yet especially and peculiarly were accountheen a
heep-for
heen and to the South Sarepta, or Sarphat, which
ed the gods of the Zidonians: as appears

1 Dea 7.13. standeth between it and Tyre: the distance Reg. 11. 5. in the story of Solomons Idolatry: the word between which two great and famous Cities, where Aftaroth is called the god of the Zido in the plus to wit, Zidon and Tyre, is 14. thousand paces, nians: and 1 Reg. 16. 33. in the story of A- ber signifaith Seiglerus: but Vadianus makes it two chab, the chief worthipper of Baal, where it fieth theep hundred furlongs, and so doth Weiffinburie is said, that he marrying Jezabel the daugh may conin his description of the holy Land, and ter of the King of the Zidonians, worthipped arm Auboth from Strabo: which two hundred fur- their Baal. Divers Baals and divers Afta- guflines longs make five and twenty miles. This roths in their Idolatries they acknowledged: that Adifference of distance as well between these as it appears by the plural names of Baalim, state was two known Cities, as all the rest, make it or and estarts, 1 sam. 12. 10. and essemble the forever the name Astaroth, as I am informed other hand one of the Hole I and by a skillful Hebritian, is plural; the singu-piter Ham-What Kings it had till Agenors time there | lar being Aftoreth: whence Judg. 2. 13. the mon was a is no memory: the story which Zeno the Septuagint read inargenous ruis assignate. They Ram. Philosopher, who was a Zidonian, wrote morshipped the Astarties. The occasion of

It feems ject to the Kings thereof: though tebe true in divers Cities divers. Augustine quest. 19. that in after-times it contended with Zidon in Judg. thinks Baal and Aftarte to be Jupiter for Primacy, and became far more renown- and Juno. For the Carthaginians (which ed, opulent, and strong: From Zidon had were Tyrians) call Juno by such a name as Solomon and Zorobabel their principal work- Aftarte, Tully, lib. 3. de Nat. Dearum, making men, both in Timber and Stone, for the divers Goddesses of the name of Venus, exbuilding of the Temple. For as it flourish- pounds the fourth to be Aftarte: whom he Mechanical Arts or Trades: the Prophet have been the wife of Adonis: as also Mamote: as unto Thebes, and Sephyra, Cities of place of Ezekiel not without good probabi-'A Partie.

of our Saviour in Matthew and Luke: Woe Ma it is be to thee Corazin, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone, eth neer the River Phyllin, in Bythinia. &c. but I fay unto you, it shall be easier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of judgment, than

adl. seer. 636. it fell into the hands of the Saracens, Holy Land, and took Port at Joppa, it was abeing given to Eustace Gremer, a Noble man of that Country. And again in the year the Turk, and hath the name of Zai.

6. III.

Of Sarcpta, with a brief History of Tyre in the same Coast.

tween it and the River called Naar, or Fons hortorum Libani (of which more hereafter) | Kings. standing in the way towards Tyre, a City vencer it: of which Sidonius:

Vina mihi non funt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna, Quaque Sareptano palmite misa bibas.

Saphet, faith Toftellus.

Not far from Sarepta was scituate that the World. fometime famous City of Tyre, whose fleets

of the Cospel of Christ after his Ascension , antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere Coloni, Carthago. than the Jens: who had been taught by And Carthage was therefore called Punica Auges and the Prophets fo many years, where- quasi Phanicum, a Colony of the Phanicians. In Spain they founded Gades, now Caliz. In Italy, Nola: in Asia the less Dromos Achillis, Plints which City the Scholiast of Apollonius place-

It had antiently the name of Zor, or Tzor: and so it is written in Josua the 19. taking name from the scituation; because built on It received a *Christian* Bishop with the la high Rock, sharp at one end. The *Latines*, first: who was afterward of the Diocess of a sit seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*; collingly Tyre. But in the year of our Redemption for Virgil calleth the purple of Tyre, Oftrum Sarranum, by which name Juvenal and siand continued in their possession till Bald- lins remember it. The Zidonians built it wirns the first, then King of Hierufalem: in upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain the year 1111. by the help of the Danes and to this day; the place being still known by Norwaies, who came with a Fleet to vifit the the name of the antient Tyre: and because it was a Colony of the Zidonians, the Prophet gain recovered, the commandment thereof Esay calleth it the Daughter of Zidon; which Trogus also confirmeth, though Berosus by Con. affinity of name makes Thiras the fon of Ja-1250, it was re-edified and strengthened by pher to be the Parent thereof: and though Lodomick the French King: while he spent no doubt it was very antient (for so much four year in the War of the Holy Land. Last- the Prophet Esay also witnesseth, Is not this Sign. Fo ly, in the year 1289, it was reconquered by jour glorious Citie, whose antiquity is of anti-CALS, fallar. the saracens: and is now in policifion of ent days?) yet that Thiras the son of Japhet fet himself in the bosom of the Canaanites who built Zidon, and peopled all that Region, I fee nothing to persuade me.

But that new Tyre in after-times fo re- Mills nowned, feemeth to be the work of Agenor: can like and of this opinion was Curtius: and Jose Eagle in phus and Eusebius make this City elder than Token Solomon's Temple 240 years : Cedrenus 361. 18 mil Arepta, or after the Hebrew, Sarphath, is the next City Southward from Zidon, begenor, gave it her name: but of Agenor I will speak more at large in the story of their

For ftrength and for the commodity of ry famous for the excellent Wine growing the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Island 700. paces from the Continent; and therefore Ezekiel placeth Enthall it in the middest of the Seas, as some read, 17. or as others, in the inner-most part of the Sea, util. I have no wine of Gaza, nor Falerna wine, whence he called it feituate at the entry of Nor any for the drinking of Sarepta's vine. the Sea, as also the same Prophet calleth it, the Mart of the people for many Isles: and Esty, 160 This City had also a Bishop, of the Dio- a Mart of the Nations: and so proud, weal- 11 cess of Tyre: after it came to the saracens thy, and magnificent was this City, as the and Turks, as the rest: and is now called Prophet Esay calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of

It excelled both in learning, and in manuof thips commanded, and gave the law over facture: especially in the making and dyall the Mediterran Sea, and the borders ing of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, thereof: during which time of greatness faith Julius Pollux, was first found out by Herand power, the Tyrians crected Vtica, Leptis, cules Dog, who passing along the Sea-coast, Firgil. Lt. and Carthage in Africa, of which Virgil. Orbs and eating of the Fish Conchilis or Purpura,

putting all to the Sword that refifted ; after and demolished. those slaves which had formerly slain all shoulder made bare, saith Ezekiel, who with Riches, and power of Government to them- destruction of this proud place. In the end, felves. This victory of Alexander over the and after 13. years fiege or more, the Tyri-Johan, Tyrians, Josephus remembreth: and how Sa

Jakili naballat revolved from Paris, and 1980. ii. naballat revolted from Darius, and came to bring over-late the predictions and threatthe last satrapa or Provincial Governour, convenient number of ships, abandoned their which Darius feated in Samaria: the same City, transporting with themselvs the ablest who having married his Daughter to Ma- of all that remained: and with their wives, nasse, brother to Jaddas the high Priest of children, and portable riches, sayled thence

3 and with a Gentile: but while Alexander a work of his own) to make Nabuchodonous called Sanabula, died.

cruelty of Alexander, it was attempted by upon Saint Hierom noteth, that God leaveth

the hair of his lips became of that colour. It Salmanasser the Asserian King : when the worshipped the Idols that Zidon did: sa- growing pride of the Asprians, after that ving that Hercules became their Patron in they had conquered the ten Tribes, with after-times. For Alexander Macedon, when the rest of Syria, became envious of the beauthe Tyrians presented him with a Crown of ty, riches, and power of that city. He besseggold, and other gifts, defiring to remain his ed it both on the Land-side, and with threefriends and allies, answered them, that he score ships of war held the Port : to the end had vowed a facrifice to Hercules, the Defenthat neither any victuals nor any supply of dor of their City, and the Ancestor of the men might enter it: but the Tyrians with lib.9.6.14. Macedonian Kings: and must therefore enter twelve sail scattered that sleet, and took 500. it. Whereupon they fent him word, that prisoners of the Asyrians: notwithstanding, Hercules his Temple was in the Mountain of the Assirian continued his resolution, and old Tyre: where he might perform that ce- lay before it by his Lievtenants five years, remony. But this availed not: for Alexander but with ill success. And this siege Menanwas not so superstitious, as ambitious; he de- der Ephesius, cited by Josephus, made report Et come fired to enter the Town, which being de- of in his Chronicles, as he found the Story a- And Training of the Story and Training of the Story a- And Training of the Story and Training of the Stor nied, he, as one whom no peril could fear, mong the Annals of the Tyrians (which the de Bell. nor labour weary, gathered together as ma- faid Menander converted into Greek) adding Sar. 13.14. ny ships as he could, and brought from Liba- that Eluleus, whom Tyrius called Heliseus, 116, 6.15. ous fo great a number of Cedars, & so many was then King of Tyre, having governed the weighty stones from the old City of Tyre same six and twenty years. Soon after this adjoyning, as notwithstanding that his ma-repulse of salmanasser; and about 200. years terials were often washt away with the before the victory of Alexander, Nabuchodostrength of the Sea and the Tides, yet he ne- no for, at such time as he destroyed Hierusalem ver refted, till he had made a foot-passage with the Temple, came before this City: who from the Continent to the Island: and ha- indeed gave to Alexander the example of ving once approached their walls, he over-that despairful work, of joyning it to the topt them with Turrets of wood, and other Continent. For Nabuchodonofor had formerframes: from whence (having filled the bo- ly done it: though by the diligence of the dy of force with the violent moving spirit Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same of resolution) he became Lord thereof, cawsey and passage was again broken down,

which, he caused 2000. more to be hung up | Against Nabuchodonosor, for many years, in a rank all alongst the Sea-shore: which the Tyrians defended themselves: for so execution upon cold bloud he performed long did those Babylonians continue before (assome Authors affirm) upon the issues of it, As every head was made bald, and every 154.2.8cs their Masters, taking their Wives, Children, the Prophet Esay had manifestly foretold the Alexander with 8000. Souldiers: who was nings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a Hierusalem, obtained of Alexander, that a into Cyprus, Carthage, and other Maritimate Temple might be built on the Mountain Ga- Cities of their Tributaties, or Confederates: rizim over Samaria: that the forces of the loas the Babylonians finding nothing therein, Jews being divided, Alexander might the either to satisfie so many labours and perils, better hold them in obedience. The honour or any person upon whom to avenge themof which Priesthood he bestowed on his son selves for the loss of so many bodies in that in law Manasse, whom the Jews oppugned , War: It pleased God in recompence therefor that he had married out of their Tribes, of (who strengthened this resolution, as in befieged Gaza, Sanaballat, whom Guil. Tyri- for victorious over the Egyptians: and gave Eq. 19.19 him that Kingdom and the spoil thereof, as Long before this desolation of Tyre by the it were, in wages for his Army. Where-

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warded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attain unto that eternal happiness reserved for his servants and Saints: yet fuch is the boundless goodness of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporal bless-

Now of this enterprise of Nabuchodonofor's against Tyre, prophane Historians have not been filent. For both Diocles, and Philostratus (as josephus citeth them) the one in his second Book, the other in his Phanician Histories remember it.

After these two great Vastations by the Kings of Babylon and Macedon, this City of Tyre, repaired and recovered it felf again: and continued in great glory about 300. years, even to the coming of our Saviour Christ: and after him flourished in the Christian Faith neer 600. years: the Archbishop their Bishops and Suffragans: namely Caipha, Guil. Tyr. otherwise Porphiria, Acon, or Ptolomais, Sarepta, Zidon, Cafarea Philippi, Berytus. Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Ortholia, Archis, Aradus, Anbeautiful Region of Phanicia and Palestina, fubjected to the cruel and faithles Saracen: his fon in law Alexander, which called himunder the burthen and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered, with the other Palestine

Cities, 488. years. Baldwine King of Hierusalem; but in vain: yet in the year 1124. by Guaremonde, Patrithe second, with the affiltance of the Veneti- Story ensuing: and, by like reason, about ans, and their fleet of Gallies, it was again the same time was the aforesaid Alexander erusalem, and so it remained 165. years.

Finally, in the year 1189. Saladine having first taken Hierusalem, removed his whole thered by Zabdiel the Arabian: to whom he Army, and fate down before Tyre: drawing fled for fuccour: and his head prefented his fleet of Ships and Gallies from Alexandria into the Port, this City as then onely | ed not the glory of his victory and treason remaining in the Christian power.

The Citizens finding themselves reduced | death. into great famine, and many other miferies,

not the good deeds of the Heathen unre- | the lamentable accident of following the Christians enemies over a River unfoordable perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the Cathedral Church of Tyre, neer unto that glorious Sepulchre of Origen, garnished and graven with guilt pillers of Marble, 940. years before therein buried : but in the year 1289, the Saracens again attempted it, and carriedit, and it now remaineth subject to the

||. IV.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

He third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the Afferites could not obtain, on the South bound of Affer was Acho. which was the antient name thereof after whereof gave place to none but to the Patriarch of Hierufalem onely, who within his firm, that it took name from Acon the broown Dioceis had fourteen great Cities, with ther of Ptolomie. Pliny calleth it Ace: and int otherwise the Colony of claudius. It had also the name of coth, or cod, and by Zeiglerus it is called Hactipos.

But lastly, it was intituled Ptolomais, aftaradus, (or Tortofa) and Maraclea. But in ter the name of one of the Egyptian Ptolomies, Prisad the year 636. it was with the rest of that which City also, as it is I Mac. 11. another m. of the Ptolomies, infideliously wrested from felf the fon of Antiochus Epiphanes: the same Alexander having married Cleopatra, daughter of the faid Ptolomie, not long before. In the year 1112, it was attempted by Therein also was Jonathan Machabaus treacheroufly furprifed and flain, as it is I Mac. 12. 1 Mail 48. by the perfidiousness of Tryphon, whomion arch of Hierusalem, Vicegerent to Baldwine Soon after Antiochus pursued, as it is in the recovered, and subjected to the Kings of Hi- in the war against Demetrius, one of the soms of Antiochus the great, with whom Ptolomy joyned, overthrown and treacherouflymurunto his father in law Ptolomie : who enjoy it above three daies, for God struck him by

For the beauty and strength of this City, they at once with certain rafters of timber, this Alexander made it his regal feat; two fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleet, | parts of the same being invironed by the Sea, and fallyed out resolvedly upon his Army, and the Port, for safety and capacity, not flew so great numbers of them; and follow- inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This ed their victory with fuch fury, as that the City is diftant from Hierusalem fome four Saracens forfaking their Trenches and Tents, and thirty miles: four miles to the North removed in great disorder and dishonour. from the Mountain Carmel, and as much to Two years after which victory the body of the South from Castrum Lamberti: from Tyre, that famous Frederick Barbarossa (who by Antorius maketh it two and thirty Italian see

miles. In the middest of the City there was place, which by the Inhabitants is called Capa Tower of great strength, sometime the padocia, not far from Berytus, men say that 6. 79. thops feat of the Dioces of Tyre, after it be Patric. Navigationum I.1.6.3 and Bridenbach to family the family of the Dioces of Tyre after it be Patric. Navigationum I.1.6.3 and Bridenbach to family of the Patric Company of the Patric Blocky called of the Christians in those parts) it time called Asser, was afterward called the as forced and taken by Haomarus the Sara- Valley of Saint George. If this authority suf-In the year 1104, it was regained by fice not, we may rather make the Story allee din. Baldwine the first, by the help of the Gallies gorical, figuring the victory of christ, than was given in recompence. Again, in the ned by Am. Marcellinus. year of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourscore and seven, Saladine King of Egypt and Syria, became Lord thereof. In the year of Christ, one thousand one hundred ninety and one, by Richard King of England, and Philip King of France, it was repossessed and redelivered to the Christians. dified, and it is now Turkifl.

||. V.

of the Castle of Saint George.

East, is a Castle of St. George seated, in leave every man to his own belief: yet I and chap. 10. ver. 6. and it defended it self cannot but think, that if the Kings of Engmin See land had not some probable record of that Ptolomais, Alab, Helbah, and Aphek did. his memorable act, among many others: it non longé à Beryto, memorant inclytum Christi Aphek. Militem D. Georgium, Regis filiam ab immanissimo Dracone asservasse: eamque mactata dalium, first called Schandalium of Schander, bestia parenti restituisse. In cujus rei memoriam which we call Alexander, for Alexander Ma-Ecclesia postmodum fuit adificata; In this cedon built it when he besieged Tyre: and

Temple of Bel-zebub; and therefore called the famous Knight of Christ, Saint George, did the Castle of Flies, on the top whereof there rescue the Kings daughter from a huge Dragon: was mantained a perpetual light like unto and having killed the beaft, delivered the Virthat called Pharus in Egypt: to give com- gin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a fort in the night to those ships which came Church was after built there: Thus far Adricoof Genea: to whom a third of the revenue except of George the Arrian Bishop, mentio-

||. V I.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

Laftly, in the year 1291. it was by the fury Between Ptolomais and Tyre alongst the of the Saraceus besieged with an Army of Bea-coast, was the strong City of Acziba, 150000 entered, fack d, and utterly demo- or Achazib, which S. Hierome called Achziph lished : though in some fort afterward ree- and Josephus Ecdippos, Plinie Ecdippa, one of those which defended it self against the Asferites. Belforreft finds Acziba and Sandalium, or the Castle of Alexander to be one, but I know not from whence he had it.

The twelve Searchers of the Land which Moses sent from Cadesbarn, travelled as far Locistebr. to the North as Roob, or Rechob, in the Tribe Jof Bell. Tive miles from Ptolomais towards the Of Affer, which Rechob, as also Berothe, which full 1. by Ezechiel, cap.47.ver. 16. is placed in these Plin. 15. which he was born: the Valley adjoyning North borders, belonging in Davids time to 6.19. bearing the same name. And though for the the King Hadarhezer, as it may be gathered credit of Saint Georges killing the Dragon, I out of the second of Samuel, chap. 8. ver. 8. against the Afferites, as Zidon, Tyre, Achziph.

This Aphek it was, whose wall falling was strange that the Order full of Honour, down, slew seven and twenty thousand of which Edward the third founded, and which Benhadads Souldiers, after that a hundred his Succeffors royally have continued, thousand had been slaughtered by the Israeshould have born his name, seeing the World lites, under the conduct of Ahab. Here Juhins had not that scarcity of Saints in those finds that the Philistims encamped a little daies, as that the English were driven to make | before the battel at Gilbon , though in his fuch an erection upon a fable, or person seig- note upon the first of samuel the 9. & r. he ned. The place is described by Adricomius takes Aphek there mentioned (at which batin his description of Affer, to have been in tel the Ark Wastaken) to have been in Juda. the fields of Libanus, between the River Of which Jos. 15. and 53. & in the fecond of I King. 10 Adonis, and Zidon: his own words are these: Kings 13.17. he reads, Fortiter, for, in Aphel. 29. Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, Where others covert it, Perentiens Syros in 1 Sam, 19:

The next place alongst the coast is San-

he undertook the recovery of Tyre.

Not much above a mile from this Castle. there ariseth that most plentiful Spring of water, which & slomon remembreth, called the Well of living Water: trom whence not only all the fields and plains about Tyre are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn: but the fame Spring, which hath not above abow-shot of ground to travel till it recover the Sea, driveth fix great Mills in that fhort pallage, faith Brochard.

Within the Land, and to the East of Acziba, and Sandalium, standeth Hosa: and beyoud it, under the Mountains of Tyre, the City of Achfaph, or Azab, or after S. Hierome, Acifap, a City of great ftrength, whose King, amongst the rest, was flain by Josua, at the waters of Merom.

W. VII.

Of Thoron Gifcala, and some other places.

Urther into the Land, towards Jordan, was seated the Castle of Thoron, which Hugo de Sancto Abdemare built on the Eastermost hills of Tyre, in the year 1107. thereby to restrain the excursions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre against the Christians: the place adjoyning being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Lords of Thoron, famous in the story of the these parts. Wars for the recovery of the Holy Land, derive their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappel, dedicated to the bleffed Virgin, in which Humfrey of Thoron, Constable to Baldwine the 3. King of Hierufalem, lieth buried: There were five Castles a mean estate gathering together four hunbesides this within the Territory of Asser: dred Thieves, greatly troubled all the upper whereof four are feated almost of equal di- Galilee, at such time as the Romans attempfrance from each other: to wit, Caftrum, Lamperti, Montfort, Indin (or Saron) Castrum Regium and Belfort: the first neer the Sea under the hills of Saron, the next three, to wit, Indin, Montfort, and Regium, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and fellowship of the Tentonici, or themselves, and gave succour to other Chrithe best part of the upper Galilee) the chief first fortress was for beauty and strength called Belfort, feated in the high ground upon the River Naar, neer the City Rama: of | Cities of Cana Major, and * Cades (or Cades).

fet it on a point of Land which extendeth | which in this Tribe Jof. 19.29. for which the tet it on a point of Land Mexiba and Tyre: Vulgar reads Horma: making the article a making the Actiba and Tyre: which Caftle Baldwine the first rebuilt and part of the word, and mistaking the vowels. which cattle saturate the first 1157, when from the fiege of this Caftle of Belfort, the stand fortified; in the year of chrift 1157, when great Saladine King of Syria and Egypt, Was 40 by the Christians Army raised, and with great loss and dishonour repulsed.

To the East of Belfort, is the strong City of Alab (or Achlab) which S. Hierome calleth chalab, one of those that defended themfelves against Affer as Roob (or Rechob) not far thence did.

Towards the South from Roob they place Gabala (which Herod furnamed the Ascalo- Tolan nite rebuilt) making it of the Territory of anily Chabol, Quod Syrorum lingua dispicere signi- out. ficat (faith Weishenburg) fo called, because Hiram of Tyre was ill pleased with those twenty Cities, feated hereabout, which 80lomon presented unto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this Chabol (or Ca- Journe, bul) containing a circuit of those twenty Cities given to Hiram, to have been without the compass of the Holy Land, though bordering After on the North fide: as it is faid, 1 Reg. 9.11. That they were in Regione limitie: that is, in limite Regionie, in the bor. der of the Countrey: for as it was not lawful, fay they, to give to strangers any part of 15min the possessions allotted to the Israelites: howfoever, that after Hiram had refused them, they were peopled by the Israelites, it appears, 2 Chron. 8.14. And it feems they were conquered by David from the Syri Rechobea, whose City Roob, or Rechob, was in

Almost of equal distance from the Castle of Thoron, they place the Cities of Giscala, and Gadara: of which Gadara is rather to be placed over Hordan: Giscala was made famous by John the fon of Levi, who from ted the conquest of Judea: by whose practice Josephus, who then commanded in the can upper Galilee, was greatly indangered: whereof himself hath written at large, in his fecond Book of those Wars. This John betraying, in all he could, the City of Giscala (whereof he was native) to the Roman Dutch Knights (by which they defended State: and finding a refistance in the City, see gave opportunity, during the contention, to stians at such time as the Saracens possess the Tyrians and Gadarims, to surprize it: who at the same time forc't it, and burnt it Manh of which Order was in Ptolomais Achon. The to the ground: but being by Josephus all ment thority rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to 13 Titus by composition. They finde also the of the first was that syro-phanician, whose neth into it from the North-side, Naar, and Neer the other, they say, it was that Jonathas | city adjoyning of the same name: for Eleu-

ties, within the Tribe of Affer, divers others: as on the South border, and near the Sea, which lon: on the North fide joyning to Syro-Mig. 27. phanicia, is the City of Hethalon, or Chethlon, the utmost of the Holy Land that way: un-

der which towards the Sea, is Chali, and then others, on which no ftory dependeth; and therefore I will not pefter the description schrot.

§. VIII.

Of the Rivers and Mountains of Asser.

He Rivers to the North of Affer, are the water make falt thereof, as at Nantwitch, city Junior.

The Manuscripe which bound Affer at taketh since the state of th Adonis, afterward Canis, to which age both viewed and described the Holy being still a part of Libanus, as the Prophet this Para-Land) calleth the main River Fons hortor um Libani: and one of the streams which run-

Daughter Christ delivered of the evil spirit. another from the South-west, chabul: of the Machabeus overthrew the Army of Deme-therwit eannot be. There is also another Riwer described by Adrichome, named Jepthael, Smithel is which I find in no other Author, and for our either which I find in no other Author, and for our either which I find in no other Author, and for our either which I find in no other Author, and for our either the control of the control o which he citeth fof. 19. but the word a Ghe, for a Valwhich is added there to Jepthael, is not taken River but Medall, or Mifbeall: within the Land (a) Befafor a River, but for a Valley: and for a Valthis word
(b) Retherage and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on leve the Market to Company and Retherage francing on the Market to Company and Retherage francing the property of the Vulgar, the Genera, and Arias Monta-waya vale the South border between After and Zabn- nw turn it. There is also found in After the ley, as in River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and Gehinnon and ond selles. Tacitus, which is also called Pagidas, saith manim. * Pliny: out of the fands of this River are Joseph.l.z. made the best Glass which constitute the Till Bell Jud.

made the best Glass, which sometimes the Zi-c.3. (c) Enoch, supposed to be built by Cain, and donians practised: and now the Venetians at 1.5.6.19

Amend of his son Fnoch. but without proba
la folice. Murana, Arias Montanus makes Belus to be a 19. vi. 6 bit without probabrach, a line formerly proved. There are branch of Chedumin, which it cannot be: for it is called branch of Chedumin, which it cannot be: for it is called the containing the co Belus is known to flow from out the Lake Sichor, of which mon, of which Jos. 19. 28. where also we Cendevia, as all Cosmographers, both Ancient name maread of Nehrel, Rama, Alamelee, and Beron: and Modern, and the later Travellers into by under the later travellers into b the Cities of Aleath, or Cheleath, Habdon, and those parts witness. It is true that the River of the fream Rechob, and Misheal, which we have already Chison taketh water from Chedumim, but not 70s. 13 3. mentioned, were by the Afferites given to in that fathion which Montanus that deferit head on the Louise. Of others held by the Canasa had in paths doth in find the Secondary in the Canasa had in paths and the Canasa had been also and the Canasa had been the Levites. Of others held by the Canaa- bed it: neither doth it find the Sea at Ptolo-Pera of mites, mention is made, Judg. 1. 30. to which mais Acon, according to Montanus but far-Arabia, out of Josua we may add Ebron, Amhad, and ther to the South between Caiphas and Site to the Lake caminum, witness Zeigler, Adrichomius, and Sirbonis,

Besides these Rivers there are divers fa-trom the mous Springs and Fountains, as that of living promifed waters adjoyning to Tyre: and Maserephot, wherea. or after S. Hierome, Maserephotmain, whose boutthey Well filled by the flood of the Sea adjoyn-place Rhiing (they fay) the Inhabitants by feething for which

The Mountains which bound Affer on the chorin that Zeigler joyneth Lycus; Ptolomy, Leontis: both North, are those of Anti-libanus, which with place of which fall into the Sea neer Berytus: which Libanus bound Calofyria: two great ledges of howferer River of Leontis, Montanus draws neer unto Hills, which from the Sea of Phanicia and whether Zidon: finding his head notwithstanding Syria, extend themselves far into the Land this sichor, where Ptolomy doth, between Zidon and Tyre. Eaftward, 400. stadia, or furlongs, according bea River to Strabo: for that length he giveth to the or a City, bani, which Adrichome out of Brochard intituleth Eleutherus: for which he also citeth inclose: but Pliny gives them 1500. lurlongs name is Pliny, and the first of Machabees the eleventh in length from the West (where they begin foundboth the Chapters, but resident of these authorities at Theirstendam on Des freier and Their formation of the feet authorities at Theirstendam on Des freier and Their foundation in the Man. Chapter; but neither of those authorities at Theipsophon, or Dei facies, near Tripolis to North Some prove Elenthers to be in Affer: for this Rithe Mountains of Arabia beyond Damases : bound of where Anti-Libanus turneth towards the Holy The not far from Balanea, witness Ptolomy: and South. These ledges where they begin to 19.06 and therefore Pinetus callethit Valania, and Po- part Traconitis and Basan, from the Defart in the Basum, r. 1 south Mellus, Velana; which River boundeth Phe- Arabia, are called Hermon: which Moses al-bound nicia on the North-side: to which Strabo al- so nameth Sion, the Phanicians, Syrion; and Jos. 13. 3; fo agreeth butthis principal River of Affer for Arias Montanus calleth Gabatus. Chriftian Mountain apart, but a continuation of Hills: may calleth Gabatus. Chriftian Mountain apart, but a continuation of Hills: more a which running farther Southerly, is in the bove in the feature of the fea Peter Laiestan (which Laiestan in this our Scriptures called Galaad, or Gilead: the same the second

> Str. b. l. 10. Plin. l. 5. c. 20. Deut. 4. 48. Strab. l. 10. Pto. Afid. lab. 4. Sueion, Nig. pag. 503.

Hieremy

bani: noting, that this Galaad is the highest East and South-East by Jordan. of those Hills of Libanus. Strabo knows pinion.

They take the name of Libanus from their white tops, because (according to Tacitus) the highest of them are covered with snow all the Summer: the Hebrew word Libanos, (faith Weiffenburg) fignifieth whiteness. Others call them by that name of the Frankincence which those Trees yeild: because saldrone is also the Greek word for that

Niger out of Aphrodifeus affirmeth, that on Libanus there falleth a kind of honey name Stephanus also findeth a city in Thrace, dew, which is by the Sun congealed into and Glycas in Phrygia. hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call Sac-Saccarum.

the neighbour Regions, are, Chryforrhous, Agrippa, and Bernice the Queen commanded, middle Jordan, Eleutherus, Leontes, Lycus, Adonis, Fons hortorum Libani, and others.

The rest of the Mountains of Asser, are those Hills above Tyre, and the Hills of Samiles distant.

THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis, and Abila.

He next portion of the Land of Canaan bordering Asher, was the upper Galilee: the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of Nephtalim, the fon of Jacob by Billa, joyning, as far South as the Sca of Galilee, adad; and after a while by Teglatphalafar.

Hieremy proveth: Galand in mihi caput Li- bounded on the West by Asher, and on the contry

On the North-side of Libanus, and ad-Theod, of thole Hills of Livanns. Straw Moon joyning to this Territory of Nephtalim, did harmonic of Traconitae; and Piolomy joyning to this Territory of Nephtalim, did harmonic of Traconitae; and Piolomy joyning to the Cor Emerite (or Emerite) also inhabit in the state of the Ameritae (or Emerite) also inhabit in the state of the Ameritae (or Emeritae) also inhabit in the state of the by Hippus. Arius Montanus calleth these the Amorites (or Emorites) also inhabit, in 3.33, Mountains bordering Asser 5. Libanus, for which Tract, and under Libanus, was the ci-Mountains bordering Affer; Livanus, 101 Winca I racional under Library, 101 Ministration by of Heliopolis: which the heighth of the Ministration o graphers, but he giveth no reason of his o- Monntains adjoyning shadowed from the lost. Sun the better part of the day. Postellus calls Enfish, it Balbec ; Niger, Marbech; and Leonclavins, Demont

Of this name of Heliopolis, there are two f. ug. great cities in Egypt: the first called On, by the Hebrews, and the Chaldean Paraphraft: otherwise Bethsemes, or after the Latines, 80lis oppidum or Domus Solis ; The City of the Sun: into which, faith Ulpian, Severus the Roman Emperour fent a Colony: the other Gestelius nameth Dealmarach : and of this

There is also in the same Valley adjoynchar, from whence came the Latine word ing to Nephtalim, Chalcis, and Abila. Chalcis of whom the region towards Palmyrena hath The Rivers which Libamus bestoweth on the name of Chalcidica, over which Herod

Abila also gave name to the region ad-phris, joyning, of which Lyfanius the fon of Herod children the elder, became Tetrarch or Governour: and and whereof Ptolomy gave it the addition of Ly- in Rules, ron, both exceeding fruitful: but those are Janii, and called it Abila Lyfanii. Volaterran Hamil but of a low stature, compared with Libanus: names it Aphila, of which he notes, that one allower for from Nebo, or the Mountain of Abarim in Diogenes, a famous Sophifter was native, who are Reuben, Majes beheld Libanus threescore by Volaterran is intituled Apuleius, not Abile-Food us. After that this city of Abila or Aphila, had John received the Christian Faith, Priscillinus be- (cents) in came the Bishop thereof: flain afterward the art by our Brittish Maximus at Trever. For di-Ralard Stinction of this city (if it be not the same, as all which it may be thought to be the fame) it is to be indut remembred, that in the Tribe of a Manaffe, loss: a joyning upon the bounds of the Tribe of wenn Nephtalim, there is another city of the same and the name, faving that it is written with an (E) for worms an (I) and called Abela, remembred in the 20 the sum as (I) and called Abela, remembred in the 20 to 15 form. chapter of the fecond of Samuel. The fame thinks of Josephus calls Abelmachea, and Hierome, Beth. cip, at macha. In the place of Samuel, for diffinitis subsets on fake, it is written Abel Beth-Mahaca, (for ner of belike it was the Town of Mahaca the wife boolded belike it was the Town of Mahaca the wife the pabode in Fgppt, were increased to the number of 53400. persons, able men to bear arms, numbred at Mount Sinai: all which leaving their bodies in the Desarts, there entred the Holy Land of their sons, 45400, besides Insants, Women, and Children, under twenty years of age. The Land of Nephtalim took beginning on the North part, from the Fountains of Jordam, and the Hill of Libanus adtermination of Jordam, and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam, and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam, and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam, and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam, and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam, and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam, and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam, and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam and the Hill of Libanus additional management of Jordam and Libanus additional manage tains of Jordan, and the Hill of Libanus adterward taken by the King of Danafous, Ben-1

therefore no marvel that many Towns (with of Dan (being straitned in their Territory fome addition for distinction sake) were under Juda) invaded and mastered; and thus called: for even of bewailing, many gave it the name of their own Parent Dan: And A and so doutless * Abel-Mifraim, Gen. 50. 11. at which place Abraham surprised Chedorlaohang and yet Junius in his notes upon Num. 33. mer and his confederates, and followed his thinks that Abel-Sittim was so called ra- victory as far as Sobah, formerly remembred

1983. (to wit, in the Land of Moab) and so perhaps Sophena. And after the possession of the Dapurfued them.

| II.

Of Hazor.

IN the Tribe of Nephtalim was that famous (or after the Chaldean Paraphrast, Haszor) Judgleec by Josephus, Asora; by Junius, * Chatzor: that it was either a free city, of the alliance which Laicstan names Hesron; the Regal 10 Act of City, and Metropolis of Canaan: feated in the subject unto the Kings thereof; for it is min, fee West part of Nephtalim, towards Asher. In this written Judg. 18. And there was none to help, Verse 18. follows in city was that great Rendevous and Affemthis place; bly of those four and twenty Kings against this Tribe Josua: who being all overthrown, Ilain, and onphin feattered this their powerful city was by 70s, called fua taken and burnt to dust. But in process ywe read of time the same being re-built by the Cana-19.27. anites, a second King Labin, 137. years after the death of this first Ial in, invaded the Israelites: and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatry, he prevailed against fenburg: but he had read it in a corrupt cothem and held them in a miferable fervitude 20. years; till Debora the Prophetess overour for threw Sifera, Iabins Lievtenant, and his Ar-In Fig. 47 my, near the Mountain Tabor. This city So-Mo in lomon restored at such time as he also reedified Gezar, burnt by Pharao of Egypt, this city was by him amplified and fortified; with Megiddo, Bethoron, and other cities; and both to give memory to his own name, but about 260, years after, it fell into the hands of Teglatphalafar King of the Affyrians. by the names of tegraphanapa same of the state of the sta Joseph Jis. There is another city of this name in the Jocatha. Territory of Benjamin, seated on the confines at lilly of Assalon, called the new Hazor, saith d Hieling, a rome.

Indicated the new Hazor of the sea of the

I. III. Of Cafarea Philippi:

in the Territory of Nephtalim, that re- garment with a conftant Faith: who after- 6.25.

The word Abel may be expounded, either nowned city of Lais, or Laisich, as Junius "Judg 18.17 to fignifie bewailing, or a plain ground; and writes it, or Leschen; which city the children 19/19-47. places took name; as Bochim, Judg. 2. 4. and by that name it is written in Genes. 14. 15th 6.18 47 ther by reason of the plain ground there, in the division of Syria, otherwise called Abel-Meholah in the Tribe of Ephraim: the nites, it had the joynt name of Leschem-Dan. Town of Elisha the Prophet: also Abel-Vi- Weissenburg writes it Lacis, the Geneva, Laiss; nearum of the Ammonites, whither Jephta Josephus, Dana, Benjamin, Balina; Breiden- Judg. 18. bach, Belena: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of Belina to this day: witness Neubrigensts, Tyrius, Volaterranus, Brochard the Monk, and Postellus: who also taketh this city to be the same, which in Matth. 15.39. in the Vulgar is called Magedan, for which the Greek Text hath Magdala in that place, and in S. Mark, speaking of the same City of Jabin, in Josua's time called Afor, story, Dalmanutha. At such time as the children of Dan obtained this place, it seemeth and confederacy of the Zidonians, or elfe because Lais was far from Zidon: and they had no business with other men: for it was above thirty English miles from the Mediter- Plin. 1. 5.

ran Sea, and from Zidon. In after-times when these regions became fubject to the state of Rome, it had the name of Paneas, from a Fountain adjoyning fo called: and therefore Ptolomy calls it Cafarea Heg. L.I. c. Pania. Hegesippus calls it Parnium, faith Weif- 35. py; for in Hegelippus, fet out by Badius, it is written Paneum without an (R): and at such time as Philip the fon of the elder Herod, brother to Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee, became Governour of Traconitis, fometime Balan: and to flatter Tyberius Cafar, he called it * Cesarea Philippi: and so it became the Mie- ther Casatropolis, and head city of Traconitis, and one ria (or caof the first cities of Decapolis. And being by led Cafe-Agrippa in the fucceeding age greatly a- rea Palelidorned; by him in honour of Nero, it was na: fee hereafter called Neronia or Neroniada. But as nothing in the for remained with that Emperour, but the me- mer part of mory of his impiety : foin S. Hieroms time Of Diocethe Citizens remembred their former Pane- faring fee as and so re-called it, with the Territory adjoyning by the ancient name. Of this City Eufeb. hift. was that woman whom Christ healed of a Excles 1. 78 Here was also on the border, and with bloody issue, by touching the hem of his viceph 1.6.

Stured,

that the

first Spring

of Jordan

Fountain

al≉, from

whence To and Dan

receive

their wa-

be cast in pure Copper: the one represent- Jbadow of death, upon them bath the light shined. dered and feattered, to the great admiration mens houses. of the people at that time living. The truth tieth Chapter.

that Philip fields belonging to this City it was that Cologria, all Palestina, and Indea. the 1e truck cast S. Feter acknowledged Christ to be the Son North cast from cafe. fame fortune with the rest, for it was after led Amana, faith Stephanus, or as I ghess, Amores, which taken and re-taken by the Saracens, and na rather, because it was the chief City of chaffe be- Christians: under Fulch the fourth King of the Ammonites, known by the name of Rabing carried II. The conditions the death of College Libbert Park I will dishible convict this land Hiernfalem, and after the death of Godfrey bab, before Ptolo. Philadelphus gave it this la-Parison or them again it was recovered. Laftly, now it memory of his Nurse, who died therein, an-Don, whereby is remaineth with all that part of the World ciently known by the name of Bethsan; for fubjected to the Turk. is conje-

||. IV.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

ward, as the was a woman of great wealth taught the doctrine of our falvation: accorand ability, being mindful of Gods goodness, ding to that notable Prophecy of Estay o. and no less grateful for the same, as Eusebins The people that walked in darkness have seen a and Nicephorus report, caused two Statues to great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the

ing Christ as wear as it could be moulded: the Capbernaum was seated on Iordan, even other made like her felf, kneeling at his feet, where it entreth into the Sea of Galilee, in an and holding up her hands towards him. excellent and rich foil: of whose destruction These she mounted upon two great Bases Christ himself prophesied in these words, or Pedelials of the same metal, which she pla- And thou Caphernaum which art lifted up unced by a Fountain near her own house: to heaven, shalt be brought down to hell, Sec. both which (faith Eusebius) remained in their which shewed the pride and greatness of first perfection, even to his own time: which that City: for it was one of the principal himself had seen, who lived in the reign of Cities of Decapolis, and the Metropolis of Ga. Constantine the Great. But in the year after like. And although there were some marks Christ 363, that Monster Julian Apostata, of this Cities magnificence in Saint Hieroms caused that worthy Monument to be cast time, as himself confesseth; it being then down and defaced: fetting up the like of a reasonable Burge or Town: yet those his own in the same place: which Image of that have since, and long since seen it, as his was with fire from Heaven broken into Brochard, Breidenbech, and Saliniae affirm, fitters: the head, body, and other parts fun- that it then confifted but of fix poor Fisher-

The Region of ten principal Cities, called of this accident is also confirmed by Sozo- Decapolitana, or Decapolis, is in this descriptimenus Salaminius, in his fifth Book and twen- on often mentioned, and in S. Matthew, Mark Model. and Luke also remembred; but I find no a Make This City built by the Danites, was near greement between the Cosmographers, what Lake the joyning together of those two Rivers, proper limits it had: and so Pliny himself which arising from the springs of Jor and consessed to the North by the Moun. a Tolephus Dan, the two a apparent Fountains of Jordan, others, bounds it on the North by the Moun 4,518. in dissoork in a foil exceeding fruitful and pleafant: for, tain cassus in cassos: and endethit to the thinks o dessen as it is written, Judges 18. it is a place which if vacch as it is written, Judges 18. it is a place which for it is a doth ment nothing that is in the world. In the feription it imbraceth Phanicia, a part of years,

Pliny also makes it large, and for theten lighter, the file into of God: whereupon it was answered, The es Cities of which it taketh name, he numbreth unally a Founcial Petrus, & Inter this four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: This four of the fituated towards Arabia: This fituated towards Ar ale, diffant City received the Christian faith, it was ho- to wit, first these three, Damascus, Opotos, Ra emit. 130 fladia poured with a Bishops feat: and it ran the phana, then Philadelphia (which was first cal-Plants ground, of Bullion, the King of Damaseus wrested it ter and new name.) Then Scythopolis, some-was calluf from the Christians; and shortly after by time Nisa, built (asis said) by Baccus, in the fixth he fetteth Gadara (not that Gadara in Calofyria, which was also called Antioch and Selensia: but it is Gadara in Basan, which Pliny in this place meaneth, feated on an high hill, near the River of Hieromaix. This Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

River Orteline takes to be the River Jabo: (19)
which bounded Gad and Manafe over Jor within this dam: but he mistaketh its for Hieromaix falleth for miles.

Tribe. Caphernaum is not the least. (5) Tribe, Caphernaum is not the leaft: fo into the Sea of Galike, between Hippor and reining the property of the often remembred by the Evangelifts. This Gerafa, whereas Jaboe entreth the same Sea pills between Ephron and Phannel. For the seventh of three years: who for that time was a Citizen he nameth * Hippos, or Hippion, a City so call fame in the same of the same thereof, in which he first preached and led of a Colony of Horsmen there garrison'd Colon

by Herod, on the East-side of the Galilean, The Country of Iura, faith he, containeth gion took name, is better gathered out of nes, which b Hierom upon Amos calls Antio- b So Hie-Brochard, Breidenbach, and Saligniac, which chia, with Hummath or Hamath the lefter in Comment make them to be thefe; Cofarea Philippi, and Phenicia, and Nephtalim, which he calleth on Amos Afor, before remembred, Cedes, Nephtalin, Epiphania: for this Hammath, or in our Transfeliwers sepbet, Corazán, Capharnaum, Bethfaida, Jotalation Hamath, (and not that which is commention English miles.

Of Hamath.

DUt to look back again towards *Libanus*, Dthere is feated neer the foot thereof the h Stp. City of * Hammath or Chammath, of which (asthey fay) the Country adjoyning taketh name : the same which Josephus calleth Amathitis, and Amathensis : a Jacobus Zeigler, Itureæa. Ituræa Regio tenet borealia tribus Nepthali, per montem Libanum usque Trachones.

th, cap. 21. ver. 32. Chammath-Dor, in the fielt of Chron. cap 6 ver. 7:

sea, described hereafter in the Tribe of Ma- the North parts of the Tribe of Nepthali, nalie over Jordan. For the eighth Pella, which along the Mount Libanus to Trachones. But is also called Butis, and Berenice, seated in herein following Strabe, who calls Trachonithe South border of the Region over Jor- tis Ituraa, he mistakes the scat of this Redan, called Perea. For the ninth Gelafa, which gion: and fo doth Mercator. For indeed were Josephus takes to be Gerasa: and Gerasa is Ituraa (which Hegesippus calls Feraa, and G. found in Colosgra by Josephus, Hegesuppus, and Tyrius, Baccur) the same with Traconitis, yet stephanus: but by Ptolomy (whom I rather Traconitis it felf is far more to the East than follow) in Phanicia. The tenth and last, Hammath in Nephtalim: for Traconitis lieth Pliny nameth Canatha, and so doth Suctionius between Cafarea Philippi, and the Mountains and Stephanus, which Volaterran calls Gama-Trachones: which the Hebrews call Gilead: la, but Hegesippus rightly Camala, a City in and this Hammath or Chammath is seated the Region of Basan over Jordan, so called, under Casarea, towards the Sea West-ward. because those two Hills on which it is sea- And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by ted, have the shape of a Camel. But the Col- confounding Emath or Hamath the great in lection of these ten Cities, whereof this Re- Calosyria, beyond the Mountains Tracho-

pata, Tiberias, and Scythopolis, or Bethfan. For monly called Emath, which a Chron 8.3. is fer of Hamab all other Authors disagree herein, and give far from the North border of Canaan in Syria as it seems no reason for their opinion. One place of the Soba) is remembred in Numb. 34.8. & Num. 13, for diffin Evangelift S. Mathem makes it manifest, that 22. & in Ezek 47.16. in the first of which pla-diention the other this Region called Decapolitana, was all that ces it bordereth the Land of promife, these in nepto-Traft between Zidon, and the Sea of Galilee. being the words: From Mount Hor you fhall thatim, For thus it is written: And he departed again point (that is, direct or draw a line) untill it had berge from the coasts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came come to Hamath: In the second place thus: aldes, reunto the Sea of Galilee, through the middest of So they went up, and searched out the Land seeing the coasts of Decapolis: so that it was boun-from the Wilderness of Sin, unto Rehob to go to rather tol. ded by Damascus and Libanus on the North: Hamath: Then in Ezekiel; The West part also lows the by the Phanician Sea, between Zidon and Shall be the great Sea from the border, till a of zeight Ptolomais on the West: by the Hils of Gelbo | man come over against Hamath: that is, the above and Bethfan on the South: and by the Moun- coast of the Sea shall be the West border mentioned as in tains Tracones, otherwise Hermon, Sanir, and from the Southermost part of the Holy Land, deed it Galaad, on the East: which is from East to till you come directly over against Hamath cannot West the whole breadth of the Holy Land : Northward : from whence if a line be drawn justified and from the North to the South, neer the to the Sea, it will touch the walls of Zidon; that either fame distance, which may be each way forty which is the Northwest corner of the Holy ther of Land. Now that this Hamath, or Hammath, thefe is eiwhich Mofes also made the confine of the ther Anticebia or Holy Land, is that of Nephthalim, both the Epiphmia reference which it hath to the West Sea, and howbeit the City of d Rehob adjoyning, prove it: the fame City

Johna 19 35. is called Chammath, and placed in Nephthalim, was also called Chimath (whence the word Hamath and Emath, were trained) may be gathered, partly because the other Hamath, 2 Clron. 8.3. for diffinition on game-company occame to concertamenta, coron, a. 5, not outstoccom is called chambit felda, as this fois it may feem by foi, 1.3.3, by as chamath. Dor, and chanath fulde, as we have noted, 2 Rg, 24, Secondly because Manders 1, 8, and allo Excel 47, 10. chamath in the North lide of the Holy Land is placed too user the West corner, to be that chamath fights: for in the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make Mofes to name never a place Eafl-ward along all the breadth of the Holy Land until we come to Hermon(for lothey expound Mount Hor. Num. 34.7.) and beyond Hermon East-ward in this North fide, they make him to name divers Towns , first Chamath , then Tfeda, inter they make min to halve users towns, intercomment that it is interpreted in the Zipfron, and laftly, chalfy-home, a thing moft unlikely: feeing if said had little or nothing Batt-ward beyond Herman. Therefore we must need to spound for to the one of the Hills need to show and for the form of the Hills need to show the said of the thing was a they are named, to lie in order on the North fide of After, Nephbalium. many, A first 14. Chamman Load, a sufmain reach it, whereas as they are named to lie in order on the North fide of After, Nephthalim, a finite reach it, whereas as they are named to lie in order on the North fide of After, Nephthalim, and the diffinition there is added [in Ifnel] to note, that it was and Mansifis: and in like manner thole in Reckiel, first, Chelon, there is added high the After the Afte ten Tibes : the other Chamath, being in Syria Soba. a Zeigler in v Of which John 1933. d Which Rebob, or Rechob, in Jol 19:28, is placed in After towards Zidon, in the confines of Nephibalim.

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and beyond the fore-named Mountains, it was called Epiphania. which inclose all those Lands which Ifrael is also called Iturea, witness stella and name Amathe, and to the Greeks by Epiphania. and teer Laiestan; and not that in Nephthalim, where tacharm & Jonathas Macchabaus attended the Army ther tables of the Of Demetrius, who fled from him, and remo-Hayland ved by night,

For though Traconitis be comprehended within Hurea (and therefore it is faid to be sintima Galilea Gentium) yet it hath beginning over the Mountains Traconis, and fo it doth pro- firercheth into the Plains of the Territory of Imrea; whence Philip the brother of He-, rod was Tetrach, or President, both of Ituraa and Trachonitis: both which are over fordan towards the East. But Chemath in Nephtalim, is on the West side of ford an towards where if fue feeled the Mediterran Sea.

The Country Huraa was fo called of Jethur, one of the fons of Ismael; it is placed in the bounds of Calofyria, and Arabia * the

Alfo the The people Iturai were valiant and warplace of the 1 Chr. 5.19 confirms it, Firgil:

Iturgos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eugh the Itureans bows were made.

whom the Reubenites This City Chamath, or Hamath in Nephtamade war, lim, feems to have been as ancient as the oand whose ther in Iturea, both built by Amatheus the therein. eleventh fon of Canaan. Whether in the time letinthe of David, this, or the other had Toku bred, many other ftrong Cities in Nephthafilver, and brafs.

ery is pla-But it feemeth that David in fuch great fuccels would not have had peace with Toa Of the bu, if he had been King of any place in Nephlarger pro-talim, and therefore it is probable that he mile ex-prest, Deut. Tuled in Tfoba: which City Solomon after his .7 where Fathers death made himself Master of, as a part of the lands (ain the larger and conditional promise allotted by God to the children of Ifrael. bounds:

But this Hammath of Nephtalim, in the See chap 7 end, and after divers mutations and changes,

other Hamath, or Emath (being far removed, been faid, possessed by Antiochus Epiphanes.

While S. Hierome lived, it remained a City ever had possession of) is that Emath, which well peopled, known to the Syrians by the

§. VI.

Of Reblatha & Rama, and divers other Towns.

N the border of Hamath or Emath, towards Jordan, standeth the City Reblatha, or Ribla, watered from the fountain Daphnis: which falleth into the Lake of Meron. Hereunto was Zedekias brought prisoner.after his furprize in the fields of Jericho: & delivered to Nebuchodonofor : who to be aven- Hirrow (1 ged of Zedekia's infidelity, beyond the pro-ther. portion of piety, first caused the Princes his sate un children to be flain in his presence; and to the end that this miferable spectacle might be the last that ever he should behold in this world, and so the most remembred. he commanded both his eyes presently to be like men, and excellent Archers: Of whom thrust out: & binding him in Iron chains, he was led a flave to Babylon, in which state he ended his life. Of which feldom exampled calamity, though not in express words, Jeremy the Prophet foretold him in Hierufalem not long before: But Ezekiel thus directly speaking in the person of God; I will bring him to Babel, to the Land of the Chaldaans, yet shall be not see it, though he shall die

There are, besides these before rememfor King, it is not certain; for Hamath or lim, as that which is called (a) Cedes; there with Emath beyond the Mountains, and Hammath are two other of the same name, one in (b) If 19310 in Nepktalim, were both neighbours to Da- [achar, another in Juda, of which Jof 15-23 in majors: of whose subjugation Tolur rejoy- and therefore to distinguish it, it is known here in Juda of which Jof 15-23 in Juda of which Juda of which Jof 15-23 in Juda of which Juda of ced, because Hadadeser, whom the Damasceni by the addition of (c) Nephtalim, as Ind.4. It 46 came to help, was his enemy. This Tohu fea- is feated on a high hill, whence Jof 20.7. Ke-6.71. ring the firength and prosperity of David, desh in Galilea in monte Nephtali: Josephus which of the relating of his approach towards his Terri calls it Cedefis, and in S. Hieromes time it was called to tory, bought his peace with many rich pre- called cidiffus. Belforest greatly mistakes this size to where fents, and with many ancient veffels of gold, Cedes, and confounds it with Cades in the Come Defart of Pharan.

After the King thereof, among other of the Galilet Canaanites, perished by the hand of Josua, it Chase was made a City of refuge, and given to the 1 Mg 1 Levites. Herein was Barac born; who over-19: threw the Army of the second Jabin of Hazor, at the Mount Tabor. It was sometime polfest by Teglatphalasser, when he wasted all Nephtalim: afterward by the Romans, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the Decapolitan Region: When it had imbraced the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bi-Hieron de both of name and fortune, being, as it hath hops feat, but in time it fell with the rest into

the power of the Saracens and Turks, and by led the upper Galilee, or Galilee of the Genthem it was demolished.

CHAP. VII.

Rama of Nephtalim, seated Northward neer that City after him. Sephet, this is to be noted, that there are () To the North of Berotha of Nephtalim Nephtalims.

(d)or Kiriathajim, a City of the Levites, not reth, the same Lake which is also called the far from the Mountain out of which the Sea of Tiberius. In the body of the Land they fprings of Capharnaum arise, called Mons place Galgala to the South border: of which This was he called and ordained to be his Apostles or parts) and out of the same place of Josia, Galgelesor

Exek, feeing it is in that Galilee which is cal-ther of the one nor of the other. day not but there was another Kirinhajim in Realess, of ready, that it is also Kiria thajim. In the place, t Reg. d. it is which also die a man another Kirinhajim in Realess, of ready, that it is also Kiria thajim. In the place, t Reg. d. it is which also die a man and the same of the called which it is also kiria thajim as it evident.

tiles. The same Adrichomius placeth the Re-From Cedes some four Italian miles to- gion of Berim neer Abela (of which Abela, or wards the South-west, standeth Sephet, other- Abel-Beth Mahacah, we have spoken alreawise Zephet, which was also one of the ten De- dy) this he doth upon a conjecture touching capolitan Cities: a place exceeding strong, the place, 2 Sam 20. 14. where some read and for many years the inexpugnable For- Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnia loca Berim: tres of the Christians, and afterward of the but the better reading is, & omnes Berin. Saracens; for from hence they conquered all that is, with all the Berai: for Shebah being of the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both Benjamin (in which Tribe also there is a City In-land and Maritimate, neer it. Touching called Berotha, or Beeroth) drew the men of

divers places of this name in Palestine, all sci-standeth Sebarim under Libanus, remembred Across tuate on hils: and therefore called Rama by Ezek, 47. and Arofeth gentium, neer the Ind. 4: Rama Hebreis excellum; Ramath with the Waters of Merom, or Samochonitis, the City 1971 in (hama received)

Habrews is high.) Also that from this Rama, Jos. of Sisara, Lieutenant of the Army of the se- Jos 1937; 19.36 they read Arama, making the Article cond Jabin: from whence not far off, towards 1 Reg. 15. (which it hath in the Hebrem, as being a name) the Sea of Galilee, is Edrai, or Edrebi, a ftrong 2 Reg. 15. of divers Towns) to be a part of the word: City: besides many others, whereof I sind no 29. whence casting away the aspiration, they particular story of importance: as ser in min a whence calting away the appracion, they particular they particular they read Arema. From Sephet towards the West, Joseph for the first of their senced Cities: they place * Bethsemes, of which fof 19.38. med for the first of their fenced Cities: which defended it felf against Nephtalim, whence they make two Cities, Assedim and Jud.1.23. but paid them tribute. On the o- ser. Then Adama, which they call Edama: ther fide of Sephet, towards the East, was Be- also Hion, which they call Abion, of which in thanath, who also kept their Citie from the the books of Kings. Then the strong City of Cinnereth, after called Gennezareth, whence Mar, 6.53. Adjoyning to which standeth Carthan, we read of the Land and Lake of Genneza. Lake 5. I.

thrifti, a place by our Saviour often frequen- * 1 Mac. 9.2. also divers others, named Jos. place of ted: availo then when calling his Disciples 19.as Venca, or Chukkok Horem and Azanoth be Mactogether, he made choice of twelve, which tabor (which they place towards the East cours no he called and ordained to be his apolities of parts) and out of the latter place, and (k) Raccath; Gigal, in Messengers: of which place, or the acts there- Jerzon, Lakkum Jepnael, Heleb, and (k) Raccath; Nephali, in done, there is often mention in the (e) E- which two last they place neer Casarea Phi-but may lippi: To these they add out of Joshua, Nekeb, well be Adjoyning to these are Magdalel, a place and Adami: for which two Junius readeth flood of of strength, (f) and Mefaloth, of which we Fossa Adamei, making it no Town, but a Gilgal in of Irrength, (f) and Mejaioth, of which we rega naamar, making it no town, but a read, that it was forced by Bacchides in the Ditch cast by some of Adameth, as it seems; Benjamins or in Ma. time of the (g) Macchabees: also (according or at least the custody of which March or suffice. to Adrichamius) one of the two Berotha's of Limit belonging to the Town. To these out k This Nephtalim. For Adrichomius maketh two of of Num. 34. 10, they add Sephana, which I Recent this name in this Tailed (1) and the Recent this name in this Tailed (1) and the Recent this name in this Tailed (1) and the Recent this name in this Tailed (1) and the Recent this name in this Tailed (1) and the Recent this name in this Tailed (1) and the Recent this name in th this name in this Tribe, (h) one neer Chamath Sam. 3c. 21. feems to be called Sipmoth. As Justin in the North border, of which Ezek, 47.6. a for Tichon and Helon, whereof the former that it is nother (upon a weak conjecture out of Jo-they fetch out of Ezek, 47.16. and the latter the fame (sph.ant. 1.5. c.2.) he therefore placeth in this out of Jos. 19.33. it may appear by Junius his with con-Journal 1.5. c.2.) he therefore placeth in this out of 10.19.33. It may appear by Junius his tradiner the waters of Merom; because the Translation, that neither are to be taken for their of their Kings that joyned with Jabin against Josua, Cities: for the former he readeth Mediana, being which incamped at the waters of Merom, Jos. and for the later Quercetum. The City of made of the other 11.5, are by Josephus said to have encamped (1) Nephthalim, which they make the native by readat the City Berotha in Galilee, not far from place of Tobic, and Naajon neer unto it, they polition Cedeja juperiour, which is also in Galilee: all fetch out of the Vulgar Translation, Teb 7.7. of which which may be true of that Berotha of which but in the Greek Text there is no fign, nei- Karthen

1943, 9. • Sand, 3. Math. 10. Add 11. Math. 5.67. f 76(1.9.38)
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6. V.

THE TRIBE OF ZABULON.

F Zabulon, or Zebulon, another of the Jons of Jacob by Leasthere were mustered at Mount Sinai, 57400. able men, besides women, children, and aged unable persons: all which dying in the Defarts, there entred the Holy Land of their issues 65000 fit to bear arms: who inhabited that part of Canaan, from Asher to the River Chison South-ward, and from the Sea of Galilee to the Mediteran East and West.

be of Cana ded it felf against Zabulon. Then Bersabe, but in Nephtalim. which standeth in the partition of the upper and nether Galilee, fortified by Josephus aby Josua.

e The Hevites: then Noa, or rather Neha, of which Jos. (for which 19. 13. Then Dothan, or Dothain, where Jorians, struck them all blind.

expounds, que gyrai: Tunius the Levites. The last of the Cities on the two thousand prisoners. North border of Zabulon is Bethfaida, one of

others, received the same Curse of threatned miseries.as. Wo be unto thee Bethsaida. Oc.

Alongst the West border of Galilee, towards the South from Bethfaida, was the strong Castle of Magdalum, the habitation of Mary Magdalen, not long fince standing,

And beyond it the strong and high seated City of Jotapata, fortified by Josephus in the Roman war: but in the end, after a long fiege, furprifed by Vespatian, who flaughtered many thousand of the Citizens, and held 1200. prisoners, whereof Josephus the Historian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that Sea, and the Lake of Genezzareth, within . The The Cities within this Tribe which border Afber, are Sicaminum on the Sea shore; of afterward the Galilean Sea allo changed Chinish which logeph. Ant. 13.c. 19. Debbaset, of which name, and was called the Sea of the City Ti-ted best * Jos. 12. 10, 19. 11. Jekonam, or Jockneham (whose King berias, so named in the honour of Tiberins lakeline 21. "This does not be seen and the City was given Cafar; it was one of the ten Cities, and the towning to the Levites:) and Gaba, after called the Metropolis of the Region Decapolitan, and India City of Horsemen, of a Regiment there gar- the greatest and last of the lower Galilee, True to rison'd by Herod. Then the City which bea- From hence our Saviour called Matthew Persun, bel. 22. e Judg. 12. reth the name of Zabulon, or the city of men, from the Toll or Custom-house, to be an A Benshit. exceeding ancient and magnificent, (b) burnt postle; and neer unto it raised the daughter coder, to the ground by Cestius, Lietvenant of the of Jairus from death: it was built (as Josephus and the Ganalis in Roman Army, Adricomius makes it the birth- reports) by Herod the Tetrach, the brother add in City of (c) Elon Judge of Ifrael, because he is of Philip, in the beginning of the raign of Ti-mind, called Zabulonita: not marking that in the berius Cafar, in the most fruitful part of Ga foreign fame place, he is faid to be buried at Ajalon. lilee; but in a ground full of sepulchres; Quamenton To the East of this City of Zabulon is Ca- juxta nostras leges (faith he) ad septem dies im Lakeni in calilee, teth, of which Jos. 19. 15. on the border of purus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet; Commy, Asher: and beyond it the lesser (d) Cana of Whereas by our law he should be seven daies hall here doubted Galilee, where Christ converted water into held as unclean, who inhabited in such a place: the wine: the native City of Nathaniel, and, as it by which words, and by the whole place of 1834. is thought of Simon Zelotes. Beyond it begin Josephus it appears, that this Tiberius is not Mat. 10.4 the Mountains of Zabulon: and then the City (as some have thought) the same as the old Ministra of Cethron (in Zeigler, Ghiltron) which defen- Cinnereth, which was feated, not in Zabulon, 24,

Neer unto this Tiberias, at Emaus, there were hot baths, where Vespatian the Empegainst the Romans. Not far from hence stand- rour encamped against Tiberias. More into eth Shimron of Meron, whose King was flain the Land toward the South-west, is Bethulia, feated on a very high hill, and of great Then Damna, or Dimna, a City of the Le- strength, famous by the story of Helefernes and Judith, such as it is. Neer which standeth Bethleem of Zabulon: and adjoyning unto it the vulgar feph found his brethren feeding their flocks: Capharath, fortified by Josephus against the man then, fol. the same wherein Elizeas, besieged by the Sy- Romans: and Japha, an exceeding strong place afterward forced by Titus: who in the Beyond it, towards the East, they imagine | entrance, and afterward in fury slew 15000 (e) Amthar, or Amathar: then Remmon of of the Citizens; and carried away above 11

On the South fide are the Cities of Cantha Than word going before the ten Cities of Decapolis, ficituate on the in, a read, Galilean Sea, and watered by the springs of in his own life, then Jasse, according to Adri upon Rimme. Capharnaum, the native City of the Apostles, chomius (of which fos. 19112.) for he thinks 1911 Peter, Andrew, and Philip. Herein Christ did that it is not that Japha of which we spake with Mu 8.11 many miracles, but these people being no but now out of Josephus. Jideala, of which Markt. 6. Lake 4.10 less incredulous than the Capharnaims, and Jos. 15. Hierome calls it Jadela: under it the

Westward, Legio, (afterward a Bishops seat) | leth into the Sea of Galilee by Magdalum: sephorum according to Brochard: which af Jordanis parvus, which runneth from the called Diocafarea, the city of Joachim and in the bounds of Zabulon: it endeth in the Anna, the Parents of the Virgin Mary ; it was Sea of Galilee. signam called by Herod the Tetrarch, and by him, as Josephus speaks, made the head and defence of Galilee: in another place he faith, Urbium Galilearum maxime Sephoris & Tiberias. This Sephoris greatly vexed Vefpasian ere he wanit. Herod Antipas, when he made it the Regal feat of the nether Galilee, and furrounded it with a strong wall, called it Autocalled Zathet.

the city of Mary the Mother of Christ; in Land 64300. which he himself was conceived: it standeth the uttermost of Zabulon.

renowned, by the apparition of Moses and mainder for slaves and bond-men. Elias: and by the Transfiguration of Christ Chappel.

and the City Belina, in ancient times exceed- and the third is a branch of a river rifing out ing strong, remembred Judith 7.3. other- of the Fountains of Caphernaum, which salwife Chelma. Between Legio and Nazeret is leth also into the same Sea, and near Magdathe City Saffa, or Saffra, the birth-city of lum; which Torrent they call Dotham, from See Lassas and Lohn: Then the name of the city from which it reflect, has in mendia, Zebedaus, Alphaus, James and John: Then the name of the city, from which it passeth oneties sephoris, or Sephora, according to Josephus: Eastward to Bethsaida, and so joyning with 79,19.14. terward, faith Hegessippus, and Hierome, was Valley of Jephthael, which Josua reckoneth

> 6. VI. THE TRIBE OF ISSACHAR.

He next adjoyning Territory to Zabu-I lon, to the South and Southwest, was Islachar, who inhabited a part of the nether cratorida, which is as much to fay as Imperial, Galilee, within Jordan: of whom there were faith Josephus; and it is now but a Castle increased in Egypt, as appeared by their musters at mount Sinai, 54400. able and war-To the South-west of this sephoris, or Dio- like men, who leaving their bodies with the colarea, was that bleffed place of Nazareth, rest in the Defarts, there entred the Holy

The first city of this Tribe near the Sea of between Mount Tabor, and the Mediterran Galilee, was Tarichea, diftant from Tiberias Tarichea in Sea. In this city he abode chiefly four and eight English miles, or somewhat more; a sunon. twenty years, and was therefore called a city wherein the Jews (by the practice of a Nazarite, as the Christians afterward were for certain mutinous upstart, John the son of Lemany years. It was erected into an Archbi- vi)took arms against Josephus the Historian. shoprick in the following age. Near unto it then Governour of both Galilees. This city are the cities Buria (afterward well defended was first taken by Cassius, and 3000. Jews against the Turks) and Nahalal, of which Iof. | carried thence captive; and afterward with 19. 15. and Iudg. 1.30. where it is called Na- great difficulty by Vespasian, who entred it halol: and Iof. 21. 35. where it is a city of the by the Sea fide, having first beaten the Jews Leviter; near the Sea, adjoyning to the in a Sea-fight upon the Lake or Sea of Ga-River of Chison is Sarid, noted in Issua for lilee: he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages; faving that his fury being In this Territory of Zabulon there are di- quenched with the Rivers of blood running vers small Mountains: but Tabor is the most through every street, he reserved the re-

Next to Tarichea is placed Cession, or Ci- Fos 11.18. in the presence of Peter, James, and John . Spion of the Levites, and then Islachar, remem-vehich unto whom Mofes and Elias appeared; in bred in the first of Kings, c.4.v. 17. then Abes, is called memory whereof, on the top of the Moun- or Ebets, 10f. 19.20. and Remeth, of which Kedel. tain, the Empress Helen built a sumptuous 10f. 19. 21. otherwise Ramoth, 1 Chron. 6.37. Josua 19. or Iarmuth, 10s.21.19. this also was a city of I Sam. 3.19. In the chief River of Zabulon is Chifon, the Levites, from whose Territory the Moun- Kings which rifing out of Tabor, runneth with one tains of Gilboe take beginning and range 20.26. stream Eastward to the Sea of Galilee, and themselves to the Mediterran sea, and to two places with another stream Westward into the wards the West as far as the City of Iezrael, Junius great Sea. This River of chison where it rifeth, and so far as it runneth Southward, is Bethpheses, or Bethpasses, according to Zeigler, ser, accordcalled chedumim, or Cadumim: and for mine and Enadda, or Hen-chadda, near which Saul ing to Jol. own opinion, I take it to be the same which slew himself: under those, Aphec, or Apheca, the first he Ptolomy calleth chorfeus: though others di- which Adrichomius placeth in Ifachar: be-placeth in 1914. flinguish them, and set Chorseus by Casaria tween which and Suna, he saith, that the out of Palestine. There is a second Torrent or Brook Philistins incamped against Israel, and after Jos. 15. that rifeth in the Hills of Bethulia, and fal- ward against Saul: a Land thirsty of blood,

for herein also, saith he, the Syrians with two and thirty Reguli affifting Benhadad, incountered Achab, and were overthrown and flaughtered: to whom the King of Ifrael made a most memorable answer, when Benhadad vaunted before the victory: which E King. 10. Was, Tell Benhadad, Let not him that girdeth his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off: meaning, that glory followed after victory, but ought not to precede it. In the year following, in the fields, as they fay, adjoyning to this city, was the same vain-glorious Syrian utterly broken and discomsited by Achab: and 100000. footmen of the Aramites, or Syrians, flain: before which overthrow the fervants and counsellors of Benhadad (in derision of the God of Israel) told him, That the Gods of Israel were Gods of the Mountains: and therefore if they fought with them in the Plains, they should overcome them.

Under Aphec towards the Sea, they fet the city of Eldrelon, in the Plains of Galilee; called also the great field of Esdrelon, and 73. Tof. 11.19. Cafaloth, of which I Mac. 9.2. Anem, or Hen-Gannim, of the Levites, and Scelima, or Shabatsima, the West border of Islachar, of which Iof. 19.22. From hence ranging the Sea coast, there is found the Castle of Pilgrims:a strong Castle, invironed with the Sea, sometime the storehouse and Magazine of the christians, and built by the Earl of Saint Giles, or Tolouse.

> From the Castle of Pilgrims, the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost shore beginneth Mount Carmel, not far from the River chifon, where Elijah affembled all the Prophets and Priests of Baal, and prayed King Achab, and the people assembled, to make trial whether the God of Israel, or the Idol of Baal were to be worshipped, by laying a facrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Priests of Baal prayed, and cut their own flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while Elijab in derision told them, that their God mas either in pursuit of his enemies, not at leisure, or perchance asleep, &c. but at the prayer of Elijah the fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many vesfels of water thereon: by which miracle the people incensed, flew all those Idolaters on the banks of Chifon adjoyning.

At the foot of this Mountain to the North, standeth Caiphas, built, as they say, by Caiphas the high Priest. It is also known by the as they were numbred at Mount Sinai name of Porsina, and Porphyria, sometime a 32200. able men: all which being consumed

from the Sea-coast towards Tiberias, by the banks of chison, there are found the city of Hapharaim, or Aphraim, and the Castles of Mezra and Saba: of which Brochard and Breidenbach: and then Naim on the River Chison: a beautiful city while it stood, in the Gates whereof Christ raised from death the Like, widows onely fon.

Then Seon or Shion, named Iof. 19. between the two Hills of Hermon, in Ifachar: beyond it standeth Endor, famous by reason of the Inchantress that undertook to raiseup the body of Samuel at the instigation of Saul.

Beyond it stands Anaharath and Rabbith. named Iof. 19. v. 19,20. Then Dabarath, as it is named, Iof. 21. 28. or Dobratha, as it is named. 1 Chron. 6.71. This city (which stretcheth it felf over chifon) was a city of refuge belonging to the Levites.

Next to Dabarath is Arbela fituate, near the Caves of those two Theeves which so greatly molested Galilee in Herods time, It joyneth on one side to the Mountain of Isa-Maggeddo: in the border whereof are the char, or Hermon, and on the other to the ruines of Aphec to be seen, saith Brochard, and Valley of Jesrael: which Valley continueth it Company 1 chron. 6. Breidenbach. After these are the cities of self from Bethsan, or Scythopolis, the East bor Magnat der of *Ifachar*, even to the *Mediterran* Sea: 1 Met. 11 49, not two parts whereof are inclosed by the Moun-Holde tains of Gilboe on the South, and by Hermon for Hart and the River chifen on the North. In these I Man. 5. *Plains Gideon overthrew the Midianites, 13.09 and herein, they think, Saul fought against 15an, 1 the Philistims, Achab against the Syrians, and 1 King 10 the Tartars against the Saracens.

6. VII. THE HALF OF THE TRIBE OF MANASSE.

||. I. Of the bounds of this half Tribe: and of Soythopolis, Salem, Therfa, and others.

He next Tribe which joyneth it felf to Ifachar towards the South, is the half of Manasse, on the West side of Jordan. Manasjes was the first begotten of Joseph, the eleventh fon of Jacob. His mother was an Egyptian the daughter of Putiphar Priest and Prince of Heliopolis: which Manaffes, with his brother Ephraim, the grand-children of Jacob, were by adoption numbred amongst the fons of Jacob, and made up the number of the twelve Patriarchs.

Of Manasse there were increased in Egipt, Suffragane Bishops seat. Returning again in the Desarts, there entred of their issues, 52700. bearing arms. The Territory which of Scripture, Gen. 13. 18. do not confirm,

by the Greeks.

strained the Jews to fight against their own it hath no probability. Nation and kinred, by whose hands when

ligion flourished in those parts, an Archbi- lomy past by the Villages of the Jews, he fliop, who had nine other Bishops of his slew all their women, and caused the young Dioces, numbred by Tyrius, in his 14. Book | children to be sod in great Caldrons, that the and 12. Chapter: but the same was after rest of the Iens might thereby think that the ward translated to Nazareth. The later tra- Egyptians were grown to be men-eaters, and vellers in those parts affirm, that there is strike them with the greater terror. daily taken out among the rubble and the poor and desolate Village.

From Beth-san keeping the way by Jorwhich City the ancient Rabbines, faith Hierome, do not find to be the same with Hierufalem: there being in the time of Hierome hanged, and their City given to the Levites, derate of and fince, a town of that name, near Scytho-

fell on this one half of Manafe, was bounded where the Vulgar readeth transvitque in by Jordan on the East, and Dora upon the Salem urbem Sichemorum (for which others mediterran Sea on the West, Jest act on the read venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum, North, and Machmata is the South border. making the word shalem not to be a proper The first and principal City which stood name, but an adjective) yet the place John in this Territory was Bethfan, fometime Nyfa, 3. 13. where it is faid, that John was baptifaith Pliny, built by Liber Pater, in honour zing in Enon near Salem, may fomewhat of his Nurse there buried, of the same name, strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unwhich solinus confirms. Afterward when the likely that this salem of which S. John speaksephians invaded Afta the less, and piere't eth, is but contracted of Shahalim, of which into the South, to the uttermost of Cwlessia, in the Tribe of Benjamin, 1 Sam. 9.4. This they built this City a-new, and very magni- word Junius maketh to be the plural of ficent: and it had thereupon the name of Shuhal: of which we read, I Sam 13.17. for senhopolis, or the City of senthians, given as for that which is added out of Cantieles 6.12. of Shulammitis, as if it had been as Thele barbarous Northern people con-much as a Woman of this Salem near Anon-

Not far from thence where they place This City they had obtained victory, they themselves Salem, they find Bezeeth the City of Adonibe Bezeth, by fet on the Jers which served them, and slew zee, Josephus calls it Bala: here it was that Judg 1.3? them all, stephanus makes it the utmost to- Saul allembled the strength of Israel and cometh to wards the South of Culospria: and Strabo Juda, to the number of 330000. when he have been in Juda. joyns it to Galilee. It is scatted between Jor- meant to relieve Jabesh Gilead, against Naash Josephant. dan and the Hills of Gilboe, in aulone ad the Ammonite: who would give them no o-66.5 montes acrabitena, faith Zeigler. But I find it in ther conditions of peace, than to suffer their the East part of the Valley of Jefrael near right eyes to be thrust out. Near Bezech is Jordan: after that Jordan strengtheneth it the City of Bethbera, or rather Beth-bara, of felf again into a River, leaving the Sea, or which Judg. 7.24 in the story of Gideon : and Lake Genezareth. Notwithstanding Monta- then Ephra, or Hopbra, wherein Gideon inhanus describes it far to the West, and towards | bited: in the border whereof stood an Althe Mediterran Sea, near Endor, contrary to tar confecrated to Baal, which he pulled Stella, Laicstan, Adrichome, and all other the down and defaced; and near it that stone, best Authors. This City was the greatest of on which Abimelech the Bastard slew his 70. all those of Decapolis: but the children of brothers; a Heathenish cruelty, practised by Manaffe could not expel the Inhabitants the Turk to this day: and not far hence, bethereof: and therefore called it Sane, an tween the Village of Afophon and Jordan, enemy, or Beth-san, the house of an enemy. Ptolomeus Lathurus overthrew Alexander Fol. 1.13.e. Over the walls of this Beth-fan the Phili- King of the Jews, and flaughtered, as Josephus 11. and fins hung the body of saul, and his fons numbereth them, 3000, but according to flain at Gilboe. It had, while the Christian re- Timagenes 50000. after which victory, as Pto-

Towards the West and on the border of . This A. ruines of that City, goodly pillers, and other Islachar, they place the Cities of *Aner of per Junian picces of excellent Marble, which wirness the Levites, and Abel Mebola, which Junius, 1 che forth the stately buildings, and magnificence Judg.7.22. placeth in Ephraim: it was the ha-makes to which it had in elder times, but it is now a bitation of Helifans the Prophet, numbred with Tabaamong those places, I Reg. 4.12. which were nac, of dun, they find an ancient City called salem, which City the ancient Rabbing. They will be salem, which City the ancient Rabbing. They will be salem, whose charge also Tabanac belonged, a place Hierone of great strength, which at the first refisted names it Josua, though their King was afterward the Confe-

In the body of this Territory of Manaffe, Gen. 1417; polis before remembred, which if the place but somewhat nearer Jordan than to the Me- 30, 12-17

diterran Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, he had flain Joram, he was wounded with Therfa, whose King was one of these that Jo- the shot of an arrow, of which wound he ditheir Regal feat, till fuch time as Samaria calls this City of Gaber, Gur. was built. From hence the wife of Jeroboam Estate went to Achia to enquire of her fons health: good King Josias was flain by Necko King of who knowing her, though the were difgui-

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Eufeb in

fed, told her of her fons death. which name there are both in Egypt and whom Josius thought to resist in his passage. Greece, of great fame: in the affault of the It was afterward called Maximianoplin. Tower of this Town, whereinto the Citizens retired, the Bastard Abimelec was wounded by a weighty story, thrown by a woman tures; whose King was slain among the rest 1910a. over the wall, who despairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to flay him out- long time against Mianasse. The River which right, because it should not be said that he passeth by the Town, may perhaps be the Judge 3, perished by the stroke of a woman. But o-

Neapelis. The third is Acrabata, of which the Territhe ten Toparchies, or governments in Judas) Her Mac, for which Hierome, I Mac.5. reads Arabathena: but in the Greek it is Acrabatine: Isidore gest Territories of all Palastine belonging to | make a great confluence of waters in this wars, c. 11. 25, 28. and elsewhere.

Toparchy, was, that the first was taken for a Province, and the other for a City with some leffer Territory adjoyning; and a Terrarch is the fame with Prajes in Latine, and Prefident in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdom; and thereof io called. Pliny nameth seventeen Tetrarchies in Syria: Kingdom of Ireland to this day, Lemfter, Vilter. Connath, and Munfter.

To the South-west of Acrabata they place the Cities of Balaam, or Bilbam, and Getbremmon of the Levites: but Junius out of Jos. 21. 25.and 1 Chron.6.70. gathers that these two are but one; and that Jibleham, Jof. 16. 11. is another name of the fame City.

Then is Jezael a Regal City, fet at the foot of the Mountains of Gilboe, towards the South-west: herein Jezabel, by a false accusation, caused Naboth to be stoned, to the end the might possess his Vineyard adjoyning to of Cesaria Palastina, and some other Towns. the City, which Naboth refuled to fell, because it was his inheritance from his father.

Joram also was cast unburied into the same field: for which his mother Jezabel murthered Naboth.

which they call Gaber: in whose ascent as and toward Egypt, between this City and

for flow: which the Kings of Ifrael used for ed at Maggeddo adjoyning. The Scripture

Then Adadremmon, near unto which the Egypt in a war unadvisedly undertaken, For Necho marched towards Affria against the The second was Thebes near Samaria, of King thereof, by the commandment of God:

A neighbour City to Adadremmon was by Josua: yet they defended their City for a fame which Ptolomy calleth Chorfeus: and nor thers for this City in Ephraim near Sichem, or that of which we have spoken in Zabulon, For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that have described the tory adjoyning is called Acrabatena, (one of Holy Land, delineate no fuch River. Moore only fets it down in his Geography of the twelve Tribes: but the River which paffeth by Maggeddo. he understandeth to be but a calls it Agrabat. This City had one of the lar- | branch, falling thereinto. Laicftan and Schrot the Governour thereof. Josephus remembreth place, agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth it often, as in his fecond book of the Jews of Judges: Then fought the Kings of Canaanin Tanaac by the waters of Maggeddo. But thele The difference between a Tetrarchy and a Authors, and with them Stella, give it no other name than the Torrent fo called.

But seeing that ancient Cosmographers stretch out the bounds of Phanicia even to sebafte, or Samaria; and Strabo far beyond it suddit on the Sea-coast: And Josephus calls Cafaria Toppes Palastina, a City of Phanicia: yea, Laurentin (13) Corvinus extendeth Phænicia as far as Geza: the Holy Land had four, and so hath the seeing also Ptolomy sets down Chorseus for the partition of Phanicia and Judaa, this river running East and West parallel with Samaria: it is very probable that this Torrent called Maggeddo, after the name of the City which it watereth, is the same which Ptolomy in his fourth Table of Asia, calleth Chorseus. The later travellers of the Holy Land call Maggeddo Subimbre at this day.

| II.

From Maggeddo toward the West, and near the Mediterran Sea, was that glorions City of Casaria Palastina: first, the Tower of Straton: the same which Pliny calls Apollo-Toward the Sea from Jezael is the City nia: though Ptolomy fets Apollonia elsewhere, Ahaziah King of Juda fled from Jehu, when Joppe, to which Vespasian gave the name of

Flavia Colonia. It was by Herod re-built, who Naphoth Dor, as fome read, Jof. 1. 2. fo called eth belief, I have added Josephus own words spoken already. of this work, which are thefe: Hane locorum Into this City, for the strength thereof, Try-13. in commoditatem correcturus, cerculum por phon fled from Antiochus the fon of Deineprofundum, prograndia saxa demisit: quorum horse: the same persidious villain that repleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, ceived 200. talents for the ranfom of Jonalatitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine novem- than Macchabæus (whom he had taken by pedali: fuerunt quædam etiam majora, mino- treachery) and then flew him: and after him ra alias; To mend this inconvenience of place flew his own Master, usurping for a while the (faith Josephus) he compast in a Bay wherein Kingdom of Syria. It had also a Bishops feat a great Fleet might well ride: and let down of the Diocess of Cesaria. great flones twenty fadome deep: whereof some From Cesaria towards the South, they Gal Tyr.de

to death, faith Josephus.

To the North of Cesaria standeth Bora, or

therein laboured to exceed all the works in (faith Adrichomius) because it joyneth to that part of the world. For befides the edi-the Sea, whose King was flain by Josius. But fices, which he reared within the Walls, of Junius, for in Naphoth Dor, reads in traditions cut and polith't marbles, the Theater and Am- Dor: and so the Vulgar, in regionibus Dor. phitheater, from whence he might look over although 1 Reg. 4.11. for the like speech in the Seas far away, with the high and stately the Hebrew it readeth omnis Nephath Dor: Towers and Gates: he forced a Harborow of The Septuagint in the place of Josua call it great capacity, being in former times but an Nephith-Dor, and in the other of the Kings, open Bay: and the wind blowing from the Nepha-Dor: but the true name by other Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had places (as Jos. 12.23. Judg. 1.27.) may feem no other hope, but in the strength of their to be Dor. It was a strong and powerful Cables and Anchors. This work he per- City, and the fourth in account of those formed with such charge and labour, as the twelve Principalities, or Sitarchies, which like of that hath not been found in any Solomon erected. Junius upon Macc. 15. 11. Kingdom, nor in any age: which, because the placeth this between the Hill Carmel, and Materials were fetcht from far, and the the mouth of the river Cherseus: for so some weight of the stones was such, as it exceed- name the river Chorseus, of which we have

tus circumduxit, quantum putaret magna classi trius, where he was by the same Antiochus Mu. 1.13, recipiende sufficere: & in viginti ulnarum besieged with 12000. foot-men, and 8000.

were fffty foot long, eighteen foot broad, and place the Cities of Caphernaum, Gabe, and bell fact, nine foot thick: and some bigger, some lesser. Galgal: for besides that Capharnaum famous l. 10. c. 6. To this he added an arm or cawfie of two in the Evangelists, they find in these parts near hundred foot long, to break the waves: the the West Sca, another of the same name. Of rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with Gabe, Hierome in locis Hebraicis. The samous divers stately Towers thereon builded : of Galgal, or Gilgal, was in Benjamin : but this which the most magnificent he called Drusus, Gilgal, they say, it was whose King was slain after the name of Drusus the son in law of by Josua.

Casar: in whose honour he intituled the City Then Antipatris, so called of Herod, in hoit self, casaria of Palastine: all which he per- nour of his Father; but in the time of the formed in twelve years time. It was the first Macchabees, it was called Capharsalama: in of the Eastern Cities that received a Bishop: the fields whereof Judas Macchabaus over-Mac. 17:31 afterward erected into an Archbishoprick, threw a part of the Army of Nicanor, Lievtean Army drawn into Judeaby a traiterous Jew, called Alcimus: who S. Hierome nameth Theophilus, Eusebius, contended for the Priest-hood, first under Acacius, Euzorus, and Galasius, to have been Bacchides, and then under Nicanor. To this Bilhops thereof. In this City was Gornelius was Saint Paul carried prisoner from Hieruthe Centurion baptised by Saint Peter: and salem, conducted by 470. souldiers, to defend herein dwelt Philip the Apostle. S. Paul was him from the sury of the Jews. In afterherein two years prisoner, under the President times the Army of Godfrey of Bullion at-Felix, unto the time and government of Por-tempted it in vain: yet was it taken by cius Festus: by whom making his appeal, he was sent to Cesar. Here, when Herod Agrippa with a Bishops seat, but it is now a poor was passing on to celebrate the Quinquenna- Village, called Ashr, saith Brochard. Near lia, taking delight to be called a god by his unto this City the Prophet Jonas was flatterers, he was stricken with an Angel unthree dayes preserved in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from Antipatris and Cafa-

ried with them the Books of Moses. Neer the Spirit of Prophecy also.

ria standeth Narbata, whereof the Territory unto it is the Mountain of Abdia, the Stetaheth name; which Cestius the Roman wa- ward of King Achab; wherein he hid an hunfted with fire and fword, because the Jews dred Prophets, and fed them: after which which dwelt at Cafaria fled thence, and car- he himself is faid to have obtained from God



CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdom of Phænicia.

§. I.

The bounds and chief Cities, and Founders, and Name of this Kingdom: and of the invention of Letters ascribed to them.

to the South part of Anti-libanus; I have in it these famous Maritimate Cities (belides therefore gathered a brief of those Kings all those of the Islands) to wit, Aradus, Orwhich have governed therein: at least to thosia, Tripolis, Botrys, Byblus, Berytus, Sidon. many of them as time (which devoureth all Tyre, Ptolomais (or Acon) Dora, and Calaria things) hath left to polierity: and that the Palestina: and by reason of the many Ports rest perished, it is not strange: seeing so and goodly Sea-towns, it anciently commany Volumes of excellent learning in fo manded the Trades of the Eastern world: long a race and revolution, and in so many and they were absolute Kings of the Medichanges of Estates, and Conquest of Heathen verran Sea. Princes have been torn, cast away, or otherwife confumed.

the South parts, are very uncertain: but all people were called Zidonians; the same Cosmographers do in effect agree, that it takes I state continuing even unto Josua's time. For beginning from the North, where that part till then, it is probable that there was but of syria, which is called Caliotis, ends: most one King of all that Region; afterward calof them bounding it by Orthofia, to the North led Phanicia: which Procopius also confirmof Tripolis, Ptolomy makes it a little larger, as eth in his fecond Book of Vandals mars. But Prol. 4.14b, reaching from the River Eleuthern: that falls in process of time the City of Tyre adjoyninto the Sea at the Island of Aradus, some- ing, became the more magnificent : yet, acwhat to the North of Orthofia, and stretching cording to the Prophet, it was but a daugh terran Sea, as far as the River of Chorleus; peopled. which scems to be that which the Jews call But after the death of Moses, and while Plin.1.5. the Torrent, or River of Maggeddo. Pliny ex- Josua vet governed Israel, Agenor an Egyptian tends it further, and comprehends Joppe of Thebes, or a Phanician bred in Egypt, came within it: Corvinus and Budaus, Joppe and thence with his fons Cadmus, Phenix, Cyrus, Gaza. Phenicia apud prifeos appellata (faith and Cilix, (fay Cedrenus and Curtius) and Budaus) que nunc Palastina Syria dicitur; It built and possest the Cities of Tyre and Tir was called Phanicia of old (faith he) which don: to wit, the new Tyrus, and brought into now is called Palastina of Syria.

Phanicia all the Sea-fide of Judaa, and Pale: Cadmus in his pursuit after his fifter Europa,

Ecause these five Tribes, of Affer, | Egypt. On the contrary, Diodorus Sienlus fol-Nephtalim, Zabulon, Islachar, and the deth it up in Cwlofyria, which he boundeth half of Manaffe, Possest the better not. But for my felf, I take a middle course. part of that ancient Kingdom of and like best of Ptolomies description, who Phanicia, to wit, of fo much as lay was feldom deceived in his own art. It had

The ancient Regal Seat of those Princes was Zidon, built by Zidon the first son of Ca-The limits of this Kingdom, as touching naan: and the people then subject to that from thence alongst the coast of the Mediter of Zidon, and by them first built, and story

Phanicia (fo called after the name of his fe-Strab. 1.16. Strabo comprehends in this Country of cond fon) the use of Letters : which also fina, even unto Pelusium, the first Port of taught the Grecians. For Taurus King of Crete, when he surprised Tyre, had stola her thence: that, and by the slaughter of so many of the eth in these Verses.

Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque popoleit, Implevita; mero pateram: quam Belus & omnes and Confederates. A Belo foliti.

To flow with wine. This Belus us'd of old, And all of Belus Line.

at once with Josua. Now that Agenor retur- in Asia. ned about the same time into the Territory of Zidon, I cannot doubt: neither doldeny, sis out of Jesephus, who conceives that Tyre

he by Nation an Egyptian, yet it is very like- necessary. ly that either he came to fave his own Ter- The Ethiopians affirm that Atlas, Orion, Orritory; or otherwise to defend the coast of pheus, Linus, Hercules, Prometheus, Cadmus,

of which the Poets devised the fable of Ju- male children at the same time, could not piters transformation into a Bull, by whom hinder the Hebrews from invading Canaan that ficalth was also supposed to be made. by land: which also they knew had so many Tomponius Sabinus makes Belus the first King powerful Nations to defend it : the Defarts of Phanicia; and finds Cadmus his Successor, inter-jacent, and the strong Edomites, Moawhom he calleth his grand-child: and it bites, Amorites, and Ammonites their bordefeemeth that Belns was the father of Agenor, rers: yet Egypt having such Vessels or Ships, and not Neptune: because the successours of or Gallies, as were then in use, did not in Dido held that name alwaies in reverence, all probability neglect to garrifon the Seamaking it a part of their own, as Afdrubal, coast, or assist Agenor with such forces as they Hannibal: whose memory Virgil also touch- had to spare ; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the Philistims, which held the shores of Canaan next adjoyning unto them, were their Friends

Now, as it appeareth by the course of the story, those Cities of Phanicia, which Agenor The Queen anon commands the weighty was faid to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended against Josua, and against chap. 19. (Weighty with precious stones and massie the Tribes after him, as Zidon, Sor, or Tyre, 19, by Josua called the strong City Accho, afterward Ptolomais, Achzib, and Dor) were all that Phænicia had in those daies.

That the Kings of Phanicia were mighty; Whether this Belus were father or grand- especially by Sea, it appears, first by their father to Agenor, the matter is not great. But defence against Ifrael: secondly, by this, that it seems to me by comparing of times, that David and Solomon could not master them, Belus was Ancestor to these Phanicians, and but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that preceded Agenor. For were Belus, or Jupiter one of their Cities, though they were then Relus, the fon of Neptune by Lybia the daugh- but Reguli, defended it folf 13. years against ter of Epaphus, or were he the son of Thele- a King of Kings, Nebuchadonosor: and that gonus, according to Eusebius; yet it is agreed Alexander the great (who being made vithat Cecrops then ruled in Attica: and in the Ctorious by the providence of God, seemed end of Cecrops time, faith Saint Augustine, unresistable) spent more time in the recovery Moses left Egypt: Agenors succession living of Tyre, than in the conquest of all the Cities

but that he gave that Region the name of was founded by Tyrus the son of Japhet. And Phenicia, in honour of his son. But instead for the Region it self, though Califtenes deof the building of Tyre and Zidon, it is pro rive it, ab arbore dailylorum; and the Greeks bable that he repaired and fortified both: from the word Phonos, of flaughter, because and therefore was called a Founder, as Sethe Phenicians flew all that came on their miramis and Nebuchodonofor were of Babylon. coasts; yet for my self, I take it that Phanix For be it true, that Agenor was of the same the son of Agenor gave it that name. But that Nation, and brought up in Egypt: where he either Agenor in Phanicia, or Cadmus his for learnt the use of Letters (Egypt flourished in in Greece, were the Inventors of Letters, it all kind of learning in Moser time) or were is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute un-

Canaan from the Israelites: who were by and others, had from them the first light of Moses led out of Egypt, to the great loss and all those Arts, Sciences, and civil Policies, dishonour of that Nation: and by Joshua which they afterwards profest, and taught conducted over Jordan, to conquer and posothers: and that Pythagoras himself was insoft the Control of the less the Canaanites Land. For though the E- structed by the Lybians: to wit, from the Spitians, by reason of the loss which they received by the hand of God in the Red Sea, those which inhabited neerer the out-let of and by the ten plagues cast on them before Nilus, as they say, borrowed their Divinity

then barbarous, received Civility. Again, when it was first discovered, there was found the Ebenicians challenge this invention of written Books after the manner of those Letters and of Learning: acknowledging no- Hieroglyphicks, anciently used by the Egyptithing from the Egyptians at all; neither do ans, and other Nations: and so had those they allow that Agenor and his fons were Africans; whence Lucan,

Luca. 15. Phoenices primi (fama si creditur) aust Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

> Phanicians fielt (if fame may credit have) In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that Cadmus was the fon of Agenor, and was a Phenician, and not an Egyptian, it appeareth by that answer made by Zeno; when he in a kind of reproach was called a Stranger, and not a Phonician.

Athen t. Si patria oft Phoenix quid tum? nam Cadmus Dipxof.

Phoenix 5 cui debet Gracia docta libros.

If a Phanician born I am, what then? Cadmus was so: to whom Greece owes The Books of learned men.

Joseph.

ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of Tyre, Josephus the Historian confirms | governed Phanicia. a great part of his Antiquities. The Thracians flourished among them: when Atlas lived of Tyre of Edom &c. as of several Kings. in Mauritania: Nilus and Vulean in Egypt: and Ochus in Phanicia. Yea, some of the that incredible Army wherewith he invaded French do not blush to maintain, that the Greece, Tetramnestus ruled that part of Phaancient Gaules taught the Greeks the use of nicia about Tyre and Ziden: who commands Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we ed, as some Writers affirm, Xerxer Fleet, or raancient as those Gaules, and that they fent himself brought to his aid : for at this time it their fons hither to be by them instructed in feemeth, that the Phanicians were Tributaall kind of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on Moses, the same hath no probability were subjected by Nabuchodonosor; of whose at all; for he lived at fuch time as Learning and Arts flourished most, both in Egypt and Affyria, and he himself was brought up in all the learning of the Egyptians, from his in-

But true it is, that Letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the general Flood: either by Seth or Enos, or by whom elfe God knows; from whom all wisdom and understanding hath proceeded. And as the fante infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce

and Philosophy: and from them the Greeks, other knowledges: for even in Mexico. Americans a kind of Heraldry; and their Princes differing in Arms and Scutchions, like unto those used by the Kings and Nobility of other Nations, Jura naturalia communia, Juju & generalia &c. Natural laws are common. and general.

6. II.

of the Kings of Tyre.

T)Ut whatfoever remaineth of the Story Dand Kings of Phanicia (the books of Zeno, Sachoniatho, Mnaseas, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the fame is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, Tolephus and Theophilus Antiochenus.

Agenor lived at once with Josua, to whom fucceeded Phanix, of whom that part of Canaan, and so far towards the North as Aradus, took the name of Phanicia: what King Our of doubt the Phanicians were very succeeded Phanix it doth not appear; but at fuch time as the Grecians befieged Troy Phasis

In Hieremies time, and while Jehojakim again subscribe to none of these reports: ruled in Juda, the Tyrians had a King apart: but affirm constantly, that the great Zamolxis for Hieremy speaketh of the Kings of Zidon, Cant

In Xerxes time, and when he prepared know that our Bardes and Druides are as ther, as I suppose, those 200. Gallies, which ries to the Perfian: for being broken into Reguli, and petty Kings in Hieremies time, they conquests in the Chapter before remembred, Hieremie prophesied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeed: ed Tetramnestus, remembred by D. Siculus in his 14. Book.

Strato, his successor, and King of Zidon, Alexander Macedon threw out, because of his dependency upon Darius, and that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the Grecians. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memory, came between Tennes and strato. For there were confumed 130. years and somewhat more, between Xerxes and Alexander Macedon. And this man was with the other; as well in this as in many by Alexander effected the more unworthy of restitution, because (saith Curtius) he ra- Tyrians; but these Authors, though they ther submitted himself by the instigation of both pretend to write out of Menander Ehis subjects (who foresaw their utter ruine phessus, do in no sort agree in the times of by refiftance) than that he had any disposi- their reigns, nor in other particulars, tion thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians.

Of this Strato, Atheneus out of Theopompus ted certain games and prizes for women- Princes of the Tyrians. dancers, and fingers, whom he to this end beheld the most beautiful and lively among and delights. Of the strange accident about David complaineth, Pfal.83. the death of one Strato King of these coasts,

her own body, and died.

though otherwise a wise man, and exceeding ans. Hiram lived 53. years.

Popular or Aristocratical: and by times and Josephus. turns subjected to the Emperours of the East, Abdastartus the eldest son of Baleastartus, Tribe of Affer.

the Historian, as is said, had many things years. wherewith he garnished his Antiquities from Aftartus brother to Abdastartus, recovered the Tyrian Chronicles: and out of Josephus the Kingdom from this Usurper, and reigned and Theophilus Antiochenus, there may be ga- 12. years.

Abibalus is the first King of the Tyrians, that Josephus and Theophilus remember, whom Theophilus calls Abemalus : the same perreporteth, that he was a man of ill living, chance that the fon of Sirach mentioneth in and most voluptuous; also that he appoin- his forty and fixth Chapter, speaking of the co.46:

To this Abibalus, Suron succeeded, if he be Prap. E. chiefly invited, and affembled: that having not one and the fame with Abibalus, David was land the fame with Abibalus, David was land the fame with Abibalus and the fame with Abibalus (saith Eusebius out of Eupolemus) constrained them, he might recover them for his own use this Suron to pay him Tribute, of whom also

Hiram succeeded Suron, whom Josephus small. S. Hierome and others make mention: who calls Irom, and Theophilus sometime Hieronigas Join, having heard that the Persians were neer mus, sometimes Hieromus, but Tatian and Zohim with an Army too weighty for his naras, Chiram. He entred into a league with ftrength, and finding that he was to hope for David, and fent him Cedars, with Masons and little grace, because of his falling away from Carpenters, to perform his buildings in Hiethat Empire, and his adhearing to the Egyp- | rusalem, after he had beaten thence the Jebutians, he determining to kill himself, but fain- fites. The same was he that so greatly affished ting in the execution, his wife being present, solomon: whom he not only furnished with wrested the Sword out of his hand, and slew | Cedars, and other Materials towards the raihim: which done, she also therewith pierced sing of the Temple, and with great sums of money, but also he joyned with him in his After Alexander was possess of Zidon, and enterprize of the East India, and of Ophir: the other Strato driven thence, he gave the and furnished Solomon with Marriners and Kingdom to Hephastion to dispose of: who Pilots: the Tyrians being of all Nations the having received great entertainment of one most excellent Navigators: and lent him 120 of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, talents of gold. Of this Hiram there is not 2 Sam, 5. offered to recompence him therewith; and onely mention in divers places of Scripture, 2 Sam. 2, 5 willingly offered to establish him therein: but in Josephus in his Antiquities the 7. and Kin. 1. but this Citizen, no less vertuous than rich, 8. Chap. 2.& 3. in Theophilus his third book, 1 Chro. 14. desired Hephastion that this honour might in Tatianus his Oration against the Greeks : 2 cbr. 2.3, be conferred on some one of the blood and and in Sonaras, Tome the first. This Prince 9. race of their ancient Kings: and presented seemeth to be very mighty and magnificent, unto him Balonymus, whom Curtius calls Ab- he despised the 20. Towns which Solomon dolominus, Juline, Abdolomius, and Plutarch, offered him : he defended himself against Alynomus: who at the very hour that he was that victorious King David: and gave his called to this regal Estate, was with his own daughter in marriage to solomon, called the hands working in his Garden, fetting herbs Zidonian: for whose sake he was contented and roots, for his relief and sustenance: to worship Astaroth, the Idol of the Phanici-

Baleastartus, whom Theoph Antiochenus cal- I Kin. II. These were the ancient Kings of Zidon: leth Bazorus, succeeded Hiram King of Tyre Theophys. whose estate being afterwards changed into and Zidon; and reigned 7. years, according to

there remaineth no further memory of them, governed 9. yeares, and lived but 2c. years, than that which is formerly delivered in the according to Josephus: but after Theophilus he reigned 12. years, and lived 54. who be-The Kings of Tyre, who they were before ing flain by the four fons of his own Nurle, Samuels time, it doth not appear: Josephus the eldest of them held the Kingdom 12.

thered a descent of some twenty Kings of the Aftarimus, or Atharimus, after Theophilus, a Joseph 36 third Theophilus, a

9. years, and lived in all 54.

brother to the three former Kings, flew A- years together, ere he prevailed. starimus, and reigned 8. moneths, and lived 50. years.

fon to the third brother Aftarimus, who was | divers Judges, succeeding each other: Fifth the chief Priest of the Goddess Astarta, which by Ecnibalus, then by Chelbis, Abarus the was a dignity next unto the King, revenged Priest, Mittonus, and Gerastus, who held it athe death of his father, and flaughtered his mong them some 7. years, and odd moneths: Joseph 3: Uncle Phelles: and reigned 32. years; the after whom Balatorus commanded therein Though 12. Game which in the first of Kings changes in a seeking for the first of Kings changes in a seeking for the first of Kings changes in a seeking for the first of Kings changes in the first of Kings changes in the first of Kings changes in the first of the f fame which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is as a King for one year: after him Merbalus called Ethbaal, whose daughter Jezebel Achab sent from Babylon, 4. years: after him Irom.

Badezor, or Fazor, the son of Ithobalus, or reign Cyrus began to govern Persia. Ethbaal, brother to Jezebel, succeeded his Father, and reigned 6: years, and lived in

Mettimus succeeded Badezor, and reigned Theoph. 26. josph. but 9. years (faith Josephus) he had two fons, Theoph 9. Pygmalion and Earca, and two daughters, habiting along the Red Sca, mere the Fro-

Elifa and Anna. Premalion reigned after Mettimus his Father 40. years, and lived 56. In the seventh year of whose reign, Elisa sailed into Africa, and built Carthage, 143. years and 8. moneths after the Temple of Solomon: which by our

furname of Solomon. but in vain.

large in his 28. Chapter; out of whom it sea, in which there were three Islands, called

third brother, followed Aftartus, and ruled | was gathered, that this Prince died, or was flain in that long fiege of Nabuchodonofor: Phelles the fourth son of Baleastartus, and who surrounded and attempted Tyre 12.

Baal followed Ethobales, and reigned to vears a tributary, perchance, to Nabuchodono. Ithobalus (or Juthobalus, in Theophilus) for: for after his death, it was governed by fent thence also, 20. years. In the 17. of whose

6. III.

genitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phanicia the knowledge of the true God.

F the great mutations of this Kingdom and State of the Tyrians, mixed with a accompt was 289. years after Troy was ta- discourse of divers other Nations, there is ken, and 143. before Rome: and therefore one Bozius that hath written a Tract at that fiction by Virgil of Aneas and Dido must large, intituled, Derninis Gentium. And albe far out of square. For Pygmalion, covetous though the great and many alterations of Sicheus hisriches, who had married his found in this and other Cities, yea, in all fifter Elifa, flew him traiteroufly as he ac- things under heaven, have proceeded from companied him in hunting : or if we believe his ordinance, who onely is unchangeable, Justine and Virgil, at the Altar: whereupon and the same for ever; yet whereas the said Virgill, ... Elisa fearing to be dispoiled of her husbands | Bozins, inforcing here-hence, that the prospetreasure, fled by Sea into Africa, as afore- rity and ruine of the Tyrians were fruits of faid: whom when Pygmalion prepared to their embracing or forfaking the true Relipurfue, he was by his mothers tears, and by gion; to prove this his affertion, supposeth threats from the Oracle arrested. Barca ac- the Tyrians to have been Edumeans, descencompanied his fifter, and affifted her, in the ded from Esan, Jacobs brother: first, it can erection of Carthage: and from him sprang hardly be believed, that Tyre, when it flouthat noble Family of the Barca in Africa, of rished most in her ancient glory, was in any which race descended many samous Cap- fort truly devout and religious. But to this suit, of tains, and the great Hannibal. Servius inter- end(besides the proof which the Scriptures, s. c.) prets this name of Dido by Virago, because of give of Hirams good affection when solowon her man-like acts: others from Jedidia, a built the Temple) he brings many conjectural arguments; whereof the strongest is their Eluleus succeeded Pygmalion, and reigned pedigree and descent : it being likely inchis 36. years: the same that overthrew the opinion, that the posterity of Esau received Fleet of Salmanasser, in the Port of Tyre: from him by Tradition the Religion of Anotwithstanding which he continued his braham and Isaac. That the Tyrians were fiege before it on the Land fide five years, Edumeans, he endeavours to shew, partly by weak reasons, painfully strained from some After Eluleus, Ethobales governed the Ty- affinity of names, which are arguments of rians, who vaunted himself to be as wife as more delight than weight: partly by autho-Daniel: and that he knew all fecrets (faith rity. For Strabo, Herodotus, Pliny, and others, Exekiel) of whom the Prophet writeth at witness, that the Tyrians came from the Red

Torns, Aradus, and Sidon: which very names Such the City of Bildad the Sukite; as both

males of Edom: neither was it for their de- Egypt. votion to God, and good affection to Ifrael, that the Edomites were so ill intreated. It ble soever, are needless in so manifest a case. Joyning to Hus, the country of Job: and to Idolaters, and of the curled feed of Canaan,

(as he thinketh) were afterwards given to such Chorographers who best knew those the Cities of Phanicia. Confidering there- parts, do plainly flew, and the holy Text fore that all the coast of the Red Sea, was maketh manifest. For Job is said to have ex-(in his opinion) under the Edumeans: as ceeded in riches, and Solomon in wisdom; Elah and Estongabar; or under the Amale- all the people of the East; not the Inhabikites, who descended of Amales the Nephew tants of Mount Seir, which lay due South of Elan, whose chief City was Madian, so from Palestina. True it is, that Eliphase the called of Madian the son of Abraham by son of Esan had a son called Teman: but that Celbura, whose posterity did people it: the fathers were wont in those dayes to take consequence appears good (as he takes it) name of their sons, I no where find. And that the Tyrians originally were Edomites: Ismael also had a son called Thema: of whom differing little or nothing in Religion from it is not unlike, that Theman in the East had thechildren of Ifrael. Hereunto he adds, the name: for as much as in the 7. Chapter that Cadmus and his Companions brought of the Book of Judges, the Midianites Ananot into Greece the worship of Astartis, the lekites, and all they of the East are called Idol of the Sidonians. That the Parents of Ismaelites. And he that well confiders how Thales and Pherecydes being Phanicians, great and strong a Nation Amalec was, which themselves differed much in their Philoso-durst give battel to the Host of Is ael, wherephy from the Idolatrous customs of the in were 600000, able men, will hardly be-Greeks. That in Teman, a Town of the Edu-lieve that such a people were descended means, was an University, wherein, as may from one of Esan his grand-childrer For how appear by Eliphas the Temanite, who dispu- powerful and numberless must the forces of ted with Job, Religion was fincerely taught. all-Edom have been: if one Tribe of them, Such is the discourse of Bozius, who la- yea, one Family of a Tribe had been so bouring to prove one Paradox by another, great? furely Mount Seir and all the Regideserves in both very little credit. For nei- ons adjoyning could not have held them. ther doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were But we no where find that Edom had to do Edumeans, they were then of the true Reli- with Amalec, or affifted the Amalekites, when gion, or well affected to God and his people: Sanl went to root them out. For Amalec is neither is it true that they were Edumeans no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of at all. In what Religion Fian brought up his Edom: but a Nation of it felf, if diffinct children, it is no where found written; but from the Ismaelites. The like may be faid of that himself was a profane man, and disa-, Midian, that the Founder thereof being son vowed by God, the Scriptures in plain terms to Abraham by Cethura, doubtless was no express. That his Posterity were Idolaters | Edomite. And thus much in general for all the is directly proved in the 25. Chapter of the | Seigniory of the Red Sea coast, which Fozins fecond Book of Chronicles. That the Edo- | imagines the Edumans to have held: if the mites were perpetual enemies to the house Edomites in after-times held some places, as of Ifrael, fave only when David and some of Elan and Estongabar on the Red Sea shore, his race, Kings of Juda, held them in Subje- yet in Moses time, which was long after the ction, who knows not? or who is ignorant building of Tyre, they held them not. For of Davids unfriendly behaviour amongst Moses himself saith, that Israel did compass them, when first they were subdued? surely, all the borders of Edom: within which liit was not any argument of Kinred or Alli- mits had Midian stood, Moses must needs ance between Tyrus and Mount Seir, that have known it: because he had sojourned Hiram held fuch good correspondence with long in that Country: and there had left David; even then when Joah flew all the his wife and children, when he went into

feemeth that the piety and ancient wisdom For in the 83. Pfalm, Edom, Amalec, and Tyre, of Eliphaz the Themanite was then forgotten, are named as diffinct Nations: yea the Tyriand the Edumeans punished, for being such ans and sydonians being one people, as all as David in his own dayes found them. Al- good Authors shew, and Bozius himself conthough indeed the City of Teman whence fesseth, were Canaanites, as appears, Gen. 10. Eliphaz came to reason with Job, is not that 15. and 19. appointed by God to have been in Edumea, but another of the same name, destroyed, and their Lands given to the lying East from the Sea of Galilee, and ad-children of Asser, Jos. 29 because they were

not Confirsto Ifrsel, nor profesiors of the than the Greeks, and being very ambitious he not Continue to History and Proposition of the fame Religion. For though Hiram laid, Bleffed be God that hath fem King Davida mife fin: we cannot infer that he was of Davids Religion. The Turk hath faid as much of thriftian Princes, his confederates. Certain the had any. Thales and Pherecydes are but the first three fines of the had any. Thales and Pherecydes are but the first three firs it is, that the Sydonians then worshipped fingle examples: Every falvage Nation Aftaroth; and drew Solomon also to the hath some wisdom excelleth the Vulgar.

Whereas Hiram aided Solomon in build- wisdom of these men express any true know. ing the Temple, he did it for his own ends, ledge of the true God. Onely they made receiving therefore of Solomon great pro- no good mention of the Gods of Greece: vision of Corn and Oyl, and the offer of whom being newly come thither, they knew twenty Towns and Villages in Galilee. And not. It is no good argument to fay, that if we rightly consider things, it will appear Cadmus and Thales being Tyrians, are not that Hiram in all points dealt Merchant-like known to have taught Idolatry, therefore with Solomon. He allowed him Timber, with the Tyrians were not Idolaters. But this is which Libanus was, and yet is over pefter- of force, That Carthage, Utica, Leptis, Cadiz. ed being otherwise apt to yeild filks: as the and all Colonies of the Tyrians (of which I Andarine Silks which come from thence, and think, the Islands before mentioned in the other good Commodities. For Corn and Red Sea to have been, for they traded in all Oyl, which he wanted, he gave that which Seas) were Idolaters, even from their full behe could well spare to Solomon. Also Gold ginnings: therefore the Tyrians who plantfor Land: wherein solomon was the wifer; ed them, and to whom they had reference, who having got the Gold first, gave to Hi- were so likewise. ram the worst Villages that he had : with which the Tyrian was ill pleafed. But it was on-wards is acknowledged by Bozius, who a necessary policy which inforced Tyrus to would have us think them to have been hold league with Ifrael. For David had fub- formerly a strange kind of devout Edomite. dued Moab, Ammon, Edom, the Aramites, In which fancie he is to peremptory, thathe and a great part of Arabia, even to Euphra- fileth men of contrary opinion, Impios potes: thorow which Countries the Tyrians liticos, as if it were implety to think, that were wont to carry and re-carry their Wares God (who even among the Heathen, which on Camels, to their Fleets on the Red Sea, have not known his Name, doth favour Verand back again to Tyrus: fo that Solomon tue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded being Lord of all the Countries through moral honesty, with temporal happiness.

therefore glad to share with the Tyrians in Romans, and all those Nations of the Gentheir adventures. Yet Solomon, as Lord of the tiles, did then prosper most, when they drew Sea-towns which his Father had taken from nearest unto the true Religion: what may the Philiftims, might have greatly diffressed be said of the foul Idolatry which grew in the Tyrians, and perhaps have brought them | Rome as fast as Rome it felf grew: and was even into subjection. Which Hiram know- enlarged with some new superstition, almost ing, was glad (and no marvel) that solomon upon every new victory? How few great rather meant, as a man of peace, to imploy his Fathers Treasure in magnificent Works, vowed not either a Temple to some new than in pursuing the conquest of all Syria. god, or some new honour to one of their old Therefore he willingly aided him, and fent | gods? yea, what one Nation, fave onely him cunning workmen, to increase his de- that of the Jews, was subdued by them, light in goodly Buildings, Imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

their Trade.

examples are very weak. For what the Religion of Cadmus was, I think, no man knows.

even of civil people. Neither did the moral

This their Idolatry from Solomons time which they were to pass, could have cut off Doubtless, this doctrine of Bozius would cir Trade.
But the Ifraelites were no Sca-men, and than with Cyril. For if the Affyrians, Greek, battels did the Romans win, in which they whose Gods they did not afterward entertain in their City? Onely the true God, As these passages between solomon and which was the God of the Jews, they reject Hiram, are no strong arguments of piety in cd, upbraiding the Jews with him, as if he the Tyrians: so those other proofs which were unworthy of the Roman Majesty: shall Bozius frames negatively upon particular we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion which Heathen Writers used against the Christians in the Primitive Church: It feems to me, that having more cunning That fuch Idolatry had caused the City of Rome to flourish, and that the decay of those in their own brains any strange Chimera's of the dreams of others, or vainly fashioned Hypocrite.

ahominations did also bring with it the de- Divinity, condemn all such in the pride of cay of the Empire? It might well be thought their zeal, as Atheifts and Infidels, that are fo.if prosperity were a sign or essect of true not transported with the like intemperate Religion. Such is the blind zeal of Bozins, ignorance. Great pity it is, that fuch mad who writing against those whom he fallly dogs are oftentimes incouraged by those, terms impious, gives strength to such as are who having the command of many tongues. impious indeed. But such indiscretion is when they themselves cannot touch a man infinally found among men of his humour; in open and generous opposition, will wound who having once either foolishly embraced him secretly by the malicious vertue of an



CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

6. I.

of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

when they left Egypt were in number 45000. cian Monks. all which dying in the Defarts, (Josua excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their fate down on the West side of Jordan; between Manasse and Benjamin: who bounded with which he seduced the Israelites. Ephraim by the North and South; as for-

The first and chief City which Ephraim had, was Samaria, the Metropolis of the Kingthereof, and feated on the top of the Mountain somron, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called sebaste, or Augusta, in honour of August. Casar. This City is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as Brochard observeth, the ruines which yet remain, and which Brochard found greater than those of Hierusalem, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood upright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewen and carved frone in great abundance, among the rubble.

Aving now past over Phe-, It was beaten to the ground by the sons nicia, we come to the next of Hircanus the high Priest: restored and Territory adjoyning, which is built by the first Herod the son of Antipater: that of Ephraim: sometimes who to flatter Casar called it Sebaste. Heretaken per excellentiam, for the in were the Prophets Helifaus and Abdias whole Kingdom of the ten Tribes. Ephraim | buried : and fo was John Baptift. It now hath was the second son of Joseph, whose issues nothing but a few Cottages filled with Gre-

Near Samaria towards the South, is the hill of Bethel, and a Town of that name : on children grown to be able men, 32500. who the top of which mountain feroboam erected one of his golden calves to be worshipped:

In fight of this Mountain of Bethel, was sichar. Joh. dan, and the Mediterran Sea, did by the East that ancient City of Sichem; after the restauted and West.

The Co.

The Co. lasa: It was destroyed by simeon and Levi, and 1. in revenge of the ravishment of their fifter dom of Ifrael, built by Amris or Homri King Dina; and after that by Abimelec evened with the foil. Jeroboam raised it up again: and the Damascens a third time cast it down.

Under Sichem toward the Sea standeth Judg.11.15 Pharaton or Pirhathon, on the Mountain A-2 King. 136 malec, the City of Abdon Judge of Ifrael. And under it Bethoron of the Levites, built as it is faid by Sara, the daughter of Ephraim. Near to this City Judas Macchabaus overthrew Seron and Lysias, Lievtenants to Antiochus. This City had Solomon formerly repaired and fortified.

Betweeen Bethoron and the Sea, standeth Toliz.18; Samir, of which Jos. 10. and Saron, whose King was flain by Josua: it is also mentioned Alls 9.35. and of this Saron the Valley ta-

fee more

Book.ch 7

far as Joppe, faith Adrichome: though indeed him: as fearing least he would give attempt to wit, between Cafarea and Joppa, but that the Christians, who else might have rescued also between the Mountain Tabor and the him: yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the Sea of Galilee: for fo S. Hierome upon the afhes of two others, were therefore cast into five and thirtieth Chapter of Esay, interprets the Sea, lest if their Reliques had been gathe word Saron: and so doth the same Fa- thered up, Churches should be built for ther in his Commentaries upon Abdia, read them, as for others. But for my part, I rather Saron for Affaron: understanding thereby a think that it was not Georgius, whose name Plaine neer Lidda: which Lidda in his time lives in the right honourable order of our was called Diospolis, or the City of Jupiter, Knights of the Garter, but rather another one of the Toparchies of Judea, the fift in whom Tyrius abovecited witnesseth to have dignity (or the third after Pliny) where S. been buried at Lidda or Diospolis. The same libanus to Joppe, Sarona. This Joppe was burnt | while the Christians inhabited the Holy Land. to the ground by the Romans, those Ravens it had a Bishop Suffragan. and spoilers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, usurpers of other Princes King- matha of the Levites, or Aramathia: aftermost and savage barbarous Nations.

beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and bulon, which they say, adjoyneth to sephomemory Justinian the Emperor caused a fair ris; a fourth, which they make the same Church to be built over his Tembe; these with silo; and a fifth, which is this Rama, in be Tyrius his words: Relicia à dextris locis the hills of Ephraim, called Rama-Sophim, Of this maritimis Antipatride, & Joppe, per late pa- where Samuel lived, and wherein he is bu-St George tentem planitiem Elutheriam pertranseuntes, ried. Lieldam quæ est Diospolis, ubi & egregii Martyris Georgii usque hoslie Sepulchrum oftenditur, pervenerunt, ejus Ecclesiam quum ad hono-Joppe, passing over the great open Plain of E- lisha, findeth it in Benjamin. lutheria, came to Lidda, which is Diespolis: the Roman, High and mighty Justinian, had keth name. commanded to be built, with great earnestness and present devotion, &c. Thus far Tyrius : by Hebrew, Thimnath-Serach: one also of the an uprore of the people, and his after caft which City and Territory Ifrael gave unto into the Sea, as Ammianus Marcellinus re- their Leader Josua; who also amplified it ports. And yet also it may be, that this Geor- with buildings, neer which he was buried.

keth name, which beginning at Cafarea Pa- of Genius, How long shall this Sepulchre stands lesting, extendeth it self alongst the coast as occasioned the uprore of the people against the name Sarona is not particularly given to overthrow that beautiful Temple. This to this Valley, but to every fruitful plain Re- also Marcellinus reports; who though he fav gion; for not onely this Valley is so called, that this Georgius was also deadly hated of Alls E. Like 13. Peter (non sua, sed Christi virtute) cured Æ- also is confirmed by Vitriac. S. Hierome affirms Sagara neas. Niger calls all that Region from Anti- that it was sometime called Tigrida, and 64,

CHAP. IX

CHAP. IX.

Neer to Lidda or Diaspolis standeth Radoms; who with no other respect led than ward Rama, and Ramula, the native City of Swinter to amplifie their own glory, troubled the Joseph, which buried the body of Christ. There Toked whole world: and themselves, after murde- are many places which bear this name of being whole world: ring one another, became a prey to the Rama; one they fet in the Tribe of Judaneer (1911) Theena in the way of Hebron; another in In Diaspolis (faith Wil. of Tyre) was S. George | Nephtalim, not far from Sephet; a third in Za-

From hence to the North alongst the coast are Helon, or Ajalon of the Levites, of which 1 Chron. 6. Apollonia, of which fofephus in his rem cjusdem Martyris, pius & orthodoxus Antiquities, and in the wars of the Jews. Also Princeps Romanorum, Augustus Justinianus Balfalifa for which Junius, 2 Reg.4.42. reads Augustus Justinianus multo studio & devotione prompta edificari planities Shalista) they place hereabout in the proceedings. They having less (Sich the) and this Title of Title of the praceperat, &c. They having left (faith he) on this Tribe of Ephraim; but Junius upon I. the right hand, the Sea Towns, Antipatris and Sam. 6. where we read of the Land of Sha-

On the other fide of the Mountains of where the sumptuous Tomb of the samous Martyr S. George is at this day shewed; whose chies, or Cities of government, the second in Church when the godly and orthodox Prince of dignity, of which the Country about itta-

Then Thamnath-farah, or according to the whose testimony we may conjecture that ten Toparchies or Presidencies of Judea, which full this S. George was not that Arrian Bishop of they call Thamnitica, a goodly City, and similar Alexandria 5 but rather some better Christi-an: for this of Alexandria was slain there in phraim50n the North of the Hill called Gass; 1/40* gius was a better Christian than he is com- His Sepulchre remained in S. Hieroms time, many Like of the monly thought: for his words of the Temple and over it the Sun engraven, in memory of him the that greatest of wonders which God 16.24. * the Hill of Gahas, Judg. 2.9. the Hill Also the wrought in Josua's time.

thousand Jews overthrew the Army of Ni- City of Samuel, Canor, Lievtenant of Syria; neer to Gaser, or The great plenty of fruitful Vines upon Arrow was Gezer, which Josua took, and hung their the sides of the Mountains, was the occasion buried.

many years, till the Philistims got it.

Scriptures. It flandeth in the common way Dok: which they make to be the fame with this pronow called Byra.

prophefied; and neer it Ephron, one of those his father-in-law. Cities which Abijah recovered from Jerobofindes it in the Tribe of Juda; as Jos. 15. we Chetzron, ver 25.

lee King adding that for the building thereof the fultained her life. with other Cities, Solomon raised a Tribute upon the people. But it feems that Mello, or Millo is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadel: and fo Junius, for domus Millo, reads incola munitionis, and for Solomo edificavit Millo, he reads ædificabat munitionem, angust place. And without doubt the Millo which talogue of the Kings of Juda: of whom Solomon built, cannot be that of sichem, but hereafter. another in Hierusalem.

best relab then governing Ifrael, with divers boam the fon of Nebat, an Ephratbite, of Zere-

of Tfalmon, or Salmon, Judg. 9.48. the Hills of hill of In the places adjoyning flandeth Adarsa, the Region of Tuph, or Tophim, Judg. 9, 5. where gor Adsfu; where Judas Muchabaus with three where Rama-Tophim flood, which was the leaver the

King; a City of the Leviles. It was after- that Jucob in the spirit of prophecy, Gen.49 And the ward taken by Pharaoh of Egypt; the pco- 22 compared Josephs two branches, Ephraim two tops pleall flain, and the City razed; solomon re- and Manaffe, to the branches of a fruitful of Hills, Little ir Vine planted by the Well fide, and spreading where the To the East of this place is the Frontier City her (a) Daughter branches along the Wall: bleffings, and Hebd, which Allegory also Ezek 22. in his Lamen wheet the thi, whence David had part of his Prætorian tation for Ephraim (that is, for the ten Tribes, curlings Solidiers, under the charge of Benaia. Then whose head was Ephraim) prosecutes: as allowers to the high and famous Mountain and City of in his Lamantains for Tude to Educate treadto the that high and famous Mountain and City of in his Lamentation for Juda, he followeth people: of silo, whereon the Ark of God was kept fo the other Allegory of Jacob, Gen. 49.9. com-which paring Juda to a Lion. Upon the top of one 27. & 76. To this they joyn the City of Muchmas, or of the highest of these Hills of Ephrain, 8 Michines: in which Jonathan Machabaus in- which overlooketh all the Plains on both 41t fearhabited, a place often remembred in the fides of Jordan, they find the Castle called Jacob in from Samuria towards Hierusalem: and is Dagon of which Josep. 1. bell. Jud. 2. in which rather u-Castle as it is I Mac. 16. Ptolomy most traite- feth the Then the Village of Naioth where Saul roully at a banquet, flew Simon Machabaus word

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of Ephra-ches, theream; after the great overthrow given him. im, they name Gaas, remembred in the fecond more Then Kimbt saim, of the Levites, of which Just of Samuel, c.23. v. 30. where though Junius plainly 21.22. which Junius thinks to be the fame read, Hiddai ex una vallium Gabafi: yet the colonies with Johnsham, of which I Chro. 6.28, As for Vulgar and Vatablus read Giddai, of the ri-which Abfaloms Baalafor, which they find hereabout, ver of Gaas. Also in this Tribe they place the in the Junius reads it, in the Plain of Chatzor; and river of Carith, by which the Prophet Elias phrase are abode during the great drought: where he called read of two Chatzors in that Tribe; one neer was (b) fed with the Ravens: and after that of the Me-Redesh, ver. 23. and the other the same as the River was dried up, he travelled (by the tropolis: Spirit of God guided) towards sidon: where as in Jo-In this Tribe also they find the City of he was relieved by the poor widdow of Za-elsewhere Mello; whose Citizens, they say, joyned with repta, whose dead son he revived and increa-often the Sichemites in making the Bastard Abime- sed her pittance of Meal and Oil: whereby 17.6.

6. II.

Of the Kings af the ten Tribes, from Jeroboam to Achab.

and so the Septuagint read it wire assess in that place And mission track it will be septuagint read it wire assess in that

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten The other Cities of mark in Ephraim, are Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the divi-Taphnach, whose King was slain by Josua; and sion from Juda and Benjamin, now it follow-Janoach, or Janoah, spoiled by Teglatphalasfar: eth to speak. The first of these Kings Jeroothers, but of no great fame. The Mounda, who being a man of strength and coutains of Ephraim sometime signifie the grea- rage, was by solomon made overseer of the tell part of the Land of the lons of Joseph, on buildings of the Munition in Hiernfalem, for the West of Jordan: several parts whereof as much as belonged to the charge of the are the Hill of Samrom, or Samaria, 1 Reg. Tribes of Ephraim and Manasse: and so many

which time, as he went to Hierusalem, he entified Rama against Juda, to restrain their extwelve tribes. After this, fearing that those the mean while Afa carried away the matethings might come to Solomons knowledge, rials, with which Baasha intended to fortifie he fled into Egypt to Shifhak, whom Eusebins Rama: but being an Idolater, he was threatcalleth Ofochores, whose Daughter he mar- ned by Jehn the Prophet, that it should benot the same) did likewise entertain Adad afterward came to pass: He ruled sourand the Edumean, when he was carried young twenty years, and died. into Egypt from the fury of David, and his Captain Joab; which Adad the King of a feast at his Palace of Thersa, was in his cups Egypt married to his Wives fifter Taphnes; flain by Zambris, after he had reigned two using both him and Jeroboam as instruments years: and in him the prophesie of Jehn was to shake the Kingdom of Judea, that him- fulfilled. felf might the calilier spoilit, as he did: for the City of Hierufalem, and carried thence revenge of the Kings murder, fet upon Zamall the treasure of David and Solomon, and bris, or Zimri, and inclosed him in Therfa, and all the spoils which David took from Ada- inforc't him to burn himself. dezor of soba, with the prefents of Tohu, King value.

became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though Idolater no less impious than the rest: and he were permitted by God to govern the therefore subjected to Tabremmon King of Israelites, and from a mean man exalted to Syria, the father of Benhadad, according to that State: yet preferring the policies of the | Eusebins, Nicephorus, and Zonaras: but how world before the fervice and honour of God this should stand, I do not well conceive; see-(as fearing that if the Tribes under his rule ing Benhadad the fon of Tabremmon was in-Sacrifices, they might be drawn from him King of Ifrael, the father of Ela, who foreby degrees) he creded two golden Calves, went Ambris. This Ambris reigned twelve one in Dan, and another in Bethel, for the years, fix in Thersa, and fix in Samaria, and left people to worship (an imitation of the E- two children, Achab and Athalia. fut chap gyptian Apis, faith S. Ambrose, or rather of Epifie to Aarons Calf in Horeb:) further he made election of his Priefts out of the basest and unlearned people. This King made his chief Seat and Palace at Sichem: He despised the Of Achab and his Successors, with the captivity warning of the Judean Prophet, whom Jofeplus calleth Adon, and Glycas Joel: his hand thereafter withered, and was again restored: but continuing in his Idolatry, and hardened, upon occasion that the Prophet return- borrowed of the Egyptians: but he married ing, was flain by a Lion; Ahijah makes him Jezabel the Zidonian: and as Jeroboam folknow that God purposed to root out his lowed the Religion of his Egyptian Wise:

King, 11 He was afterward overthrown by Abia an Altar and a Grove to Baal in Samaria. King of Juda, and died after he had gover- He suffered Jezabel to kill the Prophets of his reign, together with all the race of Jero- led in the trial of the facrifice, and killed the reigned in his flead: fo Nadab lived King but of Jezabel.

of them as wrought in those works. During of Juda: he seated himself in Therfa: and for countered the Prophet Akijah: who made cursions. Hereupon Afa entertained Benhadad him know that he was by God destined to of Damaseus against him, who invaded Nepbe King of Ifrael, and to command ten of the thalim, and destroyed many places therein: ried: the Predecellor of which shifbak (if fall his race, as it did to Jeroboam: which

To Baasha succeeded Ela his son, who at

Zambris succeeded Ela, and assumed the in the fifth year of Rehoboam, Shifhak fack't name of a King feven daies; but Ambris in

Ambris or Homri succeeded Ela, and transof Hamath, which were of an inestimable serred the Regal seat from Thersa to 84-1 1941 maria: which be bought of shemer, built, This Jeroboam after the death of Solomon and fortified it. This Ambris was also an Should repair to Hierusalem to do their usual vited by Asa King of Juda, to assail Baasha I King

6. III.

of the ten Tribes.

Chab or Ahab succeeded Omri, who not onely upheld the Idolatry of Jeroboam, fo did Achab of his Zidonian : and erected ned two and twenty years; whom Nadab the most high God. God sent famine on the his fon fucceeded : who in the fecond year of land of Ifrael, Achab met Elias : Elias prevaiboam, was flain, and rooted out by Baafba, who false Prophets; and afterward flieth for fear

Benhadad not long after besieged Samarian Baasha the son of Ahijah, the third King & taken by Aehab, was by him set at liberty: after the partition, made war with Asa King for which, the Prophet (whom Glycas calleth cheas had foretold him.

state phet meeteth the Messenger on the way:

Simonians, of Simon Magus.

Afterward Benbadad King of Aram, or

Jamash that dead Idol, asked the Messenger, if there

Jamash that dead Idol, asked the Messenger, if there

Jamash that the Benbadad King of Aram, or

Jamash that the Benba fronter were not a God in Ifrael? Ochozias fendeth did discover to the King of Ifrael whatsoe-

cond year of his reign.

Foram, the brother of Ochozias by Jezabel, were diffolved, that he would offer him in Abab. facrifice to his gods. Whereupon the King Jebu, who reigned after Jeboram, deftroy-of Edom belought those of Juda and Israel ed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but

After this the King of Aram fent to Jo-

Michaes) reproveth him: afterward he cau- my of the Leprofie. The answer of Foram fed Naboth by a falfe accusation to be stoned. was, Am I God to kill, and to give life, that he Then joyning with Josuphat in the war for doth fend to heal a man of his Leprose : adthe recovery of Ramoth, he was flain, as Mi-ding, that the Aramite fought but matter of quarrel against him. Elisha hearing there-He had three fons named in the Scrip- of, willed the King to fend Naaman to him; ture, Ochozias, Joram, and Joas: besides fe- promising that he should know that there venty other fons by fundry wives and con- was a Prophet in Ifrael: and fo Naaman was healed by washing himself seven times in Ochozias succeeded his father Achab. The Jordan. Elisha resused the gifts of Naaman; Moabites fell from his obedience: he bruised but his servant Gehazi accepted a part therehimself by a fall: and sent for counsel to of: from whence the sellers of spiritual Beelzebub the god of Acharon, Eliah the Pro- gifts are called Gehazites, as the buyers are

which were the description with each 50. fouldiers, to ver the Aramite consulted in his secretest bring Eliah unto him, both which with their counsel fent a troop of horse to take Elisha: Attendants were confumed with fire. The all whom Elisha struck blind, and brought third Captain belought mercy at Eliah's them captives into Samaria: foram then alkhands, and he spared him, and went with him ed leave of the Prophet to slay them, Elisha to the King, avowing it to the King that he forbade him to harm them: but caused them must then die; which came to pass in the se- to be fed, and sent back to their own Prince in fafety.

The King of Aram, notwithstanding these succeeded: He allured Josaphat King of benefits, did again attempt Samaria, and Juda, and the King of Edom to affilt him a- brought the Citizens to extream famine. gainst the Moabites, who refused to pay him foram imputeth the cause thereof to the the tribute of 20000. sheep. The three Kings Prophet Elisha. Elisha by prayer caused a wanted water for themselves and their hor- noise of Chariots and Armour to found in fesinthe Defarts. The Prophet Elisha cau- the air, whereby the Aramites affrighted, fled feth the ditches to flow. The Moabites are away, and left the fiege. An act of great adoverthrown: their King flieth to Kirhara- miration, as the same is written in the second 1 King! 7. feth, and being befieged, according to fome of Kings. After this, when Azael obtained Expositors, burnt his son on the walls as a the Kingdom of Syria by the death of his facrifice, whereat the three Kings, moved Mafter, foram entring upon his frontier, took with compassion, returned and left Moab, Ramoth-Gilead: in which war he received wasting and spoiling that Region. Others, divers wounds, and returned to fezreel to as it feems with better reason, understand be cured. But whilest he lay there, Jehn (who the Text to speak of the son of the King of commanding the Army of Joram in Gilead; Edom, whom they suppose in this irruption was anointed King by one of the children of to have been taken prisoner by the Moa- the Prophets sent by Elisha) surprised and bites, and that the King of Moab shewed him slew both him and all that belonged unto over the walls, threatning, unless the fiege him, rooting out the whole posterity of

to break off the fiege for the fafety of his also their religion; for which he received a fon: which when the other Kings refused promise from God, That his feed should octo yield unto, and that Moab, according to cupy the Throne unto the fourth generatihis former threatning, had burnt the King on. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of Jeroboam, of Edoms fon upon the Rampire, that all for which he was plagued with grievous the Affailants might discern it, the King war, wherein he was beaten by Hazael the of Edom being by this sad spectacle inra- Aramite, who spoiled all the Countries to ged, forfook the party of the other Kings, the East of Jordan: in which war he was for want of whole affiftance the fiege was flain, faith Cedrenus; whereof the Scriptures are filent. Jehn reigned 28. years.

Joachaz, or Jehoachaz the fon of Jehu fucram, to heal Naaman the Captain of his Ar- ceeded his father, whom Azael and his son a Ring 13? Benhadad

CHAP. X.

Benhadad often invaded, and in the end lub- rael, and vvon Jion, Abel-Bethmaacab, Jano. 17. years.

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After Joachaz, Joas his son governed Israel, who when he repaired to Elisha the Prophet as he lay on his death-bed, the Prophet therewith ingaged the Affgrian, who first promifed him three victories over the Ara- | suppressed that Monarchy of Syria and Da. mites: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bow, and Elista covered the of the great Asyrian, was the utter ruine of Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window Westward (which was toward Damascus) and then shoot an arrow

make the war, whereupon he entred Hiern- and with the people Catanei bounding upfalem and facked it with the Temple. This on Syria, and with those of Sepharvajim whose time also the Prophet Elisha exchan- on Euphrates, of whose conquest Senacheged this life for a better.

one and forty years.

of Jehn, flain by Shallum his yaffal, who shallum held the Kingdom but one moneth, being flaughtered by Menahem of the Ga-

Menahem, who took revenge of Shallum. used great cruelty to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were vvith child. This Menahem beten thousand talents of silver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from every man of wealth in Ifrael. Menahem 20verned twenty years.

Pekahiah, or Phaceia, or after Zonaras, in his place. In this Pekah's time, Phulaser, or King of Ifrael. Tiglat-Phylasser invaded the Kingdom of Is-

s Kings

iceed, leaving him onely 50, horse, 20, cha- ach, Kedesh, Hazor, and Gilead, vvith all the riots, and ICCCC. foot: and, as it is writ- Cities of Galilee, carrying them captives inten in the Scriptures, he made them like to Afgria: he was drawn in by Achaz King dust beaten into powder. Joachaz reigned of Judea; against Pekah and Rezin, the last of the Adades. For Achas being wasted by Pe. kah of Ifrael, and by Rezin of Damaseus, did a third time borrow the Church-riches, and mascus, and then of Israel: and this inviting both States, of Ifrael, and of Judaa, Pekah reigned 20. years.

Then Hoshea, or Osea, who slew Pekah, bethence out. He again willed him to beat came the vasial of Salmanasser; but hoping the ground with his arrows, who smote it to shake off the Asyrian yoak, he sought aid thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told from So, or Sua, or Sebicus King of Egypt: him, that he should have smitten five or six which being known to the Assirian, he cash times, and then he should have had so many him into prison, besieged Samaria, and mavictories over the Aramites as he gave stered it : carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes strokes. And so it succeeded with Joas, who into Nineve in Affyria, and into Rages in overthrew the Aramites in three battels, and Media, and into other Eastern Regions, and recovered the Cities and Territory from there dispersed them: and re-planted 84-Benhadad the fon of Azael, which his father maria with divers Nations, and chiefly 2 Kingt 14 Joachaz had loft. He also overthrew Ama- with the Cuthæ (inhabiting about Cutha, a zia King of Juda, who provoked him to River in Persia, or rather in Arabia Deserta) Joas reigned fixteen years, and died; in (a people of sephar in Mesopopotamia uprib vaunteth) also with those of Ava, which Jeroboam the third from Jehn, followed were of the ancient Avins, who inhabited Joas his father, an Idolater, as his predeces- the Land of the Philistims in Abrahams time, fors; but he recovered all the rest of the dwelling near unto Gaza, whom the capblands belonging to Israel from Hamath which torims rooted out: and at this time they is near Libanus, to the dead Sea, and reigned were of Arabia the Defart, called Havei, willing to return to their ancient feats, Zacharias the fifth and last of the house To these he added those of chamath, or Ituraa, the ancient enemies of the Ifraelites, reigned in his flead, governed fix moneths. and sometime the Vassals of the Adads of Damaleus, which to often afflicted them. And thus did this Assirian advise himself better than the Romans did. For after Titus and Vespasian had wasted the Cities of Judea and Hierusalem, they carried the people away captive: but left no others in their places, but a very few fimple labourers, being invaded by Phul, bought his peace with fides their own thin Garrisons, which soon decayed; and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the Arabians and Saracens, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and Phacesta succeeded, and after he had ruled displantation, happened in the year of the two years, he was slain by Phaca, or Pekah world, 3292. the fixth year of Ezekiah King the Commander of his Army, who reigned of Juda: and the ninth of Hofea the last

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES. 10. Jehn [28 Years	
	i.
II. Joachay	
1. Jeroboam 22 Years. 12. Joas 16 Years	
2. Nadab 2 Years. 13. Jeroboam AI Years	
2. Baalba 24 Years. 14. Zacharias - 6 Mone	
Ela 20 Years. 15. shallum Reigned 1 Money	
5. Zambris Reigned 7 Dayes. 16. Menahem 10 Years	ui.
6. Omri 11 Years. 17. Pakahia 2 Years	
7. Achab 22 Years. 18. Phaca 20 Years	•
9. Joram 12 Years. Whose time Writer	about

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad, and the other half of Manasse.

of Dan, whereof Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Towns.

62700. fighting men, all which leaving their speaks of it indifferently. bodies with the rest in the Desarts, there entred the Holy Land of their sons 66400. Judas Macchabeus burnt the rest of the 3y-debas are thers on that coast, because it was the Port such a place there was.

meda was fastned with chains: and from unto Goliath.

Y Ow following the coast of the thence delivered from the Sea monster by Mediterran Sea, that portion of Perseus. This fable (for so I take it) is con-Land affigned to the Tribe of firmed by Josephus, Solinus, and Pliny. Mar-Lib. 3 1.19 Dan, joyneth to Ephraim, where cus Scaurus during his office of Ædileship, debul gud of I spake last: of which Family showed the bones of this Monster to the Selice 47. ly there were numbred at Mount Sinai people of Rome. S. Hierome upon Jonas cap. 9.

bearing arms. The first famous City in this rian Fleet: the fire and flame whereof was Tribe on the Sea-coast was Joppe, or Japho, seen at Hierusalem, 240. furlongs off. It had as in the 19. of Josua: one of the most anci- sometime a Bishops seat, faith Will. of Tyre; ent of the world, and the most famous of o- but there is no fign of it at this time, that

of Hierusalem. From hence Jonas imbarked After Jamnia is the City of Geth, or Gath, himself when he fled from the service of sometime Anthedon, saith Voluteran. And God towards Tharfis in Cilicia. In the time fo Montanus feems to understand it. For he F. 144. of the Macchabees this City received many lets it next to Egypt, of all the Philistim, Cichanges : and while Judas Macchabaus go- ties, and in the place of Anthedon. But Volaverned the Jews the Syrians that were garri- teran gives neither reason nor authority for fon'd in Joppe, having their Fleet in the Port, his opinion; for Ptolomy fets Anthedon far invited 200. principal Citizens aboard them, to the South of Joppe: and Geth was the first and cast them all into the Sea: which Judas and not the last (beginning from the North) revenged by firing their Fleet, and putting of all the great Cities of the Philistims : and the companies which fought to escape to the about fixteen miles from Joppe: where S. Hierome in his time found a great Village It was twice taken by the Romans, and of the same name. It was sometime the haby Ceffins the Lievtenant utterly burnt and bitation and Seminary of the Anakims, strong tilerom, in ruined. But in the year of Christ, 1250, and Giant-like men, whom Josia could not Michean. Lodowick the French King gave it new Wals expel, nor the Danites after him, nor any and Towers: It is now the Turks, and called of the Ifraelites, till Davids time: who flew Juffa. There are certain Rocks in that Goliath, as his Captains did divers others Port, whereunto it is reported, that Andro- not much inferiour in strength and stature

Roboant

Ozias the fon of Amazia destroyed it again. Sea-Towns within the Tribe of Dan. it was also laid waste by Azael King of Syria. Fulls the fourth King of Hiernfalem, built a Eastward from Azotus, and beyond the Cafile in the same place out of the old ruines. Fountain of Æthiopia, wherein Philip the A-Whether this Geth was the same that Will, of postle baptized the Eunuch, are Tforah, or Lie ... G. Tyre in the Holy war calls Ibiilin, I much Sarxa, and Esthaol, and between them Castra doubt: the errour growing by taking Geth Danis neer Hebron: though this place where

adjoyning to this City (as is thought) was tween Dan and Juda. the Ark of God brought by a yoak of two Kine, turned loose by the Philistims: and belonging to the Danites, they find Gedor, or the Bethsemites presuming to look therein, as it is I Mac. 15. Cedron, which Cendebaus 1 Sam 6. of the people fifty thousand, by the ordi- the Jews, and neer which himself was by the 16. or nance of God. After which flaughter, and Macchabees overthrown. or ra-the great lamentation of the people, it was the City is called the great * Abel, faith S. Hierome. Be- chabees: and wherein they were buried, on nedictus Theologus findes three other Cities of whose Sepulchre the seven Marble Pillars, this name; one in (a) Nephtalim: another which were erected of that heighth, as they the field in Juda: and another in Machar. Hierome ferved for a mark to the Sea-men, remained findes a fifth in Benjamin.

Philitims Accaron effereth it felf, sometime one of the Aik, the five Salrapies, or Governments of the Phili- thiarim, that is, the City of the woods: feat- & today change firms. S. Hierome makes it the same with Ce-ed in the border of Juda, Eenjamin, and Dan, Budhan, being ea firms. S. Hierome makes it the same with Ce-ed in the border of Juda, Eenjamin, and Dan, Budhan, being each firms. being a Junia. O. Herome mances the fame with Apolic wherein the Ark of God remained twenty 7,143 Ebin, or lonia: It was one of these that defended it yeers in the house of Aminadab: till such Sun. 6. Abox, tonia. It was one of information and It time as David carried it thence to Hiernfa-16m, which fig. felf against the Danites and Idumeans. It misself a worshipped Beel-zebnb, the god of Hornets lem. Of this place (as they say) was Zacharias Man. which fig. King of Ifrael fent to enquire of his health: | flain between the Temple and the Altarallo Mag. 12 nifieth mouning. whose messengers Eliah meeting by the way, a See in caused them to return with a forrowful an-Neph c 7 fwer to their Master. This City is rememfett 4. | 6. bred in many places of Scripture.

Christianus Schrot placeth Azotus next to Ceth, and then Accaron or Ekron. This Azomerichus, tus or Asdod, was also an habitation of the Athe father nakims, whom Josua (b) failed to destroy, of Pharas though he once possess their City. Herein which Senacherib took, Ezekias reigning in 29. yees stood a sumptuous Temple, dedicated to the Juda. together, (c) Idol Dagon: the same Idol whith fell Jer. 15. twice to the ground of it felf, after the Ark fee in Josua c. 19. from the ver. 41. where also 20 freaks of God was by the Philistims carried into it is added that the Danites portion was too of the refit their Temple: and in the second fall, it was little for their number of Families: and Albdod, to utterly broken and defaced. Neer it was that therefore that they invaded Leshem, and inwit, the famous (d) Judas Macchabaus flain by Bacpart ha- chides and Alcimus the Lievtenants of Demeving reit trius. Afterward it was taken by Jonathas: led Cafarea Philippi, as before, and made the filed im and the relt of the Citizens being put to the Metropolis of Inraa, and Trachonitis: of Metropolis c 1 Sam sword, all that fled into the Temple of Da- which coasts this Philip was Tetrach: but of 4 Mac gon, were with their Idol therein confumed this City see more in Nephtalim. In this Tribe 9. 1 Mace, with fire: neer which also he overthrew there are no Mountains of fame. 10. fof. Apollonius.

25. or Bishops seat while Christianity flourished in da: and passing by Modin, falleth into the cap. 18. 2. those parts. But in S. Hieroms time it was yet Sea by Sachrona. The other hath the name

Reboam the fon of solomon rebuilt Geth : | a fair Village. And this was the last of the

The Cities which are within the Land Samplon was born, may feem by the words, Not far from Geth or Galb standeth Beth- Judg. 18. 12. to be in the Tribe of Judah, as scenes, or the house of the Sun. In the fields the other also were bordering Towns be-

After these within the bounds of Juda but the Bethjemites preluming to look that the Lievtenant of Antiochus fortified against there were slain of the Elders seventy, and the Lievtenant of Antiochus fortified against the Lievtenant of Antiochus fortified against

Then Modin the Native City of the Macmany hundreds of yeers after their first settione the Reciping the Sca-coast, the strong City of ting up, as Brochard and Breidenbach witness

There are besides these the City of Caria-ninhin Urias, whom Joachim King of Hiernfalem 13. M flaughtered, as we find in Jeremy. Many o ther places which they place in this Tribe, 19. rather, as I take it, upon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of Caspin taken with great flaughter by Judas Macchabeus: and Lechis, whose King was flain by Josua, in which also Amaziah was slain: The same

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, habited it: which City, after amplified by Philip, the brother of Herod Antipas, was cal-

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Nor-Gabinius the Roman rebuilt it. It had a ther-most riseth out of the Mountains of Juand of sorek or sored, whose banks are plentiful, times it had a Bishop, and after that, when it whom samplen loved.

THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

Jucob by Lea, there were increased of that as he did Azotus and Gaza. Family while they abode in Egypt, as they Next to Ascalon stood Gaza, or Gazera, first City adjoyning to Dan, was Ascalon.

te of Hymeneus: and that Ascalus being imploy- Caleb: but the strength of the Anakims put Nicolaus in his History, saith Volatteran.

Diodorus Siculus in his third Book remem- of the Defart. breth a Lake neer Ascaion, wherein there Alexander Janeus King of the Jews surpri-Tibullus the Poet:

Alba Palæstino sanéta Columba Syro.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Gazara. Cities of the Philistims. It bred many learned ·men (faith Volatteran, as Antiachus, Sosus, Cygrus, who wrote the story of Bithynia.

of Vines which have no feeds or stones : the was by the Saladine defaced, Richard King wine they yield is red, of excellent colour, of England, while he made war in the Holy tafte, and favour, &c. In this Valley of Sorek, Land, gave it a new Wall and many buildto called from the River, inhabited Dalila ings. Ejus murus cum Saladinus diruisset, Ri-Adido in chardus Anglorum Rex instauravit, faith Adri-ment chomaus.

In Davids time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the Philistims: for he nameth Gath and Ascalon onely, when he lamen. teth the death of saul and Jonathan : not He Tribe of Simeon takes up the rest speaking of the other three. Tell it not in 2 Sanit. of the Sea-coast of Canaan, to the bor- Gath, nor publish it not in the streets of Ascalon: der of Egypt: who being the second son of It is now called Scalone. Gabinius restored it

were numbred at Mount Sinai, 59300. able which the Hebrews call Hazza, the Syrians, Amen, all which ending their lives in the De- zan, of Azonus (as they say) the son of Hercufirts, there entred the Land of Promife of les. Other profane writers affirm, that it was their issues 22200. bearing arms, who were built by Jupiter. Pomp. Mela gives the builin part mixed with Juda, and in part seve- ding thereof to Cambyses the Persian; because red, inhabiting a small Territory on the Sea- belike he re-built it, and Gaza in the Perssan the coast, belonging to Edumaa, of which the tongue is as much to say, as Treasure. This Gaza was the first of the five Satrapies of the Vol. 1.13 The Reguli, or petty Kings thereof, were Philistims, and the South bound of the land called Ascalonitæ: of which Volatteran out of of Canaan towards Egypt. But this City was Xanthus, in the Hiltory of the Lydians, re- far more ancient than Cambyfes, as it is proved ports, that Tantalus and Ascalus were the sons by many Scriptures. It was once taken by ed by Aciamus King of the Lydians, with an him from it. At fuch time as Alexander Ma- Supp. de Army in Syria, falling in love with a young cedon invaded the Empire of Persia, it recei-16.16 with Woman of that Country, built this City, and ved a Garrison for Darins: in despight i King 6: and called it after his own name: The same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a continued of the same hath whereof it was by the same hat where hat wher long siege demolished, and was called Gaza ant. 19.

hath been a Temple dedicated to Derceto, fed it, and slew five hundred Senators in the the Goddels of the Syrians; having the face Temple of Apollo, which fled thither for Sanof a Woman, and the body of a Fish: who, as ctuary: but this Gaza was not set up in the I have faid before in the ftory of Ninus, was fame place again, to wit, on the foundations the mother of Semiramis, feigned to be cast which Alexander Macedon had overturned, into this Lake, and fed and relieved by but somewhat neerer the Sea side: though Doves. And therefore was the Dove wor- the other was but two mile off. It was a shipped both in Babylonia and Syria, of which Town of great account in the time of the Machabees, and gave many wounds to the Tews, till it was forst by Simon: of which he made so great account, as that he purpofed to refide therein himself, and in his ab-The white Dove is for holy held in Syria sence left John his Son and Successiour to be Governour. In Brochard his time it was still a goodly Ciey, and known by the name of Broch Hist.

At the very out-let of the River of Befor, frandeth Majoma the Port of Gaza: to which nus, Dorotheus the Historian, and Artemido- the priviledge of a City was given by the great Constantine, and the place called Con-In Ascalon, as some say, was that wicked stance, after the name of the Emperours Sone Herod born, that feeking after our Saviour, But Julian the Apoflata foon after favouring his min. caused all the Male-children of two years the Gazeans, made it subject unto them, and 6.4, No. old and under to be slain. In the Christian commanded it to be called Gaza maritima biscopei

by Herod, and called Agrippias, after the name we have Eltholad. Chatzar-Sufa, so named of Agrippa, the favorite of Augustus.

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the great Antiochus: and beyond it Rhinoan 19,24. cura, whose Torrent is known in the Scriptures by the name of * the Torrent of Egypt still 14,0°C. the Septuagint converted it Rinocura: to difference it, Ef. 27. 12. giving the name of the City to the Torrent that watereth it. Pliny the tream calls it Rhinocolura: and Josephus Rhinocorura: (a) Epiphanius reports it as a Tradition, See in of that at this place the world was divided by lot, between the three Sons of Noah.

Within the Land, and upon the River of gent. (a) Exiph placeth between Kadesh and Shur, Gen. 20.1. That it was neer to the Wilderness of Beerweful Ma. Mebab, it appears Gen. 20.31. and therefore Accorate. no marvel that as elsewhere Beer-fieba, fo long there. While the Christians held the Ger to 19 fometime Gerar, be made the South bound Holy Land, they laboured much to ftrength-

vered the prev.

City of Letters, the University, as they fay, | places. or Academy of old Palastine. In Saint Hierom's Hebron was called Urbs Arbahi. For even Shichar, as is noted in Affer. hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by Othoniel, incouraged by Ca-Jof. 11.11 lebs promise of his Daughter in marriage : but that Josua and the Hoast of Israel were at the furprise, it appears fol. 10. 39. This City Fof.21.15. is named among those which out of simeon and Juda were given to the Levites. And hence it feems they attribute it

the Tribe of Simeon, but of less fame, as Ha- the Land of Canaan 76500. bearing arms. Ajin, of which Jos. 19.7. which also Jos. 21.16. greeable to the greatness of this number is reckoned for one of the Cities of the Le- was the greatest Territory given, called af vites, given out of the portion of Juda and terward Judaa: within the bounds whereof "And also simeon, (for which Junius thinks Hasham is were the portions allotted to Dan and Simter and in

to this Tribe.

On the other fide of Befor standeth Anthe- Josua these two are distinguished) also Tho. don, defaced by Alexander Janneus, restored lad, so named 1 Chro. 4.29 for which Jos. 1901. Tof. 19.5 for which Jof. 15. we have Chatzar. Then Raphia, where Philopater overthrew Gadda, both names agreeing in fignification: for Gadda is Turma, and Sufa Equitatus.

In the same places of Josua and of the Chronicles, Chorma is named, which they think to be the same with that of which Num. 14.45. to which the Amalekites and Canaanites purfued the Ifraelites: But that Chorma cannot be in Simeon, nor within the Mountains of Edumea. For Ifrael fled not that way: but back again to the Camp, which lay to the South of Edumaa, in the Defart.

The same places also name Beersheba in the mate Befor they place Gerar: which the Scripture this Tribe: fo called of the Oath between Abraham and Abimelec : neer unto which Hagar wandered with her fon Ifmael. It was alfo called the City of Isaac, because he dwelt of Canaan. It was of old a distinct Kingdom on this place, standing on the border of the from the Philistim Satrapies: the Kings by Arabian Defart, and in the South bound of one common name were called Abimelechs; Canaan. It hath now the name of Gibelin. S. Hierome faith that afterwards it was called | The other Cities of Simeon which are named Regio salutaris, the healthy Country: so that it in the places of Josua, and of the Chronicles was no marvel that Abraham and sfaac lived above noted, because they help us nothing much in those parts. Of King Afa's conquest in story, I omit them. In the time of Ezekia of the Cities about Gerar, see 2 Chron. 14.14. King of Juda, certain of this Tribe being More within the Land was Siceleg, or Tig- ftrengthened in his own Territories, passed lak, which was burnt by the Amalekites, to * Gedor, as it is I Chron. 4. 39. (the same lines) when David in his flying from Saul to the place which Jos. 15.36. is called Gedera and the last Philistims had left his carriages there, but Gederothaima) which at that time was inha-David followed them over the River of Be- bited by the iffue of Cham: where they featfor, and put them to the flaughter, and reco- ed themselves: as also five hundred others of year this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques of Anales this Charles Next Dabir sometime Cariath-Sepher, a in the Mountains of Edom, and dwelt in their Course

The Mountains within this Tribe are few, and time, it feems, it had the name of Daema: and that of sampson the chiefest: unto which Jos. 15. 49. it is called Urbs Sanna: from the he carried the Gate-post of Gaza. The Riname, as it feems, of some of the Anakims, as vers are, Befor, and the Torrent of Egypt, called

6. III.

THE TRIBE OF JUDA.

F Juda, the fourth fon of Jacob by Lea, there were multiplied in Egypt 74600. all which (Caleb excepted) perished in the Besides these, there are many others in Desarts. And of their sons there entred named 1 Chron. 6.59. though * in the place of on included. And many Cities named in

those Tribes, did first, as they say, belong un beaten and put to flight: As following the Soveraignty over them: as Succoth, Carta- time he recovered. thinim, Lachis, Bethsemes, Tsiglag, Beersheba, Not far from Jether standeth Jarmith. and others. The multitude of people within whose King was slain by Josua, and the City this small Province (if it be meted by that overturned. Next unto it is Maresa the Naground given to this Tribe only) were in- tive City of the Prophet Michae: between credible, if the witnesse of the Scriptures had it and Odolla, Judas Macchabaus overthrew numbred the people, they were found five mas of filver to be offered for facrifice. hundred thousand fighting men.

the Ifraelites, the fons of Keni, the Kinfmen by S. Hierome. of Moles, obtained a possession in that Terlites, dwelt between Madian and Amalek.

sist and the South, Ascensus Scorpionis, or Acrab- four Patriarchs, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Frontier Towns.

Hatsmon, of no great fame.

Turning now from Idumea towards the man 15. also Carioth, by Jos. 15.25. called Keri- expelled: to whom it was in part given, to with whence Judas the Traitor was called wit, the Villages adjoying, and the reft to the best of carioth, as it were a man of Carioth. Then the Levites. It had a Bishop in the Christian boam re-edified. Beyond these, towards the Helen the mother of Constantine. which North border, and towards Elutberopolis, is Not far hence they find Eleutberopolis or the City of Jethar, or Jathir, belonging to the free City, remembred often by Saint a called Jethira: and inhabited altogether fociated with the other four Kings of the Amuto, and Laum, octografied the Arabiwere by Josua utterly overthrown. From were by Josua utterly overthrown. From

to the Children of Juda: who had a kind of victory as far as Gerar, which at the same

not warranted the report. For when David

Gorgias, and fent thence ten thouland Drag. 2 Macris;

and the people they were found five

mat of filter to be offered for faviling.

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Odolla, or Hadullam it felf, was an ancient Gen. 38, 1. The Cities of Juda were many. But I will and magnificent City, taken by Josua, and Josus. remember the chiefelt of them: beginning the King thereof flain. Jonathan Macchabe- 1 Sam. 23.1 with Arad, or Horma, which standeth in the us beautified it greatly. Then Ceila, or Keila, entrance of Judea from Idumea: whose King afterward Echela, where David sometime first surprized the Israelites as they passed by hid himself: and which afterward he delithe border of Canaan towards Moab, and vered from the affaults of the Philistims: took from them some spoyls, and many prineer which the Prophet Abacuc was buried: 16 foners: who being afterward overthrown by whose monument remained, and was feen

Neer it is Hebron, sometime called the Ciritory: who before the coming of the Israe- ty of Arbah, for which the Vulgar hath Cariatharbe: the reason of this name they give as Following this Frontier towards Idumea if it fignified the City of four: because the bim is placed: the next to Arad: so called Jacob, were therein buried, but of Adam it because of Scorpions, which are said to be in is but supposed: and it is plain by the plathat place: from which name of Acrabbim, ces, Jos. 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 20. 11. that Hierome thinks that the name of the Topar- Arbah here doth not fignifie four, but that it chie, called Acrabathena, was denominated: was the name of the Father of the Giants, of which we have spoken in Manasses. On called Anakim, whose son asit seems Anak the South fide also of Judga they place the was: and Achiman, Shelhai, and Talmai, Cities of Jagur, Dimona, Adada, Cedes, Ashna, (whom Caleb expelled , Jos. 15.) were the Jethnam, and Assor, or Chatsor, most of them sons of Anak, Num. 13.23. The name of Anak fignifieth Torquem, a chain worn for or-And then Ziph: of which there are two nament; and it feems that this Anak, inplaces so called: one besides this in the bo-riched by the spoils which himself and his dy of Juda, of which the Defart and Forrest father got, wore a chain of gold, and so got adjoyning took name: where David hid this name: and leaving the cufrome to his himself from saul. After these are the Cities posterity, left also the name: so that in Laof Efron, Adar, Karkab, and Ascemona, or time the name of Anakim may not amiss be expounded by Torquati.

The City Hebron was one of the ancien-North, we find the Cities of Danna, Shemah, test Cities of Canaan, built seven yeers before Aman , the other Afor, or Chatfor, Behaloth, Tfoan, or Tanis, in Egypt: and it was the head and the two sochoes: of all which fee Jof, and chief City of the Anakims, whom Caleb Hetham, the abode of sampson, which Reho times, and a magnificent Temple built by

the Levites. In Saint Hierom's time it was Hierome, Then Eglon, whole King Dabir af with christians: neer unto this City was morites, to wit, of Hierysalem, Hebron, Jarthat remarkable battel fought between Afa muth, and Lachis, belieging the Gibeonites, ans, who brought into the field a Million of hence the next City of fame was Emaio, affighting men : and was notwithstanding terward Nicopolis, one of the Cities of Go-

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of this City, Judus Macchabans (after he had like lamps of fire in the eyes of the Jens, formerly beaten both apollonius and Seron) The City of * Bezek was also neer unto Beth. Sea gave a third overthrow to Gorgias , Lievte- leem, which Adoni-Fezee commanded ; who

Meet 1.3 an earthquake, faith Enfebius. In the Christi- Toes, and made them gather bread under

of Cafarea of Palestine.

are the Cities of Nahama, Bethdagon, and The rest of the Cities in this part (most of Gader, or Gedera, or Gederothaima, of which, them of no great estimation) we may pass Also 1 and of Gederoth, * Jof. 15, 36, and 41. Then

the state of the bedin great strength in the Valley of (a) Terebinth, exceeding beautiful and strong. And to tale or The neutrine as the Fulour readeth. I Sam. wards the Dead Sea and adjoining to the the Tille 5 Turpentine, as the Vulgar readeth, t Sam. wards the Dead Sea, and adjoyning to the a Jonus 17. 2. whence (as it feems) they feat it neer for it I'd unto Soco and unto Lebna of the Levites. let review. rusalem: And next unto this standeth Ma- one another, when they had purposed to keers the ceda, which Josua utterly dis-peopled.

Bethfor: one of the strongest and most for so strange a deliverance. fought for places in all Juda. It is seated on a it was by Simon exceedingly fortified a- a little one: when as the old name was Be-19/100

gainst the Sycien Kings.

38.16. Of this City was Abessan, or Ibsan balsamum: the most part of all which Trees Judge of Ifrael after Jephtah, famous for the Cleopatra Queen of Egypt fent for out of Juthirty fons and thirty daughters begotten daa, and Herod, who either feared or loved by him. Elimelee was also a Bethlemite, who Anthony her Husband, caused them to be of whom David. It had also the honour to of the Presidencies thereof. be the native City of our Saviour Jesus | The rest of the Cities are many in the In- 1801 Christ; and therefore shall the memory land, and among them Jest not that thereof never end.

com. saper. of the same name : and therefore was this of City of Achinoan, the wife of David, the mo-Mauch . 1. Our Saviour called Bethleem Juda.

deth Theeua, the City of Amos the Prophet: loms Lievtenant, and the Commander of his 76) and to this place adjoyning is the City of Army. But this feemeth to be an errour

vernment or Frasidencies of Judas. In fight the glorious guilt shields of Antiochus shined had during his reign tortur'd 70. Kings, by Join In the yeer 1301, it was overturned by cutting off the joynts of their Fingers and an times it had a Bishops seat of the Diocess his Table; but at length the same end befell himself by the sons of Juda, after they and From Emans toward the West Sea, there had taken him prisoner.

as is above the five Kings before named, a City of mounting thereunto with 200. Marble fleps, 36 in to Terebin. bath it revolted from the subjection of the Jews phat, the Jews stood and lookt on the Most sting, bath it revolted from the subjection of the Jews while for am the fon of Josaphat ruled in Hie- bites, Ammonites, and Edomites, massacring 16 km joyn against Juda: neer which place is the On the other fide of Emans towards the Valley of bleffing, where the Jews the fourth reamog in Falt standeth Bethfur, otherwise Bethfora, and day after, solemnly came and blessed God-

Now the Cities of Juda which border the . Chur high Hill; and therefore called Bethfur (the Dead Sea, are thefe; Aduran beautified by 'Sm boule on the Book, or of firength.) It was for- Roboan : and Tobar, which the Vulgar caltified by Robonza, and afterward by Judas leth * Segor: so called, because Lot in his pray risku Macchabaus Lylias forc't it : and Antiochus er for it, urged that it was but a little one : Grand Mac.t. 6. Entapor by famine Jonathas regained it : and whence it was called Tohar, which fignifich cook

lah, as it is Gen. 14.2. In the Romans time it Harden, Beshleem is the next unto it within fix miles had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) only of Hierufalem, otherwise Lebem: fometime Pannier: in Hierom's time, Balexona. Then then the Ephrata; which name, they say, it had of Engaddi, or Hen-gaddi, first Asasonthamar: class Calebs wife, when as it is to called by Mofes neer unto which are the Gardens of Ballabefore Caleb was famous in those parts, Gen. mum, the best that the world had called ope it with his wife Naomi fojourned in Moab du- rooted up, and presented unto her: which ring the famine of Juda in the time of the she re-planted neer Heliopolis in Egypt. This Judges, with whom Ruth the daughter-in-law of Naomi returned to Eethleem: and Amorites thence expelled. It was one of the Ga. W married Booz, of whom Obed, of whom Ishai, most remarkable Cities of Judaa; and one

which was the City of Naboth, of which al-Hieron. in In Zabulon of Galilee there was also a City ready; but another of the same name; the ther of that Ammon whom Abfalom flew :al-America. From Bethleem some sour or sive mile stan- so, as some think, the City of Amasa, Abserta 1. Mix. 6. Belbzacaria, in the way between Bethfura grounded upon the neerness of the words 16 and Hierusalem: on whose Hils adjoyning, Israel and Jestael: and because the 2 Sam. 17.

25. Amasa's father is called an Israelite, who, est Son of Abraham, the Ismaelites: and by on, though otherwise an Ismaelite.

Taphna, and these part Juda from Dan and places adjoyning. simeon. Of others which stand single, there Esan and his sons held Idumea, which is that of Hebron, at the foot whereof was bounded Canaan on the South, Ismael took that Oak of Mamre, where the three An- from the South-east part of the Dead Sea; gelsappeared to Abraham; which Saint Hie- stretching his possession over all Arabia Perome calleth a Fir-tree, and faith, That it trea, and a part of Arabia the Defart, as far Hierm. in flood till the time of Constantine the young-lm. Heb. as the River of Tygris, from Sur to Havilah. or greef er. There is also that Mountain called collis Achille, on the South of Ziph: on the top Dead Sea, leaving a part to Midian, and paf-M.14 whereof the great Herod, inclosing the old fing over Arnon, inhabited the Plains beand called Massada', garnished it with twenty seven high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and Furniture for an of Arnon, and possess the Tract from Rabba, ble strength.

for their unnatural fins.

THE TRIBE OF REUBEN. and his Borderers.

from Sehon King of Hesbon.

Mount Sinai 46000, who dying with the was prepared for the Ammonites. rest in the Desarts, there remained to pos- Now where it is written, that Arnon was or Edom, the Idumeans: by Ismael, the eld-name was Balar, the son of Zippor. And it

in the first of the Chron. 2. 17. is called an Ketura, his last wife, the Midianites. And Ismaelite: indeed the Hebrew Orthography again, by Lot, Abraham's brothers fon, those theweth that Amaja's father is not faid to be two valiant Nations of the Moabites and of the City Jefrael, but an Ifraelite in Religi- Ammonites: all which being but strangers in the Land of Canaan (formerly possess by In this Tribe there were many high Hils the Canaanites; and by the Families of and Mountains: as those of Engaddi upon them descended) these issues and alliance the Dead Sea: and the Mountains of Juda, of Abraham, all but Jacob, whose children which begin to rife by Emans, and end neer were bred in Egypt, inhabited the frontier

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Moab took the rest of the coast of the Castle, crected by Jonathan Macchabaus, tween Jordan and the Hils of Abarim, or Arnon, as far North as Effebon, or Chesbon. Ammon fate down on the North-east fide

hundred thousand men; being, as it seem- afterward Philadelphia, both within the 705.13. eth a place unaccessable, and of incompara- Mountains of Gilhead, and without them as far forth as Aroer, though in Moles time he In the Valley afterward called the Dead had nothing left him in all that Valley: for Sea., or the Lake Affbaltitis, this Country the Amorites had thrust him over the River had four Cities, Adama, Sodom, Seboim, and of Jaboc, as they had done Moab over Arnon, Nam. 11. Gomorra, destroyed with fire from Heaven As these Nations compassed fundry parts of 14 Canaan, fo the border between the River of Jaboc and Damascus, was held by the Amorites themselves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territory on the East fide of Fordan, and on the East side of the Dead Sea, was granted by Moses to the Tribes of Ren- Gen. 14. ben, Gad, and half Manaffe; whereof that part which Moab had, was first possess by the Emims, a Nation of Giants weakned and bro-The feats and bounds of Midian, Moab, and ken by Chedorlaomer, after repulsed by the Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites wan Moabites, as before remembred. That which the Ammonites held, was the Territory and ancient possession of the Zamzummims, or Nthe other fide of the Dead Sea, Ren- Zutai, who were also beaten at the same the eldest of Jacobs sons inhabited: time by Chederlaomer, Amraphel, and the of whose children there were numbred at rest: and by them an easie way of conquest

fess the Land promised 43700, bearing arms. the border of Moab, the same is to be under-But before we speak of these, or the rest that stood according to the time when Moses inhabited the East side of Jordan, some- wrote. For then had sehon or his Ancestor thing of their borderers: to wit, Midian, beaten the Moabites out of the plain Coun-Moab, and Ammon, whose Land in our Writties, between Abarim and Jordan, and driters are confusedly described, and not easily ven them from Hesbon over Arnon; and this distinguished. And first we are to remember, hapned not long before Moses arrival upon that out of Abraham's kindred came mighty that border, when Vaheb governed the Mo-Families: as by IJaac and Jacob the Nation abites. For he that ruled Moab when Moses called Israel, and afterward Jews: by Esau, past Arnon, was not the son of Vaheb, but his

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may be that those Kings were elective, as the Edumeans anciently were.

Now, all that part of Moab, between Arnon and Jordan, as far North as Esebon, was inhabited by Reuben. And when Ifrael arrived there out of Egypt, it was in the possesfion of sehon, of the race of Canaan by Amorens: and therefore did Jephtah the Judge of Ifrael justly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claim of the Ammo-(faith Jeplitah) had 300. years time to recover them, and did not : whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now.

And left any should marvel why the Ammonites in tephtalis time should make claim to these Countries: whereas Moses in the place Num. 21.v.26. rather accounts them to have been the ancient possession of the Moabites, than of the Ammonites: it is to be noted, that Deut. 3. 11. when it is faid that the Itors got from the Ammonites, as much of Se-

kons was from the Moabites. they had also possessions over Jaboc, which via, the mother of Tiberius Casar. at length the Gadites possest, as in the thirit appears.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

He chief Cities belonging to Reuben were these, Kedemoth, for which the High Vulgar, without any flew of warrant, readeth Jethson. The Vulgar or Hierome followed the Septuagint, those two Verses, 36, and nites: because (as he alledged) Moses found 37. in Fos. 22. being wanting in the old Hethem in the possession of the Amorites, and | brew Copies, and the Septuagint read Kednot in the hands of Moab, or Ammon : who | Son for Kedmoth , which Kedson by writing flipt into ethfon.

This City which they gave to the Levites, Deman imparts her name to the Defart adjoyning: html, html from whence Moses sent his Embassage to marginal Sehon. In the same place of Josua, where this Deal. 3 Kedemoth is mentioned the Vulgar for Betfer when & villa ejus, reads Bosor in Solitudine Misor, ste ken Without any ground from the Hebrew Miles, fig. whence Adrichomius makes a Town called nilying Misor, in the border between Renben and which is Iron bed of the was to be seen at Rabbath, the Gad. Farther from Kedemoth, near the Dead was to chief City of the Ammonites, it is also fignifi- Sea (for the Country between being Moun- Int. ed, that much of the Land of og, which the tainous, hath few Cities) they place two wines Ifraelites portefied, was by him or his Ance- Towns of note, Lafa or Lefbafb, of which Ge- 69.00 nesis 10.ver.19. The Greeks call it Callirhoe quel High near which there is a Hill from whence there were Jol 13.25 And as the Canasanite Nations were feated floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter falls, flowering flowering and fweet water; all which foon after the first on the control of the first flowering and fweet water; all which foon after the first on the control of the first flowering James to diffinguish them; so also were the sons of rising, being joyned in one stream; do make traction of sine seems and James and Jam Hammon, why Ammon commanded in chief, in Jeph-der, when he was desperate of all other help, 6.15. this place tab's time; for fometime the one Nation, repaired, but in vain. Others fay, that these of Josa is sometime the other of all those borderers Springs arise out of the Hills of Machaeuri. have been acquired the Soveraignty: and again, that in this Tribe. The like fountains are found given to one part of the Land which Gad held, name- in the Pyrenyes, and in Peru, called the Baths the Gadines, ly, within the Mountains of Galaad, or Gile- of the Inga's, or Kings. The other Town is had, and as far South as Aroer, belonged to Macharus, the next between Lafa and Joithe Am- the Ammonites. And therefore taking advan- dan: of all that part of the world the strongmonites by tage of the time, they then fought how to est In-land City and Castle, standing upona the place, recover it again. Yet at fuch time as Moses Mountain every way unaccessible. It was Deni. 1.11 overthrew Schon at Jahaz, the Ammonites first fortified by Alexander January who as well og, had lost to the Amorites all that part of their made it a frontier against the Arabrans but as School possession which lay about Aroer, and be it was demolished by Gabinius in the war had gotten tween it and Jaboc: Sebon and Og, two with Ariftobulus, laith Josephus, It was thither pour Kings of the Amorites, having displanted (faith Josephus) that Herod sent John Baptift, 19, 100 both Meab and Ammon of all within the and wherein he was flain : his Army foot af com. Mountains. For it is written in Numb. 21.24. ter being utterly overthrown by Aretas King Hirink that Ifrael conquered the Land of Sehon of Arabia, and himself after this murthernefrom Arnon unto Jaboc, even unto the chil- ver prospering. Not far from Machorus was dren of Ammon: so as at this time the River Bosor, or Bozra, a town of refuge, and belongof Jaboc was the South bound of Ammon ing to the Levites, and near it Livius upon within the Mountains, when as anciently Jordan, which Herod built in honour of Li-

To the North of Livias is Setim . or Sit-Nam. 15 teenth Chapter of Josua, verse twenty five, tim: where the children of Israel imbraced the daughters of Midian or Moab; and where

Phineas pierced the body of Zimri and Cof Num. 33.49. (that some call Abel-sathaim, and and Junius, vallem Cedrorum: expounding bernacle was made. it not for any particular place in Canaan:but for the Church, in which the just being pla- they place the Cities Nebo, Baal-Meon, Sibma, ced, grow as the cedars, Pfal. 92. 13.

which even now we spake. as in this place of Deuteronomy there is no chief place of whose worship seems to have the Region of Suph, or Suphah: which doubt- brought Balaam to curie the Ifraelites less was about these plains of Moab towards the Dead Sea: where the Country being full of reeds, was therefore thus called: as also the Red Sea was called Mare Suph, for like

The place in these large plains of Moab where Moses made those divine exhortations, some say was Bethabara, where John of note over Arnon, which adjoyned to 1,84m. 15, July 1.13, Where Mojes made thole divine exhortation of the state of t Moham led Beth-bara. Josephus fayes it was where aft the City of Phalti: to whom Saul gave his

hi with his spear, bringing due vengeance Bel-fathim) which is reckoned by Moles in upon them when they were in the midst of that place of Numbers for the 42, and last their fin; and from hence Fosica sent the dif- place of the Israelites incamping in the time May coverers to view Jericho, staying here until of Moses: This place is also called Sittim : Num. 15.1. he went over Jordan. As for the Torrent se- which word if we should interpret, we Exo. 15.10 tim, which in this place Adrickomius dreams should rather bring it from Cedars than of, reading feel 3. 18. irrigabit torrentem Se- from Thorns, with Adrichomius and others. tim: The Vulgar hath torrentem spinarum: It was the wood of which the Ark of the Ta-

Toward the East of these plains of Moab, and Hesbon the chief City of sehon, and El-The plain Country hereabout, by Moses halel, and Kiriathaima the seat of the Gi-Nam 11 37 called, The plains of Moab, where he expoun- ants Emim. Of the two first of these Moses Gen. 14.5. ded the book of Deuteronomy to the people feems to give a note that the names were to Num. 31. a little before his death, is in the beginning be changed, because they tasted of the Moaa little before his dearn, is in the beginning of the fame book precifely bounded by Mo-bites * Idolatry. For Nebo (in flead of which, * Exod. 13. fes. On the South it had the great Defart of Junius, Efa. 46. 1. reads Deus vaticinus) was deorum ali-Paran, where they had long wandred. On the name of their Idol-Oracle, and Baal-me-enorum ne the East it had Chatferoth, and Dizahab (of on is the habitation of Baal. Of the same Idol ne auditum which two, the former is that Gazorus, of was the Hill Nebo in these parts denomina- in ore two. which Ptolomy in Palestina: the later was a ted: from whose top, which the common Plat. 164. Tract belonging to the Nabashei in Arabia Translators call Phalgah, Moses before his puntas som That belonging to the savanors in An again the fame Petrea, where was * Mezabab, of which, Gen. death faw all the land of Canaan beyond womine to ait feems 36.39.) by the Geographers called Medava. Jordan. In which from Junius doth not take min labit. with and Medaba. On the West it had Jordan, and Phasgah, or Pisgah for any proper name: but Hose 2.17. maked on the North it had Laban (in Junius editi-india, on, by the fault of the Print, Lamban, Deut, also Vatablus in some places, as Num. 21. 20. bilineses. wanter we united the 1.1.) the same which the Geographers call where he noteth, that some call Piscab that so re spint plan of Libias: and some consound it with Livias, of top which looketh to Jericho, and Hair as it what name they gled looketh to Moab, which opinion may be for Nels it Also on the same North side towards the somewhat strengthened by the name of a dothner which also confines of Calofyria, it had Theophel: wherethe mass of about sometime Pella of Cwlosyria stood: Ashdoth-Pigga, which is as much as decursus it seems | Paida | which was in the Region of Decapolis; and | Pigætto wit, where the waters did run down they make | as Stephanus faith, was sometime called Ru. from Piga In the same place of Local mell some as Stephanus faith, was sometime called Bu- from Piga. In the same place of Josua there is time Easi. B demaile, the It is also noted in Moses to be over against also named Beth-Peor, as belonging to Reu- as Esta 15, 2 notional of the Hill Peor: from whence and tome or near unto Suph, for which the Vulgar ben: fo called from the Hill Peor: from whence time Bull-Magga hath the Red Sea, as also Num. 2.14. it transla- also Baal the Idol was called Baal-Peor; meon, Esoy 1/16.1. teth the word Suphah in like manner: where- which, they fay, was the same as Priapus: the addition of any word in the Hebrew to fig- been Bamoth-Bahal, of which also Jos. 13. in nifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when the Cities of Reuben: for which, Num. 22.41. this word is so to be taken, useth the additi- they read, the high places of Baal (for so the on of Mara, thereby to diffinguish it from word fignifieth) to which place Balaak first

Of divers places bordering Reuben, belonging to Midian, Moab, or Edom.

baptized, which in the story of Gideon is cal-Renben: amongst which they place Gallim, sti. ter the City Abila stood, near Jordan, in a daughter Michel from David: but Junius Place set with Palm-trees: which sure was thinks this Town to be in Benjamin: gathe same as Abel-sittim in the plains of Moah, thering so much out of Esa. 10. 29. where it



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With better reason perhaps out of Num. 21. impregnable, he was content, by the persuahad left the Well, called Beer: Then Debla- of the Arabians in the valley called Salinathaim, which the Prophet Hieremy threatneth | rum) wan also this City. S. Hierome findes with the rest of the Cities of Moab.

chief City of the Madianites in Moah: but the Kingdom of Hiernfalem, it had a Latine nites there were two Nations of which these exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of which Moses encamped in the 38. station. twelve thousand Israelites, sent by Moses out Adrichomius describeth the waters of Memof the Plains of Moab: at fuch time as Ifrael rim, or rather Nemrim, in his Map of Reuben. rest destroyed. The other Madianites, over | which it seems Adrichomius writ Nemrim) whom Jethro was Prince or Prieft, forgat not refresh the plains of Moab: and the confluthe God of Abraham their Ancestor; but ence of those waters of Nimra are in the relieved and affifted the Ifraelites in their | Tribe of Gad. Save also cannot be found in painful travels through the Defarts: and this place, that is, to the South of Arnon, and were in all that passage their guides. In the under Midian. For after Abraham returned Elay 16.1. South border of Moab adjoyning to Edom, from the pursuit of the Affyrian and Persian Kings 14 and sometime reckoned as the chief City of Princes, the King of Sodom met him in the Edom, there is that Petra, which in the Scrip- Valley of Save, or Saveh, which is the Kings first and strongest City: the same perhaps Dale, could not be in these parts. which Pliny and Strabo call Nabatken, whence also the Province adjoyning took name: which name feems to have been taken at first from Nabajoth, the son of Abraham by Kethura. For Nabathen is no where underflood for all Arabia Petrea (at least where it is not mil understood) but it is that Province which neighboureth Judea. For Pharan ins. chron. 5. habited by Ismael, whose people Ptolomy calleth Pharanites, in stead of Ismaelites, and all those Territories of the Culites, Madianites, Amalekites, Ismaelites, Edomites, or Idumeans, the Lands of Moab, Ammon, Hus, Sin, and of cg King of Basan, were parts of Arabia Petrea: though it be also true, that some part of Arabia the Defart belonged to the Ama-Scriptures in the first of Chronicles the fifth.

calls Hagarens of Hagar.

is named among the Cities of Benjamin. Roman Army, and finding the place in shew 19. we may fay that Mathana and Nahaliel fion of Antipater, to take a composition of were in those confines of Renben: through money, and to quit it. Yet Amasian King of which places the Ifraelites past after they Juda (after he had slaughtered ten thouland Ruth the Moabite to be natural of this City. Madian also is found in these parts, the In the mean time, when the Christians held not that Midian, or Madian by the Red Sea, Bishop, having before been under the Greek Will To. wherein Jethro inhabited. For of the Madia- Church. It is feated not far from Hor, where 30, id. Aaron died, and on the other fide towards New 11 of Moab became Idolaters, and received an the North is the River of Zared, or Zered, by Druzij began to accompany their Daughters: their not far hence, and between Zared and Arfive Kings with Balaam the Soothsayer, were non: and so he doth the Valley of Save: but 1961,31 then flain, and their Regal City with the the waters of Nimra, or Beth-Nimra (for House, tures is called selah, which is as much as ru- | Dale, where Absolom set up his Monument, as some pes, or petra. It was also called Jotheel, as it feems, not far from Hierufalem. And at the forthe his appears by the place, 2 Kings 14. It was fame time Melchisedec King of Salem also en- brew, the built (faith Josephus) by Recem, one of those countred him. But Abraham coming from relations five Kings of the Madianites: flain as before the North, and Melchifedee inhabiting, either and fails is faid : after whom it was called Recem. neer Bethfan, otherwise Scythopolic, in the half the sline Now, they say, it is called Crac, and Mozera. Tribe of Manasse, or in Hierusalem (both pla adding The Soldans of Egypt, for the exceeding cesslying to the West of Jordan) could not be 31 firingth thereof, kept therein all their trea-forces of Egypt and Arabia: of which it is the fore Save, which was also called the King ii had

||. IV.

Of the Dead Sea.

Ow because the Sea of sodom, or the of Mosty Dead Sea, called also the Lake of Apphal called the titis, and the Salt fea (in diffinction from the both Moth Sea of Tiberias, which was fresh water) also neally as also was as also we the sea of the Wilderness, or rather the sea have col * of the Plains, is often remembred in the labinite Scriptures, and in this story also, therefore I is, in the think it not impertinent to speak somewhat plains, thereof. For it is like unto the Caspian sea, bullet 1 which hath no out-let, or disburthening. The Mar. 9.11 lekites, and Ismaelites: all which Nations the length of this Lake Josephus makes 180. fur-whence longs (which make 22 miles and a half of minimum) ours) and about 150. in bredth, which make gins 10 This City Petra, Scaurus befieged with the 18. of our miles, and somewhat more. makes it a great deal less: but those that of Num. v. 14. nameth Vaheb, which seems to born up by the water. At one time of the of the Princes of Midian. year cafteth it up titumen: the art of ga- After these times the Kings of the Moabites

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ness having nothing within them, but moulder | Clay-workers to the King there. into ashes: Thus far Tacitus. And it is found Then we find Eglon King of Moab, who Judges gi it, who were not onely unskilfull in fwiming, lieved him; knowing that Saul fought his life, but had their hands also bound behind them, yet notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not fink.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Countrey within Arnon Reuben poffeft.

Figure 1 the Kings of Moab, whose Countrey (within Arnon) Reuben possess (though Moabites, whose name liveth, was Mesha, who

have of late years feen this fea, did account be the Ancestor or Predecessor of Balac, the (faith a Weissenburg) eight Dutch miles fon of Zippor: which Balas fent for Balaam Name at (which is two and thirty of ours) in length: to curse Israel. For fearing to contend with 19624. and two and a half of theirs (which is ten Moses by arms, by the examples of schon, and of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, Ta- Og, he hoped by the help of Balaams curfings citus maketh this report: Lacus oft in immenso or inchantments, to take from them all ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravi- strength and courage, and to cast on them tate odoris accolis pestifer: neque vento im- some pestilent diseases. And though Balaam pollitur, neque pisces aut suitas aquis volucres at the first, moved by the spirit of God blest patitur, incertum unde superjecta ut solido Ifrael, contrary to the hope and desire of feruntur, periti, imperitique nandi perinde at- Moab: yet being desirous in some sort to tolluntur, &c. That it is very great, and (as fatisfie him, and to do him fervice, he advised it were) a fea of a corrupt tafte: of smell in- Moab to fend Madianitish women among the fedions, and pestilent to the borderers: it is Israelites: hoping by them, as by sit instruneither moved nor raised by the winde, nor ments of milchief, to draw them to the Idolaindureth fift to live in it, or fowl to swim in it. try of the Heathen, but in the end, he receiv-Those things that are cast into it, and the un- ed the reward of his falling from God, and of skilfull of fiviming, as well as the skilfull, are his evil counfell, and was flain among the rest

thering which, Experience (the finder are not named: faving that we find in of other things) hath also taught. It is used the first of Chronicles the fourth, that Jokim, in the trimming of thips, and the like busi- and the men of Chozeba, and Foulb, and Sareph, all being of the iffue of Fuda, some-And then of the Land, he speaketh in this time had the Dominion in Moab: but as it is fort : The fields not far from this Lake, which written in the same Verse, These also are versas mere sometime fruitfull, and adorned with great | antient things: to wit, as some expound it, cities, were burnt with lightning; of which the particulars of these mens governments thereines remain, the ground looking with a are no where extant or remaining, or as osad face, as having lost her fruitfulness; for thers, have prins fuere, these Families of Juda whatsoever doth either grow, or is set thereon, were once thus famous: but now their postebe it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripe- rity choose rather to abide in Babylon, and be

by experience, that those Pomegranates, and with the help of Ammon and Amalee masterother Apples or Oranges, which do still ed Israel, and commanded them 18 years: grow on the banks of this curfed Lake, do which Eglon, Ehud flew in his own house, and look fair, and are of good colour on the out- afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name fide, but being cut, have nothing but dust the King of Moab had unto whom David within. Of the Bitumen which this Lake cast- fled fearing Saul, it doth not appear: or 1 Sam 22. eth up, it was by the Greeks called Asphaltitis. whether it were the same against whom Saul Vespassan desirous to be satisfied of these re- made war, it is not manifest, for neither are ports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and named. But in respect that this Moabite was caused certain Captives to be cast into an enemy to Saul, he received David, and re- 1 Saun. 14.

> After this, David himself entred the Region of Moab, but not likely in the same 25am. 8. Kings time: for he llaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was faid of David, Moab 1 chro. 18, is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my (hooe: meaning, that he would reduce them to fuch an abjection, and appoint them for base services; and that he would tread down the Idumeans.

not taken from Moab, but from sehon the falling from Juda, (perhaps in remembrance Amorite) few are known. Junius in the 21. of the severity of David) fastened himself

makes ante

reason of

this name

feems to

Efsyts.

to the Kings of Ifrael, and and tribute to A- City, which in divers places is faid to be hab, 100000. Lambs, and 200000. Rams with within, and in the middle of the River of the wooll: who revolting again from Wrael Arnon (and to diffinguished from Harober, and Idumaa: and being by these three Kings Same Junius proveth out of Numbers, ch. 21. is ellewhere shewed. There is also mention divers streams, where or among which Har made of the Mochites without the Kings is scated: And the same is confirmed by the name; when that Nation, affilted by the place of Jos. 13. ver. 25. where Haroker is phat: and by reason of some private quarrels Rabbab, as it seems, cannot be the Rabbab of among themselves, the Moabites and Am- the Ammonites (for they seat not Harober fo as Jehoshaphat had a notorious victory o- Moah, which they make to be Ar, or Har; and hundred and odd years.

the bordering places of Ammon.

"He Territory adjoyning to Reuben, is S. Hieroms time the greatest part of this 45.

The chief City of Gad was Aroer, which quakes. they make to be the same with Ar . or Rabrober, which doubtless belonged to the Ga- this City among the rest of Moab, both Elay dites (as Numb. 32.34 it is faid that they built and Hieremy prophefied, that it should perilly it) was indeed seated neer Har of the Moa- and the Lakes about it run with the blood bites, but divers from it. For that Har was of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village never possest by Moses, it is plain Deutero- neer Arnon in S Hierom's time. nomy 2.9. where God forbidding Moses to Keeping the banks of Arnon, one of the touch it, faith he hath given Har for an in- next Cities of fame to Aroer, was Bethnim-

after the death of Abab, was invaded by Je-after the death of Abab, was invaded by Je-borum, with whom joyned the Kings of Juda bank of Arnon) is Har of the Moabites, the prest and broken, he fled to Kir-hareseth, as v.15. where Arnon is said to be divided into Ammonites and Idumeans, invaded Jehosha- faid to be seated before Rabbah : which monites fet upon the Idumans, and flaugh- neer it, nor in fight of it) and therefore by tered them: and then one against another, Rabbab here, we must understand Rabbab of ver them all, without either blood or wound. fo we must needs distinguish it from Harober. Also in the time of Hieremy the Prophet, And as for Har, (which also gave the name beau there was a King of Most which is not na- to the coast adjoyning it feems it continued one med, which was after Melbs of Mosh many in the possession of the Moshites, after they have descents; for Melbs lived with Jeboram, and had once expelled the Giant-like people was descents: for negra fived with personal, and bade one affective weakned by Chedorlaomer this Mashite in Zedekia's time fourteen Kings called Emins, first weakned by Chedorlaomer thing of Inda coming between, who wasted three and his Associates: but Harober by the enter-bee change of times inffered many ancient chan-point ges, as being won from the Meabites by Se-theCity bon, and from him by the Ifraelites, and from the them, as it seems in the story of Jephta by the them, as it seems in the story of Jephta by the them, as it seems in the story of Jephta by the them, as it seems in the story of Jephta by the them, as it seems in the story of Jephta by the them, as it seems in the story of Jephta by the them, as it seems in the story of Jephta by the them, as it seems in the story of Jephta by the them, as it seems in the story of Jephta by the them, as it seems in the story of Jephta by th by the Ifraelites under the conduct of Jephia, this is

that of Gad: whereof all that part City perished by an earth-quake, as also Zour, Man. which joyned to the Mountains, was some- in which Lot saved himself in the destruction Himself which fortice to the Montains, was time in the possession of the Ammonites, as far to the South as Aroer. Of the children of a was therefore called Vitula confirmant, pair and the south as Aroer. Gad, the seventh son of Jacob by Zelpha, the because as a wanton tumbling heiser, she was to mit. Must. 131. hand-maid of Leathere parted out of Egypt, thrice overthrown with earth-quakes: for the full faith. and died in the Defarts, 45550, and of their which cause also Hierome seems to think that fons there entred the Land promised, this Zoar was called Salissa, or Bal-Salissa, asif upon 45000. bearing Arms: for the half Tribe of Baal had been a remainder of the old name wheels Manasse, the River of Jaboc divided them : Balah, or Belah, (of which Gen. 14.2. and Sa make from Reuben, the Cities of Hesbon, Elbele, and lifta, which hath a fignification of the ternary shall number, had alluded to the three earth coming

Brochard takes Harober to be Petra, but the list bath Moab, the great or commanding Moab. erroneously, as before it is noted; feeing that with the man described in the second of But the learned Junius attending diligently Petra was in the South border of Month adto those words of Moses, Deut. 2.36. Ab Ha- joyning to Edom, whereas Harober is in the white robero, que est in ripa suminis Arnon, & ci- North-East border. Between Haroher and esponding vitate ipfa qua est in flumine: Where the City Jordan they seat Dibon, which is attributed to below in the River is distinguished from the City upon the Gadites, because they are said to have a multithe bank of the River, as also in like manner, built it, Num. 32.34. though Jos. 13.w.17. it is a few (Jose 12. v. 2. and c. 13.9.) thinketh that Ha- faid that Moses gave it to the Reubenites. Of

heritance to the fons of Lot. Now that this rab, of which Esay prophesied, That the war elast

n 48 ters thereof should be dried up: and all the vale | cording to Josephus, sometime Bataramptha) 190131 in this Tribe, Adrichomius placeth Jogbeha Perea, beyond Jordan, which Regio Perea, which he spake before, ver. 34.35, 36. there- same as Bethsaida. Upon the Sea of Galilee, near to Julias in tipe that part of Manafe which was in the East of Peraa, (that is, in the Region over Jordan) 30fpb de the part in For whereas he supposed his to be the same based with Nob which Saul destroyed of this we like the same which Nob which Saul destroyed of this we like the same which Nob which Saul destroyed of this we like the same which Nob which Saul destroyed of this we like the same which Nob which Saul destroyed of this we like the same which Nob which Saul destroyed of this we like the same which Nob which Saul destroyed of this we like the same which is as much as domes 1.7.6.8. which figures (a) in the Tribe of Benjamin. for fafeguard in the time of War with the And as for that Karkor, where Zebah and Zal- Romans, came with many others into Hiehand munnah rested themselves in their slight from rusalem, and was there besieged. Fosephus marched in the place noted, reports a lamentable Hiwith Kir-chares, of which Esay 15. and 2 Reg. upon enfuing.

the Tribe of Gad.

nimra, is said to have been built by the Ga- for Men or Cattel, Moses, Gen. 33.17. wit-(b) Joj the Betaramptha, of which (b) Jojephus after turn from Mejopotamia built in that place: as Exodo 2.39 where the start from the start intuite that there is mention in (c) Josephus) or from on like reason called succeth: because there heuasa Beth-Remphan (of which Remphan, an Idol they set up their first Tabernacles or Tents: mage of those Countries, we read, Alls 7. 43. and which they used after for forty years in Lev. 15.43. Language of those Countries, we read, Acts 7, 43. and which they used after the wind after the wind and which they will define in the Wilderness. In remembrance wherelanguage Rephan, I Mac. 37.) of this question it were of the Feast of Succeits, or Tabernacles, was hard to resolve. But touching Julias (ac- instituted.

of Moab withered. Not far from Bethnimrah the same Josephus placeth in the Region of and Nobach, or Nobe: of both which we read as the Greek word fignifieth, is no more than in the story of Gideon: and that Jogbeha was Regio ulterior, the Country beyond the River; in Gad, built by the Gadites, it appears, Num- and therefore they which labour to fet bers 32. 35. and therefore Nobach also must down the bounds of this Perea, take more needs be in these parts; but whether in Gad pains than needs. Fourteen Villages this Juor Manasse it is not certain: only that it was lias had belonging unto it, according to Joanciently called Kenath, Moses witnesseth. Sephus. He makes it to have been built by Nobach also (faith he) went and took Kenath Herod Antipus, and named Julius, in honour with her Towns, and called it Nobach of his of the adoption of Livia Augustus his wife, own name, where because the Verses prece- into the Julian Family: by which adoption 706 and 18. dent speak of the Manassites, and because it she was called Julia. Another Julias, he saith 3.0 Bel. is not likely that Mofes would have severed was built by Philip the brother of Herod, in Judg. 28. this feat of the Gadites from the rest, of the lower Gaulanitis, which, he saith, is the

through this Nobach and Jogbeha, though story; how for hunger she eat her own fome place it in Gad, and make it the fame child, with other tragicall accidents here-

(1) (blap 12 3. 25. yet there can be no certainty that it Of succoth (which we faid Jos. 13. is placed was in Gad: and if it be the same with Kir- with Ben-haran, in the Valley of the King- Judg 8.56 chares, it is certain, that it was still a princi- dom of sehon) it is plain by the story of Gipal City held by the Moabites, and not in deon that it is near unto Jordan: where it is faid, that as he was past Jordan with his In the body of this Tribe of Gad they three hundred, weary in the pursuit of Zebah place Hataroth: of which name the Scripture and Zalmunnah, he requested relief of the witneffeth that two Cities were builded by men of succeth: who denying him and that the Gadites; the former fimply called Ha- with contempt, in Gideons return were by taroth, the later Hatroth-Sophan: for which him tortured, as it seems under a threshing- 2 5am, 135 later the vulgar makes two Cities, Roth and Car or Tribulum, between which and their 31. Shophan: the name Hataroth, is as much as flesh he put Thorns to teare their flesh as they were prest and trod under the Tribulum In the Valley of the Kingdom of Sehon, and after which fort also David used some together with Bethnimra of which we have of the Ammonites, though not with Thorns, spoken, Jos. 13.27. nameth Beth-haram and but with Iron teeth of the Tribulum. As succoth: the former, Numb. 32.36. (where for the name of succoth, which fignifieth fuch it is called Beth-haram) together with Beth- Tabernacles as were made in hafte, either dites, which (perhaps the rather, because in nesseth that the original of the name was Joha it is called Beth-haram) some take to from such harbours, which Jacob in his retaramptha were corrupted from Beth-haram, children of Ifrael, as they came from Raor from Betb-Aramatha (of which Arama- meses in Egypt, had their first Station, was up-

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bon, and Jahzer, all of them by the Gadites house of Saul. given to the Levites, of which Jahzer, as Chesbon, or Hesbon was a chief City of Sehon, Gilead, we read often in the Scripture, for whence Num. 32.1. his Country is called the the recovering of which, King Achab loft his Land of Jahzer. It was taken by Moses, ha- life. Junius thinks that Ramatha Miffia, of ving first sent spies to view it. In the first of which Jos 13. 26. was this Ramoth in Gilead. the Chronicles it is made part of Gilead. In Concerning the place where Laban and Jalatter times (as it may be gathered by the cob sware one to the other, as it was called Prophecy of Esay touching Moab) it was Gilead, which is as much as a witnessing heap, possessed by the Moabites: to which place of because of the heap of stones which Laban Efsy, also Hieremy in a like prophecy alludes. and his fons left for a monument; so also Elay 6.8. 775 and hirem. 48. It was at length regained (but as it feems that it was called Mitspah, which fignifieth from the Ammonites) by Judas Macchabeus: over-looking (because there they called as it is 1 Mac. 5. 8. where Junius out of Jo- God to over-see, and be witness to their Cofephus, reads, Jahzer, though the Greek hath venant) it is plain by the place, Gen. 31. 49. Gazer, For Gazer, or Gezer (as he gathereth That in these parts there was not onely a out of Jos. 16. 3. and 8. and Jud. 1. 29.) was Town, but likewise a Region called Mitsia, far from these Countries of sehon, seated in it appears Jos. 11. 3. where we read of the the West border of Ephraim, not possessed Chrvites under Hermon, in the Country of

the place of Josua, and 1 Chron. 6.81. it should from Tob (whither his brethren had driven be said to have been given to the Levites by him) dwelt in the Town of Mitspa, who the Gadites, seeing Jos. 13. 17. it is reckoned doubtless was of the Tribe of Manase, and chomius, and such as little trouble themselves may feem that they do not well, which place with such scruples, finding Cashon, I Mac. 5. this Town of Mitspa rather in Gad than in 36. among the Cities of Gilead, taken by Manasse. By Judas Macchabaus this Town of Judas Macchabaus, makes two Cities of one: Mitspa (whether in Gad or in Manasse) was and that of Reuben distinct from it: but the it slain: for it was then posses of the Ammobetter reconciliation is, That it being a bor- nites. dering City, between Gad and Reuben, was their part to the Levites, for so also it ieems Penuel, which name fignifieth Locum faciei that in like reason Dibon is said in one place Dei; A place where the face of God was sen: built by the Gadites, and in another given to fo called for memory of the Angels appear-Reuben, as before is noted. Of Machanaiim, ing to Jacob, and wrestling with him there: which word fignifieth a double Army, we read Gen. 32. 2. that it was therefore so called, because the Angels of God in that place turn he overthrew their Tower, and slew the met Jacob in manner of another Hoast or chief Aldermen thereof. To these places of Shepherds, at the time of our Saviours birth : stained King David, during Absaloms rebelli-

Other four Cities of Gad are named, Josua thereof, Abner choic for the feat of Ishbolleth. 21.38. Ramosh in Gilead, Machanaiim, Chef-during the war between David and the

Of the fourth Town, which was Ramoth in by the Ifraelites, until Solomons time, for Mitspa, *the Town of Mitspa, as it seems Ochu whom the King of Egypt wan it from the Ca-whom the King of Egypt wan it from the Ca-mannite, and gave it him as a Dowry with his following, being not in the Hill Country, but the first it in the Valley. But seeing that Jephia the Tribed Of Chesbon it may be marvelled that in Judge of Ifrael, who after he came home Injust. for a principal City of the Reubenites: Adri- thence at first expelled by his brethren, it fallist as if this Casbon had been the Chesbon of Gad, utterly spoiled and burnt, and the Males of 1 Mas 18

Between Succoth (of which we have spocommon to both, and that the Gadites gave ken) and the River Jaboc, was that Peniel, or Gastell the churlishness of which City, in refusing to Jul. 8.1 relieve Gideon, was the cause that in his recompany, to joyn with his for his defence : the Gadites, they add Rogelim, the City of as also Luke 2. 13. we read of a multitude of that great and faithful subject Barzillai, as it 33. the Hoast of Heaven, which appeared to the seems, not far from Nahanaima, where he suand so unto the godly King Ofwald of Nor- on. To these they add the Town of Gaddi, peat 18 thumberland, when he was foon after to joyn Arnon, and Alimis, of which Gaddi, being in This battel with the Pagan Penda of middle-Eng- Hebrew no more than Gaddita, is ignorantly land, Beda reports, that the like comfort ap- made the name of a place. Arnon also no peared: whence the field where the Battel where appears to be the name of a Town, was fought, in the North parts of England, is but still of a River. Alimis Adrichomius called Heaven-field. In this City of Machanai- frames of in Antiques, I Mac. 5.26. fo that the im, David abode during the rebellion of name should rather be Alema, but Junius out Absalom: and the same, for the strength of Josephus reads Malla, for this in Alimb;

the thewed touching the Millo of the Seche undertaking men, to wit, og and Schon, both June 1 lieuwe and scann, both and the to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites) he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes this Malle to be Milfia Moa-din mites he takes the milfia Moa-din mites he takes the mites he takes the milfia Moa-d Mageth which Adrichomius finds in this Tribe Lot over the Mountains, and into the Dethe lost one is of Gad, it is that Mahacath, which Moses farts. And as the Kings or Captains of Persia and Assire Kings or Captains of Persia
and Assire Kings or Captains of Persia
and Assire Kings or Captains of Persia
and Assire Kings or Captains of Persia
and Assire Kings or Captains of Persia hen for a forthe lounds of this Tribe. So also made way for Ammon, Moab, and Edom; fo interior Dathema, of which I Mac. 5. 10. (which Ju- by that great conquest which Moses had owithout nius takes to be (b) Rithma, of which Num. ver those two Amorites, Og and Schon, did milianing 33.18. a place of strength in the Territory the Moabites and Ammonites take opportuin ano of the Ammonites) and in like manner Min-nity to look back again into those Plains; reference they be attributed to the Gadites, or to their naffites, for fook the worship of the living minist of white street of the Book of Judges, the former of were sometime their Masters, sometime their swording them in the South border, and the other of Tributaries, as they pleased or displeased from the Gadites. But the chief City of the vertue of their Commanders. and Affair Ammonites was nearer, and not far from the In this City of Rabba, was the Iron bed miletok, formetimes Rabbath, as Deut. 3. 11. but more of breadth. The City was taken in Davids often Rabba. It is supposed to be that * Phila-ingulaten depiction which Protony finds in Cologyria. Hie-but the rapping and Califfred in Archivi I was concurred. inte the rome and Califtus, in Arabia. It was conquer- affault thereof Vrias was shot to death, hams, one of ed by Og from the Ammonites: but, as it seems, ving been, by direction from David, appointmaineth seat of the Ammonites, but of old it was the and wherein David so displeased God, as his being polifilien of the Zamzammim: which is as a start and wherein David to dippealed God, as his being polifilien of the Zamzammim: which is as a start, and wickedness infamous. The same were wighty and rich Crown of Gold, which the start also called Raphaim of whom was 03, which the Kings of Ammon wore: or which, as the recovered much of their which the Amon wore: and called recovered much of that which the Ammo- some expound it, was used to be put on the number had got from his Ancestors: who hathe Horims in Seir had been) were after- Metropolitan Bishop, and under him twelve Belsfar is. ward the easier conquered by the Ammo- others. internation and disposite the man for the most second of the second of the man for the most second of the mo red with covered the best part of all the Valley, be- Mountains do, which neighbour and bound whence it blance tween the Mountains and Jordan. For this divers Countries: for from the South part, as appears, the shift Cin. that Tre-

and understanding Malle to be put for Mil-, ancient inheritance : but having these two lo and to be as much as Munitio (as we have Kings of one kinred, and both valiant and nith, and Abel vincarum, though by some and when the Reubenites, Gadites, and Maborders, yet they are found farther off. For God, and became floathful and licentious; of the two last we read in Jephta's pursuit of they taking the advantage, invaded them, the Ammonites: seated, as it seems by that and cast them out of their possessions: and them in the East border, both far removed God: and according to the wisdom and

often Rabba. It is supposed to be that * Phila- time, and the Inhabitants slain with great senever possest by the Ifraelites, after the over- ed to be imployed in the leading of an afthrow of Og, but left to the Ammonites: fault, where he could not escape: wherein whereupon at length it became the Regal also many of the best of the Army perished: ving been first beaten by the Asyrians, and is 60. pound weight, after the common tatheir affiftants (as the Emims in Moab, and lent. In the time of Christians it had a wal. Tro.

nites, as the Emims were by Moab, and the The mountains which are described with-Horims by the Idumeans. Yet did the races in this Tribe, and that of Manasse, with a part of Emoreus, of whom these Giants were de- of Reuben, are those that Ptolomy calleth the feended, contend with the Conquerors for hills of Hippus, a City of Calofyria: and Stra-Strable. their ancient inheritance: and as Sehon of bo, * Trachones: the same which continue * Texton you was also master of Rabba, or Philadelphia: Iar Northwalls as appeared to the of Og, they are called Galaad, or Gilead, from so, in the babbase other of these two Moses and Israel, found thence Northward they are known by the parts was other of these two Moses and Israel. Og was also master of Rabba, or Philadelphia: far Northwards as Astaroth, the chief City chomies reall those Cities and Countries which were name of Hermon, for so Moses calleth them: the hill-The but of given to Reuben, Gad, and the half Tribe of The Sidonians name them Shirion, but the country Manasse. So that though it were 450. years Amorites, Shenir, others, Seir: of which name Deut. 3. 9. since that these Zamzummims, or Raphaims, all those hills also were called, which part were expelled, yet they did not forget their Judan and Iduman: and lastly, they are called

CHAP. X.

them all one, calling the high Mountains of ject to Adadezer, and from the Reguli of Re-Galaad, the head of Libanus.

non, falleth into jordan.

Of the Ammonites part of whose Territories the Gadites wan from Og, the King of Basan.

His Tribe of Gad possest half the Country of the Ammonites, who together with the Moabites, held that part of Arabia Petraa called Nabathea, as well within as without the Mountains of Gilead: though at this time when the Gadites wan it, it was in the policition of Sehon and Og, Amorites: and therefore Moses did not expel the Ammonites, but the Amorites, who had thrust the iffices of Lot over the Mountains Trachones, or Gilead, as before. After the death of Othomiel the first Judge of Ifrael, the Ammonites joyned with the Moabites against the Hebrems, and to continued long. Jephta Judge with them again.

confederate of David, having friended him much more ground than the country of Kent, relating th in Saul's time, though Josephus thinks that this Bafan, or, after the Septuagint, Bafanitio of the 2 Sam. 10.

David fent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirm the former friendship which he had with his father, he most contemptuoufly and proudly cut off the Ambaffadours garments to the knees, and shaved the half of their beards. But afterward not withstand-

Birroma Libanus, for fo the Prophet Hiereny makes ing the aids received from the Aramites fish-

hob, and Maacab, and from Iftob, yet all those Minter These Mountains are very fruitful, and Arabians, together with the Ammonites, were of the full of good pastures, and have many Trees overturned: their chief City of Rabba, after missis which yeild Ballamum, and many other me- Philadelphia, was taken; the Crown which find he which yello ballamm, and many other meighed atalent of gold, was fet on David's dictionable drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe weighed atalent of gold, was fet on David's dictionable drugs. are the waters of Nimrah, and Dibon, and the head; all fuch as were prisoners, David exe. Ill., In River Jahoe: others do also fancy another cuted with strange severity; for with saws there's River, which rifing out of the Rocks of Ar- and harrows he tare them in pieces, and call were a the rest into lime-kills. Josaphat governing to and in the rest into lime-kills. Juda, they affifted the Moabites their neigh- North bours against him, and perished together, bounder Ofias made them Tributaries, and they were Normalian again by Jotham inforc't to continue that tri of which bute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred to tribe of lents of filver, ten thousand measures of Alla. wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which Him. to. the Ammonites continued two years.

The fifth King of the Ammonites, of whole class, name we read, was Baalis the confederate land of Zedekia: after whose taking by Nabuchodonofor, Baalis fent Ismael, of the blood of the Kings of Juda, to flay Gedaliah, who served Nabuchodonosor.

§. VII. of the other half of Manasse.

"He rest of the Land of Gilead, and of teniory of Ifract had a great conquest over one of the Kingdom of Og in Basan, with the to Mandy land of Hus and Argob, or Trachonitis (where wheth In the time of Samuel they were at peace in also were part of the small Territories of mills ver Batania, Gaulonitis, Geffuri, Machati, and eduit Afterward we find that cruel King of the Auranitis) was given to the half Tribeoffoned Ammonites, called Nahas, who belieging Ja- Manasse over Jordan; of which those three the harts bes Gilead, gave them no other conditions later Provinces defended themselves against limite 1 Sam. 11. but the pulling out of their right eyes. The them for many ages. But Batania Ptolomy control reason why he tendred so hard a compositi- setteth farther off, and to the North East, as is the on, was (besides this desire to bring shame up- a skirt of Arabia the Desart: and all those 16.1.2 on Ifract) because those Gileadites using to other Provinces before named with Petragania carry a Target on their left arms, which and Iturea, he nameth but as part of Cessify this could not but fludow their left eyes, should ria; as far South as Rabba, or Philadelphia; the bab by losing their right, be utterly disabled to likewise all the rest which belonged to Gada, of what the could be sound to the same of th defend themselves: but Saul came to their and Reuben, saving the Land near the Dead their rescue, and delivered them from that dan. Sea, he makes a part of Arabia Petrea: for similar ger. This Nahas, as it may feem, became the many of these small Kingdoms take not and the many of these small Kingdoms take not and the many of these small Kingdoms take not and the many of these small Kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of these small kingdoms take not and the many of the many of the small kingdoms take not and the many of the small kingdoms take not and the many of the small kingdoms take not and the many of the small kingdoms take not and the many of the small kingdoms take not and the many of the small kingdoms take not an analysis of the small kingdoms take not an

Nahas was flain in the battel, when Saul rai- stretcheth it self from the River of Jaboc to relief fed the fiege of Jaber, when same rate there were the first and Geffirer: and from the galacter there were there king of the large of t there were three Kings of the Moabites of Mountains to Jordan, a Region exceeding the ribid fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in annual Hanun succeeded Nahas: to whom when all sorts of Cattel. It had also the goodliest and life in the same for the goodliest and life in the goodliest woods of all that part of the world: espe-diation cially of oaks, which bare mast (of which the sainty

of 1 Chr. 5, 10. whence it appears, that it was part of Itures, of which c.7. [c.R.4.] 5. & 6. (a) So they call them of Medicath, of wi jich Medicath, of wi jich Medicath, of with the form what hath been fooken toward the end of the fifth Paragraph this Chanter (see the control of the fifth Paragraph). this Chapter, see the 1 Mue. 5. 86. and Deut. 3. 14. and 39, 13.5

Prophet Zacharias; Howle, O ye oaks of Ba-1

Andrewite times (c) Butis, otherwise Berenice, by Seleu- chief City of Selon, in the Tribe of Reuben, name, it led Pella, after the name of that Pella in Ma- Manaffes, and a City in Gad which he calleth ngod. See cedon: in which both Philip the Father, and Cashon, of which we have admonished the port in Reader heretofore. Of Gamala (fo called, the hounds his Son, Alexander the great, were born. It Reader heretofore. Of Gamala (fo called, keeds in was taken, and in part demolifhed by Alexbecause the Hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the back of a Cammel) which mader Janneus, King of the Jews, because it sashion like the back of a Cammel) which in Mass taken by (d) Judas Macchabaus: where he fet book of the Jewish war: where he describes M 12. on fire the (e) Temple of their Idols: toge- the place by nature to be almost invincible: 11 Ma. 5. the strong City of (f) Ephron neer Jordan: ther very memorable accidents: and how which refusing to yeeld passage to (g) Judas at length, after the coming of Titus when it

delivered by Saul, as is (i) elsewhere menti- hid themselves. oned. In memory whereof these Citizens (k) recovered, embalmed and buried the as much East from Tiberias (which is on the Ittm10 thopolis. (1) Gaddara, or Gadara, is next to names to the Hils that compass the Plains in Emath, or Amathus the third, Hierico and Se- borderers. phora in Galilee, the fourth and fifth. The Ci-Mys. terrible (n) revenge of Herod, they flew had the name of Adar, or Adara. Not far ning themselves.

To the East of Gadara they place Sebei han) and by reason hereof they bred so ma- (o) in which, Jos. ant. 5.13. saith. Jephil.a was of Mil. ny fwine, as (b) 2000. in one herd were car- buried: whence others reading with the pain Gileried headlong into the Sea, by the unclean Vulgar, Jud. 12. 7. Sepultus eft in Civitate Ma had, the cifoirits which Chrift had cast out of one of the Gilehad, (for in una Civitatum Gilehad) ima-u; see in Gadarens. It had in it 60. Cities walled and gine Gilehad to be the name of a City, and the Tibe defenced: all which, after og and his sons to be the same with Sebei. In like manner of Gad. were flain, Jair, descended of Manasse, con-following the Vulgar, 1 Macc. 5. 26. where ouered, and called the Country after his it readeth Casphor for Chesbon; the same Aown name, Avoth Jair, or the Cities of Jair. drichomius imagineth it to be ampla & firma The principal Cities of this half Tribe(for Gilehaditarum Civitas: fo of one City Hes-I will omit the rest) are these, Pella, some- bon, or Chesbon, which they call Essebon, the cus King of Syria, it is said to have been cal- he imagineth two more: This Casphor in refused to obey the Jews laws: but it was re- Josephus placeth not far from Gaddra, in the paired by Pompey, and annexed to the Go- lower Gaulanitis over against Tarichea, vernment of Syria. It is now but a Village, which is on the West side of the Saa or Lake faith Niger. Carnaim, by the River of Jaboc, of Tiberias, fee this Josephus in the fourth contest ther with all those that fled thereunto for and in the story of the siege, shewes how Sanctuary; and neer it they place the Castle Vespasian with much danger of his own perof Carnion, of which 2 Macc. 12. 22. Then fon, entring it, was at first repulsed, with o-Macchabaus, was forced by him by affault, was taken, many leaping down the rocks and taken and burnt with great flaughter. | with their wives and children, to the num-Jabes Gilead, or Jabesus, was another of the ber of five thousand, thus perished: besides Cities of this half Tribe, which being befieg- four thousand slain by the Romans : so that ed by Nahas (h) King of the Ammonites, was none escaped, save only two women that

About four miles West from Gadara, and bodies of saul and his fons: which hung de- other fide of the Lake) Josephus placeth Hipspightfully over the walls of Bethsan, or Scy- pus, or Hippene, whence Ptolomy gives the be named, seated by Pliny on a Hill neer the which it standeth: so that it may seem to River Hieromiace, which River Ortelius have been of no small note. It is seated far feems to think to be Jaboc. At the foot of from the hill Country: on the East of the the Hill there foring forth also hot baths, as Lake, as also Pliny noteth, lib. 5. cap. 15. It at Macharus. Alexander Jannaus after ten was restored by Pompey: after by Augustus monethssiege, wan it, and subverted it. Pon- added to Herod's Tetrarchy: it was wasted Muspey restored it: and Gabinius (m) made it by the Jews, in the beginning of their re- 10.16.1. one of the five Courts of Justice in Palestine. bellion: when by many massacres of their Jud. L. 2. Hiernfalem being the first, Gadara the second, Nation, they were inraged against their 19.

The next City of note, but of more anci- Of anotizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of ent same, is Edrebi, or Edrai, wherein og ther Edre Herod, surnamed Ascalonita, accused him to King of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses and the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses and the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses and the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses and the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses and the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses and the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses and the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses and the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses and the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses and the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses and the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses and the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses are the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses are the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses are the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses are the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses are the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses are the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses are the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses are the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses are the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses are the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses are the state of Easan chiefly abode, when Moses are the state of Easan chiefly about the state of Easan chiefly abode, when the state of Easan chiefly about t Julius Casar of many crimes: but perceiving Israel invaded him: and neer unto this his 37 Denus, that they could not prevail, and that Herod Regal City, it was that he lost the battel and her 10/10 was highly to the battel and her 10/10 was highly to the battel and her 10/10 was highly the same and her 10/ was highly favoured of Cefar, fearing the his life. It stood in S. Hierom's time: and 13.31. themselves: some by strangling, others by from these Towns neer Jordan, in this Valleaping over high Towers, others by drow- ley, stood Gerassa, or Gergessa, inhabited by

Mass 28, that Chrift coming from the other fide maim, whence I Mac. 5, 26, it is called fin-Saviour a fign from Heaven: the same place, sheth one from the other. or fome adjoyning to it, which S. Mark cal- Not far from Afteroth, Adricomins out of means Broch time of Decapolis. Brochard makes both these pla-Of this ces to be one; and finds it to be Phiale, the of Judith, and there are that of this City to par in Nesh. 1 Tourisain or Jorgan, according to Josephin and the Sepulchre of Job is yet to be feen, Just this Phiale is too far from the Sea of Galiin 3. Mair. lee, and frem Bethfaida, to be either Magdala faith Breidenbach.

two fifties. Julias, not that which was built by Herod, but not hereabout, than any way help Adricothe other by Philip, which boundeth the Re- mins. For that they fpeak of Scenite Cedare-Woe be unto thee Corazim.

5000. people with the five barley loaves and

Mark 6. or Dalmanutha. For as it appears by the

cient time was Afteroth: fometime peopled get fome knowledge of him, than by any delay with the Giants Raphaim: and therefore prefumptions founded upon him, infer what the Company of the Countrey adjoyning called the Land of his Countrey was, and build unto hima City of

the Georgefiles, descended of the fifth son of Giants, of whose race was og King of Eafan, co. 11, Canaun. Of these Gergesties we read, Mat. 8. In Geness this City is called Asserbs of Carof the Lake of Tiberias , landed in their ply Carnaim, as Jof. 13. 21. it is called After of the Lake of Timeria, same and the roth, without the addition of Carnaim. The coasts: where casting the Devils out of the roth, without the addition of Carnaim. The coans: where carong the Devissance word word Carnaim figurifieth a pair of Horns, Sente per fif. fled, he permitted them to enter into word Carnaim figurifieth a pair of Horns, July the herd of Hoggs: in which flory, for Ger- v hich agree well with the name of their Idol gestes, or Gergesms, S. Luke and S. Marke Afteroth, which was the image of a sheep, as have Gaderens: not as if these were all one it is elsewhere noted, that Asteroth in Deute-(for Gergessa, or Gerassa is a diffinet Town in ronomy fignifieth sheep. Others, from the these parts from Gadara) but the bounds ambiguity of the Hebrew take Karnaim to being confounded, and the Cities neigh- have been the name of the people which inbours either might well be named in this sto- habited this City: and expound it heroes bours, either might well be named in this ito-ry. This City received many changes and ca-lamities: of which Josephus hath often men-like men as appears by comparing the words. tion. For befides other adventures, it was like men, as appears by comparing the words paided taken by L. Annius, Lievtenant to Vespasian : Deut. 3.11. Og. ex residuo gigantum, with the limin and 1000. of the ablest young men put to words fof. 13. 12. 0g ex reliquiis Rapheorum: that the fword, and the City burnt. In the yeer but if the Karnaim (or Carnajim) were thele who 1120.it was rebuilt by Baldwine King of Da-Raphei, the word would not have been in the Name mafeus: and in the same year recovered by the dual number: neither would Moses in unclass Taldmine de Eurge King of Jerufalem : and by the places of Genefis have faid the Raphai in W an Endangue de Eurgo King of Jernjaiem: and by the places of Georgia have hid the Karnaim, but either the Ra-Village of Magedan, or, after the Syriack, phai in Afternh of the Raphai, or some other steam winage or magedan, of all the dadda, where way fittest for perspicuity: for this naming out the Pharifees and Saddneses defired of our of both thus in the same clause, distinguing the same clause, distinguing the same clause, distinguing the same clause, distinguing the same clause and saddness defined of our of both thus in the same clause, distinguing the same clause and saddness defined of our of both thus in the same clause, distinguing the same clause and saddness defined of our of both thus in the same clause, distinguing the same clause and saddness defined of our of both thus in the same clause.

leth Dalmanutha. By the circumstances of Brochard and Breidenhachius placeth Cedar belongs which ftory it appears that this coast lay be- in the way out of Syria into Galilee , four occase tween the Lake of Tiberias and the Country miles from Corazin. This City (faith he) is to the b

Now concerning the Texts which he ci- 1 (at ftory, not far hence, towards the North, was teth, it is fo that the Greek hath Galaad in the Defart of Bethfaida, where Christ filled stead of the word Cedar, which the Vulgar doth use in that place of Judith, and joyneth Carmel and Galilee. The Canticles and the On the North of this Bethfaida, they place 120. Pfalm do rather prove that Cedarwas gion Trackonitis towards the South. It was m, it is apparent, and as evident by the place fometime a Village, and not long after the in the Cantieles, that they were de colores, birth of Chrift, it was compassed with a wall much more than any under the Climates of by Philip the Tetrach of Turea and Trachot the Land of Canaan: whence Junius out of nitis: and after the name of Julia, the wife Lampridius and Pliny placeth them in Arabia of Tiberias, called julias, as hath been further spoken in the Tribe of Gad: where it Sepulchre of Job, it is certain that the draw spire spire, 18 was noted that josephus makes this Julias to bians and Saracens (holding those places of the same as Bethsaida. Upon the East side fain many things to abuse the Christians, and cashing the same that the same than the sam of the fame Lake of Tiberias flands Corozat to get mony. Further, it may well be alimim, or Corazim, of which Chrift in Matthews ed, that many (if not all) the historical Grant cumstances of Job are so obscure, that we And But the principal City of all these in an influence of Job are to obscure; seek to 1,124 seek to 1,1

by conjecture.

and Gregorie, with Athanafius , Hippolitus , as Hor where Aaron died. treneus, Eusebius Emissenus, Apollinaris, Eu- Now for this Hus, which gave the name to

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is called Hus was thus feated, it may in part be ga- other Nations named between) where Hus diamits thered out of the place of fer. 25.20. where is spoken of, there Euz is also named. Neithen they he reckons the Hufbites among the promif- ther doth it hinder our conjecture, that in unditin cuous borders of the Israelites, whom he the place of Job 32. Elibu the Buzite is said the sound to be of the Family of Ram: (which Junius not, io. turbam, because their bounds were not only expounds to be as much as of the Family of

distinguish, but readeth, Filia Edom que Nachor, is called a Syrian. habitas in terra Hus; Daughter of Edom which As for the other three of Jobs friends (of See Sixus of Hus to be in Idumea. For it is very pro- been of Jobs own Country.

Of Job himself, whether he was the same like that the Amorites, who had beaten Tobab remembred in the 36. of Genefis, both Ammon and Moab, did also drive the descended from Esan King also of Idu- Edomites out of those parts, who thence-formaa, though Rupertus, Lyranus, Oleaster, ward scated themselves to the South of Iuand Bellarmine are of another opinion. data, bordering the Defart Paran, and stretchvet Saint Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostome, ed their habitations over the Desarts as far

flachins, and other cited by S. Hierome in his a part of the Land of Trachonitis, whether 126. Epist to Evagrius, take him for the same, it were Hus the son of Aram, as Junius thinks The Land of Huts or Hus, wherein Job in his note upon Gen. 10. 23. or rather Hus dwelt is from the Greek Ous, which the Sep- the fon of Nachor, Abrahams brother, the tuagint use for the word Huts, translated by question is doubtful. For my part I rather enthe Vulgar sometimes Hus, as Job 1.1. some-cline to think, that it was Hus the son of Natime Austris, as Hierem 25.20. This Land is chor: partly because these Families of Aram placed by Junius between Palæstine and Car- seem long before to have been lost; and partlogria, belides Chamatha (or Hamatha) under ly because in Job 32.2. Eliku the fourth of whence Palmyrene, in the Countrey called by Ptolomy Jobs friends, which feems to be of Jobs own the Sep-Trachonitis, or Bathana, the bounds of which Country, is called a Euzite, of Euz the bro-him ex re-Countries are confounded with Bafan in this ther of Hus, the fon of Nachor: as also fer. gine Austadothers half Tribe of Manaffes. And that this Land of 25, in the same continuation (though some side. joyned but confounded, and their Seignio- Aram) for that by his Aram we are not to ries mingled one with the other . but of this understand Aram the son of Sem, Junius him. place the words of Hieremy, Lam.4. 21. spea- felf maketh it plain, both in his annotation king of the same Prophecy, of which he upon the beginning of his book, where he speaketh in the 25. Chapter, must needs be saith, that one of Jobs friends (which must expounded, as Junius reads them, distin-needs be this Elihu) was of the posterity of guilling the Land of Hus from Edom: O filia Nachor (as also in this place he confelleth so Edomi, O que habitas in terra Hutzi; O daugh- much exprelly) and in as much as he readeth ter of Edom,0 thou which dwellest in the Land not è Familia Aram, or Ram, but è Fimilia Syof Hus. Now because the Vulgar doth not so riæ; like as elsewhere Laban, who sprung of

dwellest in the land of Hus: Hence, as it whom by this note of Elibu his being of the Senensia. feems, some of the learned have thought that Syrian Family, or of the Family of Nachor) it Job was an Edomite, as we have faid, and is implyed that they were of other kindreds, King of Edom, which if they understand by as also by the Septuagints addition, that this it Idumaa, or Edom, fo called in Moles time, Elibu was of the Land of Hus, or Austris, it is they are greatly mastaken, making this Land implyed that they thought only Elibu to have

bable that Efan, when he first parted from Ja- Franciscus Brochard the Monk, in his decob, did not seat himself in Edom, or Seir, scription of the Holy Land in the journy from which lieth on the South border of Judea, Acon Eastward, findeth suetha, and Theman but inhabited Seir far to the East of Jordan, on the East of the Sea of Galilee: both very and held part of those Mountains, other-near to the Land of Hus: whereof the one wife called Galaad, and Hermon, which by may feem to have denominated Bildad the corruption the Sidonians call Shirion, and Shuchite; the other Eliphaz the Themanite: the Amorites, Shenir, for Seir; and from this two of the three friends of Job, of the his habitation did Esau incounter Jacob, when which Job 2. 11. But Junius thinks that the he returned out of Mesopotamia, who passed Shuchites were inhabitants of Arabia the Deby the very border of Fsan his abiding. It fart, descended of shnach the son of Abraham is true, that at such time as Moses wandered and Ketura: of whom Gen. 25. 2. perhaps, in the Defarts, that the posterity of Esan in saith he, the same whom Pling calls Saccai. habited Seir to the South of Judea: for it is So also he thinketh the Themanites, of whom

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Eliphaz was, to have been of Arabia the De- both Gaulanitis Superior and inferior, oft in fart: and Eliphaz himself to have been of the posterity of Theman the son of Eliphaz, which was the fon of Efan. And fo also Nahamah. whence Tophar the third of Job's friends (which in this place of Job. 2 11. are mentioned) is by the same learned Expositor, thought either to be named of Thinnah by transposition of letters (which Thimnah, Gen. 36.40. is named among the fons of Efau, that gave denomination to the places where they were feated) or elfe to be the fame Nahamah. which Jos. 15. 41. is reckoned for a City of Juda in the border, as he thinks, of Edom. And yet I deny not but that near the Land of Hus, in Basan, as it seems, in the Tribe of Manaffes, there is a Region which (at least) in later times was called suitis, or of some like name. For this is evident by the Histo-Debel far. ry of Will. Tyrius, which reports of a Fort in

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lib. 22. 6. this Region of Suita, or Suites (as he cals it 15. 5 11. diverfly) of exceeding great strength and use for the retaining of the whole Country: which, in the time of Baldwine the second King of Hierusalem, was with great digging through rocks recovered by the Christians; having not long before been loft, to the great disadvantage of the Country, while it was in the hands of the Saracens. The fituation of this Fort is by Tyrius described to be from the West; of which three Chieswe fixteen miles from the City Tiberias, on the read, Ezek, 47. 15. with which also agrees East of Jordan: by Adrichomius four miles the place, Num. 34. 8. where for Chauram be-

Other Cities of this part of Manasses nathera, Mitspa of Gilead, and Kenath, which bacath, or Macati, which were likewise borafter the coming of the Ifraelites was called derers to Manafjes towards the North-Eaft) Nobach. Of Nobach or Kenath, and Mitspa of are unknown: only that Gessur was of might, Joseph ven to the Levites, and Golan made one of the whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked

enters the Lake Tiberias at Corazin.

Foscphus. Beheshthera is accounted the chief City of Basan by some, but the Writers corrupting the name into Bozra, it is confound. ed with Betfer, or Bozra of Renben, and with Bozra of Edom. Argob is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence Hierome hatle Arga, a name of a City placed by some about the waters of Alerom (as they are called by Josua) which make the Lake Samachonitis, as Jojephus cals it. This Lake, being as it were in the midft between Cafarea Philippi and Tiberias, through which, as through the Lake of Tiberias, fordan runneth, boundeth part of this half Tribe on the West. When the fnow of Libanus melteth, it is very large, faith Brochard: otherwise more contract, leaving the marish ground on both sides, for Lions and other wilde beafts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adjoyning to this Lake in this Country of Manaffes, Josephus names two places of strength, fortified by himself in the beginning of the Jews rebellion: Selencia the one. and seeane the other. In the North fide of this half Tribe of Manasse, and in the North-East, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places towards Damafeus, as Tfedad, Chauram and Chatfar-Henan lying in a line drawn North-ward from the place where Jordan tween Ifedad, and Chatfar-Henan, Ziphronis named. From this Chauram is the name of Auranitis Regio in Josephus and Tyrius, whose med in the Scripture, are these: Golan, Gehesh- | bounds (as also the bounds of Gessiar and Ma-Gilead, we have spoken by occasion among it appears in that David married Mahaca the 1 Com the Cities of Gad. The other two were gi- daughter of Thalmay King of Gessur: by " Demo. 4 43. Cities of refuge: from which Golan we have and unfortunate Abfalom.

CHAP. XI. The History of the Syrians, the chief Borderers of the Israelites that dwelt on the East of Jordan.

of the City of Damascus, and the divers Fortunes thereof.

House of pleasure; and is not only remem- that it was founded by Damaseus the son

Amaseus of all other in this bor | bred in many places of Scripture, but by der, and of that part of the the best Historians and Cosmographers. The world, was the most famous, Hebrews, faith Josephus, think it to have been excelling in beauty, antiquity, built by Hus the fon of Aram: of which of the pinion S. Hierome upon Efay feemeth to be: called the City of joy or gladness, and the though in his Hebrew questions he affirmeth,

athing ve- Romanes, in the year of our redemption 626, dezer King of Sophena (otherwise Syria Soba, the enterprize. or Zoba) Razon or Rezon, with the remain- In the year 1262, Halon the Tartar incomder of that broken Army, invaded Damasee- past it, and having formerly taken the King, Riccal nd, and possest Damascus it self, and became brought him under the Wals, and threatned

an enemy to Solomon all his life.

Edomite, who flying into Egypt from David the King was torn afunder before them, and and Joab, when they flew all the males in in fine the City taken, Agab the fon of Halone Edom, was there entertained, and married was by his father made King thereof. Taphnes the King of Egypts Wives fifter: of In the year 1400. Tamberlain Emperour Herold 1.6 Chrysorrhous, the golden River. Junius takes gypt, they again surprized Damascus. Lastly, mails, It a very strong Cattle, built as it leems by lamberiam commanding them to enter the mandit to the numbers, after it became Christian: Church, he burnt them and it to the numbers. 36.10. the Lillies being found cut in many Marbles ber of 30000. and did so demolishit, as on that Citadel. Against this City the Pro-1 Weg 16 Damascens, Teglatphalasser, invited by Achaz After this, it was restored and re-possess by upon that place, five years after the Prophetions. cy. In time it was restored by the Macedonians, and the Ptolomies; but long after, when Syria fell into the hands of the Romanes, it was taken by Metellus, and Lollius. In the Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the time of the Christians it had an Archbishop : Saint Hierome living, as he affirmeth upon the

far 17-10 Landikely, feeing the City was formerly and in the year 1147. Comrad the third, Em- Onuplering known by that name, as appears by Abra- perour of Rome, Lewis King of France, Balds in chron. known by that hairs, as appeared of Da-wine the third King of Hierusalem, Henry will. Try. maleo. David was the first that subjected it Duke of Austria, brother to Conrad, Frede-bell Jur. to the Kingdom of Juda, after the overthrow rick Earbaroffa afterward Emperour, Theode-116.17, c.t. of Adadezer their King; but in Solomon's rick Earl of Flaunders, and other Princes af- 23.4.5. time, Rezon recovered it again, though he sembled at Ptolomais Acon, on the sea-coast. had no title at all or right to that Principa- determined to recover Damaseus: but belity: but David having overthrown Hada- ing betrayed by the Syrians, they failed of

extreme torture unto him, except the Citi-The next King of Damascus was Adad the zens sendred the place: but they refusing it,

whom Taphnes in Egypt was so called. This of the Parthians, invaded that Region, and " 4" Adad returning again, became an enemy to befieged the City with an Army of 1200000. solomon all his life, and (as some Wri- (if the number be not mistaken.) He entred ters affirm) invaded Damaseus, and thrust it, and put all to the sword, filling the ditch Rezon thence-out. In the Line of Adad that with his prisoners; those that retired into Kingdom continued nine descents (as here-the Castle, which seemed a place impregnaafter may be shewed in the Catalogue of ble, he overtopped with another Castle adthose Kings of Syria) to whom the Affyrians, joyning: he forbare the demolishing of the and then the Grecians succeeded. This City City in respect of the beauty of the Church. was exceeding strong, compassed with wa- garnished with forty Gates, or sumptuous ters from the Rivers of Abanah, and Pharpar: Porches. It had within it 9000. Lanterns of whereof one of them, prophane Writers call Gold and Silver: but while he invaded Eit for Adonis. The Country adjoyning is ve- in his return after three moneths fiege, he ry fruitful of excellent Wines and Wheats, forc't it: the Mahometans prostrating themand all manner of excellent fruits. It had in felves with their Priests, desired mercy. But it a very strong Castle, built as it seems by Tamberlain commanding them to enter the phetis Amos, Efay, Jeremy, and Zacharias, pro-phetical that it should be taken, burnt, de-as a Trophee of his victory, he raised three molished, and made a heap of stones. In the Towers with great art, builded with the time of the last Rezon, and tenth King of the heads of those whom he had slaughtered. King of Juda, carried away the naturals of the Soldane of Egypt with a Garrison of Mam-Damaseus into the East: leaving of his own malukes: And in the year 1517. Selimus Em-Nation to inhabit it. After that it was utter- perour of the Turks wrested it out of the ly ruined by the Babylonians, faith Hierome hands of the Egyptians: in whose possession upon Esay: which thing was performed by it now remaineth inhabited with Mahome-Salmanasser, according to Junius in his note tans and Christians of all neighbouring Na-

growing up of their power.

Alls, it was the Metropolis of the Saracens:
being taken by Haomer their King from the

CHAP. XI.

find no relation of their Kings, or Common-those Adads of Syria Zoba, and Damascus. wealth till Davids time. For it stood with- Some account Rezon, others Adad of Iduzon, or Rezon of Danafetts, Adadezer of 83- For Adad-ezer, Een-adad, El-adad werethe
1508.14 ria, Zoba, and Tohu of Chamath. But it feem-3082, eth, that Damafeus was one of the Cities fub- Ben, and Eli adjoyned. And that Adadezer

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affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which | 22000. Aramites out of the Territory of were levied and fent to Hadad-Hezer from Damaseus: as out of his proper Dominions: Damascus, had the name of Adad: who was for had the Damascens had a King apart, it is in that battel flain with 22000. Aramites of probable that the Scriptures would have Damascus: whereof, as of the overthrow of given us his name: Thirdly, because spria Adadezer, Rezon the Commander of his Ar- Zoba, of the most of which Adadezer was E King is Tobu King of Chamath, or Ituraa, hearing greatest part of Arabia Petraa, according that his neighbour and enemy Adadezer was to Niger. Who foever was the first, whether

ly Land, and to the West of Damaseus, the to be referred to Hadad of Idumaa, lately Tyrians and Zidonians inhabited: but they returned out of Fgypt: to wit, 23. years for the most part were in league and peace after he was carried thither. with the Judeans and Ifraelites. But to re- The third King of Damaseus, and of Zobah turn to the Kings of Syria, I mean of Syria both, was Hezion; to Hezion succeded The Iturea; to which I may add Geshur, because King of Juda the son of Abiam, the son of Roit is so accounted in the second of sam, 15. boam, the fon of solomon, being vexed and inas joyning in the Territory to Damascus (for vaded by Baasha, the succession of Nadab, the

the fon of Eliezer Abraham's steward, we nor of our later Writers, who was the first of

out the bounds of Canaan: and therefore mea: of whom it is written in the first of neglected by Moses, Josua, and the Judges, Kings, that David having invaded that Reas impertinent to that Story. But were it to gion, and left Joab there to destroy all the that it had some Reguli, or petty Kings over male children thereof: Adad of the Kings it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet seed fled into Fgppt; and was there married none of them became famous for ought that to Taphnes the Queens fifter, as before; who is left to writing, till fuch time as David o- hearing of David's death, and of the death verthrew Adadezer Prince of Sophena, or of his Captain Joah (whom indeed all the Syria Zoba: the same Nation which Pliny bordering Nations seared) he turned again: calleth Nubai, inhabiting between Batania and, as Bunting thinketh, this Adad didexand Embrates. Now the better to under- pel Rezon out of Damaseus, and was the first fland the story of those Syrian Princes, of the Syrian Kings. To me it seemeth other 1 Sans whom soon after the Kings of Damaseus made wife. For, as I take it, Adadezer, the son of on. their vaffals, the Reader may inform himfelf, Rehob, whom Saul invaded, was the Foun-That on the North-East parts of the Holy der of that Principallity: and the first of Land, there were three chief Principallities, Adads, who forfaking his fathers name, as he whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly grew powerful, took upon him the file of vexed or diffurbed the State or Common- Adad, the great god of the Affrians, faith wealth of Ifrael, namely, Damascus, or Aram, Macrobins, which fignified Oneness of Unity. Sophena, or Syria Zoba, and Chamath, or I also find a City called Adada, in the same Chamath Zoba; of which these were the part of Syria: of which whether these Prin-Princes in David's and Solomon's times: Ra- cestook the name, or gave it, I am ignorant. ject to Adadezer when David invaded him, was of greatest power, it appeareth first, bethough when saul made war against Zoba, cause it is against him, that David undertook Damascus was not named. And as Josephus the war: Secondly, because he levied my, taking advantage, made himself King King, was an exceeding large Territory, platter of Damascus, Adadezer, and Adad of Damas- and contained of Arabia the Defart as far as is. cus being both flain. About the fame time to Euphrates, according to Pliny: and the utterly overthrown, fendeth for peace to Adadezer, or Adad of Iduman, Rezon was David, and presenteth him with rich gifts: the second: Who was an enemy to Israel all I King ! but in dolo, faith S. Hierome; it was craftily the dayes of Solomon. Besides the evilthat done of him. Now to the North of the Ho- Adad did, the evil that Hadad did, feemeth

as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing bremmum, or Tabrimmum ; to him Benhadid, 1500 Damascena, Soba or Zoba, and Chamath, or as is proved in the first of Kings: For Ala 15.1 syria at large is far greater, of which Palafon of Jeroboam, fent to Benhadab the foil of
flina it self is but a Province, as I have noted
in the beginning of this Tract:) It is not a
greed among the Historians of former times,
(while Baasha fought to fortifie Rama against
(while Baasha fought to fortifie Rama against

Asa: thereby to block him up, that he tier Town, and of great importance. Now

18615. Benhadad which invaded Baasha, at the re- in Damasens. The Syrians also boasted much taken prisoner, was rather the son of Benha- their wars with the Israelites. 1 to at Samaria, by a fally of 700. If raelites: the which was found in the treasures of the Lord, i Reg. 156

should not enter into any of the territories three years after (for so long the league lastof Israel) who according to the defire of Asa, ed) Ramoth not being delivered, Achab inhaving received his presents, willingly in- vaded Gilead, and besieged the City, being vaded the Country of Nephtalim, and took affifted by Josaphat. The Aramites came to Kinge, divers Cities, and sooyls thence: Asa in the succour and fight: in which Achab is wound- 3227. mean while carrying away all the Materials, ed, and dieth that night. After this, Ben-3232. which Baasha had brought to fortifie Rama hadad sendeth the Commander of his forces, withal, and converted them to his own use. called Naaman, to Joran the son of Achab This Benhadads Father Tabrenmon was in to be healed of the leprofie, and though Elileague with Asa: and so was his Father He- zeus had healed him, yet he picked a quarzion: for Asa requireth the continuance of rell against Joram: and when Joram, by Eli- 2 Kin 5. that friendship from Benhadad, his son: zens his intelligence had escaped his plot, Kin.6. though it seemeth that the gold and silver he sent men and Chariots to take the Profent him out of the Temple, was the most phet, as is aforesaid. After Benhadad besieged forcible argument. And that this Tabremmon Samaria again, and being terrified thence invaded Ifrael, before the enterprize of his from Heaven, he departed home, and fickfon Benhadad, it is conjectured. For Benhadad neth, and fendeth Azael with great gifts to 2 Km. 7. when he was prisoner with Achab, spake as Elizeus, to know his estate if he might live. 3234. followeth: The Cities which my father took Azael returning, smothereth him. Zonaras and Amoi. from thy father, I will reftore, and thou shalt Cedrenus call this Benhadad Adar, and the son get 18.6.8 make streets or Keepers of the borders for thee in of Adar : Amos and Hieremy mention the Damascus: as my Father did in Samaria. And Towers of Benhadad. Josephus writeth that herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the Benhadad and his successiour Azael were worargument it felf were of much importance) shipped for Gods by the Syrians to his time, because Tabremmon was father indeed to for the sumptuous Temples which they built quest of Asa: But this Benhadad that twice en- of their antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that tred upon Achab, and was the second time scarce yet 1100. years are compleat since

dad, the first of that name, the confederate of | Hazael or Azael, the first King of the race Asa and Abiam, as before, than the son of Ta- of the Adads of Damascus, was annointed by bremmon. For between the invalion of Benha- | Elisha, or Elizeus, when he was sent by Benhadad the first, in Baasha's time, and the siege dad to the Prophet, to know whether Benhaof Samaria, and the overthrow of Benhadad | dad fhould recover his prefent fickness: He by Achab, there past 49 years, as may be ga- waged war with Joram, who received divers thered out of the reigns of the Kings of If wounds at the encounter at Ramoth in Girael. So that if we allow 30. years of age to lead: from whence returning to be cured at Benhadad, when he invaded Baasha, and after Jesreel, he and the King of Juda, Ahaziah or that 49. years ere he was taken by Achab, Ochozias, are flain by Jehu, as before is faid. which make eighty lacking one it is unlikely After the death of Joram, Azael continued that Benhadad at such an age should make war against Jehn, and wasted Gilead, and all war. Besides all this, the first Benhadad came those portions of Gad, Reuben, and Manasse, 188, 12. with no such pomp; but the second Benha- over Jordan. He then invaded Juda, and dad vaunteth, that he was followed with took Gath; but by gifts from Joss he was a-32. Kings: and therefore I refolve, that Benha- verted from attempting Hierusalem: for he dad the fon of Tebremmon invaded Baasha presented him all the hallowed things which and Omri; and Benhadad the second invaded Jehosaphat, Jehosam, and Ahaziah his fathers, 1 Reg. 12 Achab, at whose hands this Benhadad re- Kings of Juda, had dedicated, and which ceived two notorious overthrows: the first he himself had dedicated; and all the gold fecond at Aphee, where, with the like num- and in the Kings house. This was the fecond ber in effect, the Israelites slaughtered time that the Temple was spoiled to please 200000. of the Aramites; besides 27000. the Adads of Damaseus. For Asa did present which were crush't by the fall of the wall of Benhadad with those treasures, when he in-Aphec. And this Benhadad, Achab again set- vited him to war upon Baasha King of Israels teth at liberty: to whom he rendreth those And notwithstanding this composition be-Towns that his father had taken from the tween Joss and Azael, yet a part of his Army Predecession of Achab, but being returned, spoiled the other Provinces of Judaa, and iReg. 13) he refuled to render Ramoth Gilead, a fron Illaughtered many principal persons. Lastly, 7.

Azael

brought him to that extremity, as he left him bnt fifty Horse-men, ten Chariots, and ten thousand Foot-men of all his people.

6. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

Hazael, reigned in Damascus: who fought And that there was a second Hazael which against Israel with ill success: for Joas King of Ifrael, the fon of the unhappy Joachaz, as he was foretold by Elisha the Prophet, beat and compounded the war with Joas, made Benhadad in three several battels: and he the Expedition thirty years, and perchance loft all those Cities to Ifrael, which his father more, after the first Hazael which stiffed his Hazael had taken violently from Joachaz.

of whom the Stories are loft, onely Nicholaus Damascenus cited by Josephus, makes ple was not yet repaired, after which (and mention of them: and in one of these Kings how long we know not) it is said that Hazael times it was that Jeroboam the second, the son took Geth, and turned his face towards Jeof Joas, recovered Damascus it self to Ju- rusalem. It is also some proof that Hazael that da, faith the Geneva, but better in Junius, took Geth, was not the same with Hazael that Otque recuperabat Damascum, & Chamatham murdered Benhadad, because he could not Tehuda pro Ifracie; that is, And how he recovered for Ifrael, Damascus and Chamatha of Judæa; for these Cities sometimes conquered by David, did of right belong to the Tribe To this Hazael (be he the first or second) suc-

And it is likely, that this conquest upon the Adads was performed: the first of these three Adads then living of whom there is no Story. For when as Tehoas the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the Syrians in the time of Benhadad the son of Hazael, his defence Teglatphalasser. and had recovered the Cities which Hazael had won from Ifrael; and so left his King- Rezin the last, Nicolaus Damascenus finds dom to his fon Foroboam the second; it seemeth that this Jeroboam without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enter-prize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and invaded Damaseus.

Zonaras, Raason the tenth Adad , making league with Pekah, or Phacas King of Ifrael, aa great number of prisoners. After this they Joint 9 vain. Then Adad alone invadeth Elath, and beating out the Jews, maketh it a Colony of Syrians. Wherefore Achab brought Teglatphalassar against Razin, who took him and beheaded him, and won Damascus: with whom ended the line of the Adads, and the Kingdom of Damascus: the Assyrians beco-

Azael vexed Joahaz the fon of Jehu, and Adads, as they reigned in order are thus rec-

- 1 Adadezer the fon of Rehob.
- 2 Rezin the fon of Eliadad, or Razin.
- 2 Hezion.
- 4 Tabremmon.
- 5 Benhadad, who invaded Baasha.
- 6 Benhadad the second taken prisoner by

7 Hagael, whom Elisha foretold with tears A Fter Hazael, Benhadad the second, or of his advancement; the same who over-rather the third of that name, the son of threw Joram King of Ifrael at Ramoth Gilead. preceded Benhadad the third, it is not improbable, because that Hazael which took Geth. mafter Benhadad, and had flain Joram the fon After this Benhadad the fon of Hazael, there of Achab King of Ifrael. For Joss began to fucceeded three others by the same name, reign in the 7. year of Jehn King of Israel; and after he had reigned 22. years, the Temat that time be of good years, being asit feemeth, the fecond person in the Kingdom, and Commander of Benhadads men of war.

> 8 Benhadad, the third, whom Joash King of Ifrael thrice overthrew.

> 9 Resin, or Rezin, the last, who joyned with Pekah King of Ifrael, against Juda, at which time Achaz King of Juda waged for

> Now between Benhadad the third, and three other Kings of the Adads, which make twelve in all.

For the rest of the Princes of Syria, which were but Reguli, as those of Emath, and Elastic Geffur, we find that Tohu was King of Emath, Razin, or Rezin, after Josephus, Rases; after or Camath, in Davids time, to whom he sent his son Joram with presents, after Dawids victory against Adadezer. Also senachegainst Achaz King of Juda; both carry away rib speaketh of a King of Emath, but names him not.

§. IV.

Of Other leffer Kingdoms of the Syrians, which being brought under the Assyrians, never recovered themselves again.

F Gessur we find two Kings named; to wit, Talmai, and his Father Ammibur: ming masters both of that and Israel. These to Talmai, whose Daughter David married, it was that Absalom fled, who was his mater- carried it (as is before remembred) and of Ifrael, and against Rezin the last King of dissolved, Achaz yet living. Damascus: which Teglath first invaded Da- Lastly, the Kingdom of Juda it self, being massena, and the Region of soba, and took attempted by senacherib, the son of salma-Damaseus it self, and did put to death Rezin nasser, in vain, and preserved for the time the last, carrying the Inhabitants captive. by God miraculously, was at length utterly tred the borders thereof (Menahem govern- rael and Samaria: the destruction of Ifand strong Prince, was content to take the 200. years. composition of a thousand talents of the Then Alexander Macedon took this among King of Ifrael for that present time. But his other Provinces of the Persian Empire, and fon Teglath following the purpose of his fa- his successors the selucide reigned therein. ther Belochus, and finding so excellent an till it became subject unto the power of the occasion, as the war begun between Israel Romans, from whom it was wrested long afand Judah, Pekah commanding in the one, ter by the Saracens, and remaineth now in and Achazin the other, his neighbour Rezin possession of the Turk, as shall be shewed in being also wrapt in that war, and wasted due place. Thus much of the Nations bordein strength thereby, did willingly accept the ring upon the Ifraelites, with whom they had offer of Achaz King of Juda, his imprest and most to do, both in war and peace, being the entertainment. So, first attempting Damas onely people, whose History in those ancient

nal Grandfather. Of the Kings of Sephena, then with great ease possest himself of the or Syria, Soba, or Cwlosyria, there are two Cities of Nephtalim; leading with him a great named, Rehob, or Rechob, the Father of Ada- part of the people captive. And his fon Saldezer, and Adadezer himself; and it is plain manasser, whom Ptolemy called Nabonasser, that after his death the feat of the Kings of after the revolt of Hofea, forced Samaria, Soba was transferred to Damascus, a City and rent that Kingdom afunder. So as the better fitting their greatness. After Rezin line and race of Ninus in Sardanapalus, became Lord of both Principalities. And whom Belochus supplanted the race and Motherace of these Kings of Syria (which be- narchy of the Syrian Adads in Rezin, whom came so potent, and joyned Soba, Damas-Teglath slaughtered; the Kingdom of Israel cus, Emath, and the Defart of Arabia, with in Hofea, whom Salmanaffer overturned; hapother Provinces into one, under Rezin the pened near about a time: that of Ninus in second of the Adads) as it began with Da- the daies of Belochus, and the other two in vid, so it ended at once with the Kingdom the daies of Teglatphalasser, and Salmanasser of Ifrael. For Ahaz King of Juda waged the his fon. For Sardanapalus perished, Olia ru-Assyrian Teglatphalassar against Pekah King ling Juda; and the other two Kingdoms were

This was the second time that the Assiriant overturned. Hierusalem and the Temple attempted Israel. For first Phul Belochus en-burnt 132. years after the captivity of Ising If rae] who ftop the enterprife of Phul Parel being in the ninth year of Hofea: that of with a thousand talents of silver: for this Juda in the eleventh of Zedechia. Now the Phul Belochus, whose pedigree we will ex- Emperours of Affyria and Babylon held also amine hereafter, being scarce warm, as yet, in the Kingdom of Syria, from the eighth year his seat at Babylon, which he, with the help of Salmanasser; to the last of Baltassar, whom of his companion Arbaces, had wrested from Herodotus calleth Labynius: in all about 3603. Sardanapalus: having besides this King of 200 years. After these the Persians from Cyrus 3811. Syria in his way, who seemed to be a great to Darius their last King, held Syria about

cus, which lay in his path towards Ifrael, he times carried an afford face of Truth.

CHAP. XII. Of the Tribe of Benjamin, and of Hierusalem.

Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitspa, Bethel; Rama, Gobah, and Gibha.

at Mount Sinia 35000.able bodies: all which side Jordan, between Juda and Ephraim: The

F the Tribe of Benjamin, the twelfth perishing in the Desarts, there entred the and youngest son of Jacob, whom he Holy Land of their issues 45600. fit to bear had by Rachel, there were mustered Arms: and these had their Territory on this

Cities within this Tribe nearest Jordan, are which he came yearly to give judgement to the return out of Captivity, as is mentioned, land of the Philislims. Nebem. 11. 35. and Efd. 2. 35. where Adri-Simon Macchabæus.

a new City Passcover.

Tribe had noted, that both it, and Mitspa of Benjamin is Jerem. 41. (of which also we read oft in the Scripture)

Lod, Hadid, and Ono: of which, Lod and Ono the Ifraelites; of which two, Gilgal (as is faid) were built by shemed a Benjamite: they were was near Jordan on the East fide of this Tribe all three re-inhabited with Benjamites, after and Mitspa near the West Sea, towards the

The third place, which is named with chomius reading Lod, Hadid, Ono, makes be- these two, whither also Samuel used yearly fides Hadid in Nehemia, a City called Lod- to come, is b Bethel: which also was feated in b Town Mar. 1.38 hadid: This Hadid or Chadid was rebuilt by this Tribe of Benjamin. But to return to Gil in the gal, which was the first place where the Ark Bridge Samaring or Tsemarain, named of Tsemary resided, after they past over Fordan (from 1946). one of the fons of Canaan, was another of whence it was carried to Silo, and thence to finish their Cities: and further into the Land stand- Kiriath-Jeharim, and at length to Hierufa-intense eth Tericho, one of the Toparchies and the lem) here in Gilgal it was that Josua pitched which 1 Kingris. last of Juda, seated in a most fruitful Valley, up the 12. Stones, which were taken out of market adorned with many Palm-trees: and there- the channel of Jordan, when it was dry, that the other fore elsewhere called the City of Palms. From the Israelites might pass over it: by which (minist) the time of Josua, who utterly destroyed it, Story, as it is set down Jos. 4. it appears, that by the the time of Joha, who divers dectroyed a, sorry, as it is become Jos. 4, nappears, fing the fame day that they palled over Jordan, lingual they lodged at Gilgal. At the same Gilgal, to the some foundation of it, in the loss of Abiram'his eldes fon, and built the gates of it in the loss that Samuel hewed Agag the King of the same of the same of the same as expected as coordinate the same of his youngest fon Segub: according to the amalekites in pieces. And as for Mitspa, whit was the curse of Josua: in which and other respects, there samuel came yearly to give judgment, where the curse of Josua: there also years to give juaganess, wheat the Hossia allower often the greatest meetings of the Levine shading and the held: as that for the revenge of the Levine shading the held: as that for the revenge of the Levine shading the held: as that for the revenge of the Levine shading the held: as that for the revenge of the Levine shading the the South Betharaba, of which fof c.15. and c. gathered the Jews (when Hierusalem was mention) monits cal. 18. Then that Gilgal of which there is so much posself by the Heathen) as it is I Mac. 3.47. In and its led Hale mention in the Scripture, where Install the Heathen as it is I Mac. 3.47. In the state of the Heathen as it is I Mac. 3.47. In the state of the Heathen as it is I Mac. 3.47. In the state of the Heathen as it is I Mac. 3.47. In the state of the Heathen as it is I Mac. 3.47. 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Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitha an diduto confusion, it is to be remembred, that the their guar The reason of the name, or rather a me- Scriptures mention four places of this name whether morable application of the Etymology of this Mitspa of Juda, of which Jos. 18. (c) Mit-mental name (for it seems by the place, Deut. 11.30. spa of Gilead, of which we have spoken al- week, B that the name was known before the com- ready in the Tribe of Gad. Mitspa of the smith ing of the Israelites into Canaan) is noted 30s Moabites, where David for a while held him. 11.44 5.9.0b devolutionem probri Ægyptiaci, be- felf, commending his Parents to the King of there is in cause their fore-skins (the people being there Moab, 1 Sam, 22.3, and lastly, this chief Mit calle to circumcifed) were tumbled down the Hill: spa of the Benjamites. And as in this place expound which from thence was called Collis prapu- the chief meetings were held both before therether tiorum. This Gilgal was also called Geli-Hierusalem was recovered from the Jebuster, dualso loth, as appears by comparing the places, Jos. and also in the time of the Macchabees (as guide: 15.7 and 18. 17. for it was in the borders we have faid) when Hiernfalem was held by dough of Jordan, of which Jos 22.13, and Geliloth the wicked under Antiochus, so also in the also ut fignifieth borders. It flood (though in some time of Hieremy, after the destruction of the it into distance) directly Eastward, over against the Temple by the Chaldees, Gedaliah whom Na-phre wheesthe two Hills Garazim and Hebal: upon the one buchodonofor left in Jewry, as Governour or Mit White of which the bleffings, and on the other the ver those that were left in the land, held his 15 mm. It curfings were to be read to the people, both abiding in this place: until(to the great hurt) to the great hurt) to the great hurt. being the Mountains of Ephraim. Further, of the Jews) he was slain by the treason of noods for the situation of this Gilgal, it is to be Ismael, one of the royal blood of Juda, as it than the

were feated about the midft of the length of the land of Canaan: for which reason (a) Sa muel chose these quaters, North, West, and sails, to which he solution will be these quaters. North, West, and sails, to which he solution muel chose these two places, to either of Missing or Missing and others out of the winters of Missing or Missing

Neer unto this Milifia, the Scripture men-Ephraim, 1 Sam. 25. I. which more often is

the third place where Samuel held his chief thea, Matt. 27.57. was denominated. meetings for the ministring of Justice, that Of a fourth Rama we read, 2 Reg. 8. 29. one of the

of Bethel, 2 Reg. 23, whence those coasts The third City Gibba, which was the Cischel.

lon; these three have no warrant in the ced neer Beth-aven, upon the East of Bethel, an Appellative significant states for Scripture. Of Rama in the Tribe of Affer, as if feems, we have testimony, 30/19. 29, and of another in Nephstahim, 30/19. 36. of a third Rama, where Samuel dwelt in Mount

tioneth Bethear, after called Aben-Hezer, called (g) Ramatha, and I Sam. I. I. Rama (g) Of that is, the Stone of help: where Samuel thaim Tjophim: for which the Septuagint that in the Junta Samuel thair Tjophim: pitched up the Pillar or Stone, for a Trophey have Aramathaim-forbim, taking the Article detailed affixed in the beginning, for a part of the the place Touching Bethel, which (as it feems) was word, v hence they think Joseph of Arama-34, when

it was anciently called Lnz, and how it was which is Ramoth in Gilead. The first, which thee Pretaken by the illue of Joseph (though it beins most often mentioned, is Ranno of Benja-which Delonged to the portion of Eenjamin, as it is min, feated, as we faid, pear Bethel the ut-mining Nebem. 11. 31. and 30f. 18. 22.) and how termost South-border of the Kingdom of yeels to another City called Luz (d) near adjoyning the ten Tribes: for which cause Baasha in out of the (6) 15 m. to it, was built by the man of the City which the time of Afa King of Juda, fortified it, to country of thewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is hinder those that did fly from him to Afa. this lying Jud. 1. and of the occasion of the name from Of this Rama, or Ramatha, I should rather towad Jacob's vision: and how Jereboam, by ere- think Joseph was, that buried Christ: be-the Estito fting one of his calves here, of Bethel (which cause it was nearer to Hiernfalem, and after and tydds fignifieth the house of God) made it (e) Beth-the Captivity belonged to judga, as it ap-to-god the Well, algument the house of Vanity, Hof. 4. 15. pears, Efd. 2. 26. wherein that it is joyned the Wet, and Appe and 10. 5. as also other memorable things of with Geha, it is plain that he speaketh of that rems (of district this place, they are fo well known out of Rama with whose fromes (after Baasha had which erea new the Histories of the Scripture, that we may ccased to build it) As (asit is 1 Heg. 25.22.) we fresk) built Gebah adjoyning to it: both being lying in the mid-The Territory of Betbel, which at the in Benjamin. And as Rama was the South defiber fust belonged to the Kingdomof the ten border of the ten Tribes, so was Gehab the tween the and a mit belonged to the great victory | North-border of the ringuous of Julia A fixth lightles. Tribes, from the time of the great victory | North-border of the ringuous of Julia A fixth lightless from the great victory | North-border of the ringuous of Julia A fixth lightly of Abba against ferobaam, of which 2 Chron, whence 2 Reg. 23. 8. we reade that Joffab Ramai to through all his Kingdom, even from Geobale, George Machael Great Machael George (Reg. 1988). Tribes, from the time of the great victory North-border of the Kingdom of Juda two other. form them, and adjoyned to through an instangaom, even from them, and adjoyned to through all its Anglom of Juda: and so it continued, which was the North-border, to Eeer-sheba; in the as appears by the Story of Joss : which which was the South-border, destroyed the Tibe of

1 Macc. 11. 34. are called Apherama, which ty of Saul (the wickedness of which City in which for Greek word fignifieth as much as A thing the time of the Judges had almost utterly called Rataken away, to wit, from the ten Tribes. It rooted out this Tribe) Adrichomius con-mothe was one of the three Seigniories, or Perfer founds with Gebah, making one of two (as South, and otherwise which Demetring in his Foiftle manning than more independent of two (as South, and otherwise and doubt, distinction). Unres which Demetrius in his Epiftle mentio-they are evidently diffinguished, Efsy. 10. Babelub neth, as added by him to the Dition of the 27.) of which word (b) Gibba, in another ber. Jems, out of the Samaritan Country. A part from Gibbath, he imagineth Gibbaath, ano-in conofit, as appears 2 Chron. 13. 19. was Hephra- ther City in this Tribe, making two of one fination. vin, which Jos. 18. 23. is called Hophram, be- The vicinity of this City allo to Rama of Goren-Not far from this Bethel, in this Tribe, we Levite vvith his Wife, not able to reach to the cofe. find three other Cities, often mentioned in Rama, took up his lodging at Gibba. By whence the Scriptures, Rama, Gidha, and Geba. Of that place of 1 Sam. 22.6. it feems that the Palgar the name Rama, (f) it is noted already, in there was in this Gibba some Tower or Cit. Surface Separation. fa. the description of Ephraim, that there were tadel called Rama: where Junius reads in read for many Towns fo called , because of their excesso, for in Rama: but it may be that 14 33: high fituation. But whereas they find out the name of the Kings Palace in this Ci-Rama in the Tribe of Juda (as it feems, be-ty, was Rama: as it feems that in Rama for which cause Matt. 2. it appears that it bordered of Samuel, the name of the chief place hath cellist Retblehem) and also out of Brochard and where Samuel with the Colledge of Prophets Philips Freidenbach make Silo to have been called abode, was Najoth. The great City of Hai (for this Rama and Call abode). Rama, and find yet another Rama in Zabu- overthrown by Josua, which Jos. 2. is pla- word is

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Jos. 28. In solitudinem, in tumulum perpe- an and Persian Kingsot Captains, when Lot tunn. Another City of chief note is recko- was made prisoner) standeth by the River ned Jos. 18. 25. In this Tribe was Gibbon, the of Jordan, in the half Tribe of Manasse borned chief City of the Hevites: whose cunning to dering Zabulon, which was also called Salem, bind the Ifraelites by oath to fave their lives, and by the Greeks solima. is fet down, Jos. 9. whence they were reckoned among the * Neshinei, or Proselites, and ever built) was a principal City in Josus his word New were bound to certain publick services in time: yet not so renowned as Hazor the thinim, or were sound to God: which oath of faving Metropolis (in those dayes and before) of all seasons is as much these Gebeonites, broken in part after by the Canaanites. Adonizedek (whom Josta statis in the Canaanites). as deti (at these depender), blocked in Jat a famine, sie was then King of Hierufalem. That it were a Saul, was by God punished by a famine, sie was the language of the Salustra trie manifed. Deo dati) 2 Sam. 21. 1. This Gibeon, or Gibbon with or as James Almon and Jebah (of both which we have for how long foever they held it before Mo-Almon and jebah (or both which we have jest time, they were Masters and Lords therepounds in spoken) and with Hanothoth the natal place for time, they were Masters and Lords therefore in all the lines of almost 400. Years after him: even till delimit; of Hieremy the Prophet, were said \$10.21.28. 1 Chro 9 2 to be given to the Levites by the Benjamites. and in Ef. Near to this Hanothoth was Nob, as appears, 1 Reg. 2.26. where Abiathar the Priest, which was of Nob before it was destroyed by Saul, reckoned in the Tribe of Benjamin, Neh. 9. 31. and though in the time of saul the refiding place of the Ark was at Kireath-jeharim : yet by the lamentable tragedy of bloud-shed, which saul raised in this place (as it is set down 1 Sam. 21. and 22.) in the it an exceeding great increase of circuit; Tabernacle was there for a time.

where also he nameth Gallim, and Migrom salem, which the Greeks call Hierosolium. in this Tribe. In Asiemas Saul had his Camp, After David's time Solomon amplified, beau-1. Sam. 13. 2. (when he left Gibba to Jona- tified and strengthened it exceedingly. For any here in Benjamin, which they make the could not any where in the world be examnatal place of Saint Paul, whence (they say) pled: and besides, that it had 150000. In when it was taken by the Romans, he failed habitants, the women and childrennot acwith his parents to Tharfis, of this I find no counted. The ditch had 60. foot depth, cut good warrant. Other places of less importout of the very rock: and 250, foot of tance I omit, and come to the City of Hie- breadth: whereof the like hath feldome rusalem, and the Princes and Governours of been heard of, either fince or before. this City: A great part whereof was in the After the death of solomon, and that the Tribe of Benjamin, whence Jos. 18. 28. it is Kingdom of the Jews was cut afunder, shi named among the Cities of Benjamin.

rufalem.

Founder thereof in Abraham's time. But, wall thrown down by Joss King of final;

was in this Tribe, as is proved, Neb. 7, 10.30. * according to others, that City out of Sein though it be not named by Jos. c. 18. for it which Melchisedee encountred Abraham (in half of hal was burned by him and laid defolate, as it is his return from the overthrow of the Affri manga

CHAP. XII

Hierusalem (whensoever, or by whomso-David wan it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the Jebnsei (the childrenof Jebusans the son of Canaan) built; after whom it was called Jebus. And so much did is fent to his grounds at Hanothoth. It is that Nation rely on the strength of the place, 158,4 as when David attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blind, and impotent people should defend it.

David, after he had by Gods affistance possest it, and turned out the Jebusites, gave judgement of Junius, it is proved that the strengthened it with a Citadel or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and o-Micmas also in this Tribe, Nehem. 9.31. ther buildings: changing the name from Jewas a place of fame , of which Esay. 10. 28. buffalem, the City of the Jebufites, to Hierathan) and there also was Jonathan Maccha- besides the work of the Temple, which was Jonathan beus his abode, 1 Macc. 9.73. Of Giscala in no less admirable than renowned among all to the Galilee ofephus makes often mention, but of Nations, the Palaces, Gates, and Wals, 1.16

Shac King of Egypt, and his Predecessor, having bred up for that purpose Adad the Idumean, scient and feroboam solomon's servant; and both married to Egyptians: the State by the one of divers memorable things concerning Hie- disturbed, by the other broken: Shishac first invaded the Territory of Juda, entred Hiera. falem, and fack't it, and became Masternot A T what time Hierufalem was built only of the riches of Solomon, but of all (which afterward became the Princess those spoyls which David had gotten from of all Cities) it doth not appear. Some there Adadezer, Tohn, the Ammonites, and other are who imagine that Melchifedee was the Nations. It was again fack't, and a part of the

verned Juda.

ing 15 the fon of Achaz, by the vaunts made by E- red, might well feem forgotten in the reign taking no warning by these Gods gentle cor- they had been in the dayes of Solomon. rections and afflictions, but perfilting in all kind of impiety, filling the City even to the mouth with innocent bloud, God raifed up that great Babylonian King Nebuchodonofor, Of the destruction of Hierusalem by the Rose as his fcourge and revenger, who making this glorious City and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Wals and Towers which embraced them, even and level with the duft, carried away the spoyls with his death and ascension, it so continued afield, Hierusalem an heap of stones, and rub- with a Romane Army, and became Lord on that defiled foil.

not med. to the Prophecy of Daniel, and the Jews by An extreme famine, with the civil diffension, the E the first; then by Antiochus Epiphanes: and dred thousand souls: and the City was so traler pey it was taken long after, but not deftroyof that which Pompey spared.

rings to repair the Temple of solomon. The over became victorious. wrong done by Ptolomaus Lagi to the second

while Amasia the twelfth King thereof go- on Ptolomaus Philadelphus. The mischief wrought by Antiochus Epiphanes and his fol-Not long after, Achas the fifteenth King lowers, was amended partly by the great of Inda impoverished the Temple, and pre- offerings which were fent to Hierusalem out fented Teglatphalaffer with the treasures of other Nations. Finally, all the loffes, thereof. And Manaffes the fon of Ezekiah, which either the City or Temple had endumelon of Herad, of the Embassadors of Merodach, lost of Herad, that usurping and wicked, but MT.C.100 the remain, and the very bottom of their magnificent King, who amplified the City, solla. treasures. It was again spoyled by the Baby- new built the Temple, and with many sumlonians, Joakim then reigning. But this un- pruous works did fo adorn them, that he grateful, Idolatrous and rebellious Nation, left them far more stately and glorious than

§. III.

N this flourishing estate it was at the coming of our Saviour Chirft Jesus: and after the Princes and people, and crusht them bout fourty years. But then did Titus the with the heavy yoak of bondage and fervi- Romane, being stirred up by God to be the tudefull seventy years, insomuch as Sion was revenger of Christ his death, and to punish not only become as a torn and plowed-up the Jews sinful ingratitude, incompasse it ble, the Mountain of the Temple as a grove, thereof. He began the fiege at fuch time as or wood of thorns and briars, but (as Hie- the Jews from all parts were come up to rome speaketh) even the birds of the Ayre the celebration of the Passeover: so as the formed to flie over it, or the beafts to tread | City was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all forts: and no manner of Then 70. years being expired, according provision or store for any such multitudes. the grace of Cyrus returned: the Temple opprest them within the Wals; a forcible was again built, though with interruption enemy affailed them without. The Idumaand difficulty enough: and the City meanly ans also, who lay in wait for the destruction inhabited, and without Wals or other de- of the Jews Kingdom, thrust themselves into fences, for some 60. and odd years, till Ne- | the City, of purpose to betray it: who alhemia by the favour of Artaxerxes re-built so burnt the Temple, when Nabuchodonosor them. Then again was the Temple and Citook it. And to be short, there perished , E/d. 4. ty spoyled by Bagos, or Vagos, the Liev-of all forts, from the first besieging, to the 15-th to the tenant of Artaxerxes: after by * Ptolomeus consummation of the victory, eleven hunagain by Apollonius his Lievtenant. By Pom- beaten down and demolished, as those which came afterward to fee the defolation ed, nor robbed, though Crassus in his Part thereof, could hardly believe that there thian expedition took as much as he could had been any such place or habitation. Only the three Herodian Towers, (works most But the damages which it sustained by the magnificent, and overtopping the rest) violence of facrilegious Tyrants, were com- were spared, as well for lodgings for the monly recompenced by the industry or Romane Garrisons, as that thereby their vibounty of good Princes, the voluntary con- ctory might be the more notorious and fatribution of the people, and the liberality of mous: for by those buildings of strength strangers. Before the captivity, the people and state remaining, after ages might judge of the Land, through the exhortation of what the rest were; and their honour be godly Kings, made many and large offe- the greater and more shining, that there-

After this, such Jews as were scattered here Temple, was requited by the bounty of his and there in Judea, and other Provinces,

flood Mount Calvary, and the Sepulchre of and brought to ashes. christ, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he again made it a City of great capacity, and called it after his own name, Ælia Capitolia. In the gate toward Bethel, he caused a Sow to be cut in Marble, and set it Of the vain and malicious reports of Heathen in the front thereof, which he did in despight of the Jews Nation: making an Edict, that they should not from thence-forth ever enter into the City, neither should they dare place over-topping it.

fo it continued 500. years.

held it 400. and odd years.

that fed thereon.

began again to inhabit some part of the Ci- hath in effect lost all her fertility and fruitty; and by degrees to re-build it, and fulness; witness the many hundreds of thouftrengthen it as they could, being then at fands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings peace, and Tributaries to the Roman State: of Juda and Ifrael: it being at this time all but after 65. years, when they again offered over, in effect, exceeding frony and barren. to revolt and rebel, Elius Adrianus the Em- It also pleased God, not onely to consume perour flaughtered many thousands of them, with fire from Heaven the Cities of the 86and overturned those three Herodian Tow- domites; but the very soil it self hath felt. ers, with all the rest, making it good which and doth feel the hand of God to this day, Christ himself had foretold; That there should God would not spare the beasts that benot stand one stone upon another of that un-longed to Amalec, no not any small number grateful City. Afterward, when his fury was of them to be facrificed to himfelf: neither appealed, and the prophecy accomplished, was it enough that Achan himself was stoned, he took one part without the Wall, wherein but that his moveables were fo confumed

6. IV.

Writers, touching the ancient Jews.

F the original of the Jews, prophane Writers have conceived diverfly and fo much as to behold it from any other high injuriously. Quintilian speaks infamously of them, and of their Leader; who (faith he) But the Christian Religion flourishing in gathered together a pernicious Nation. csil. Typ.

But the Christian Rengion household by all Diodore and Strabo make them Egyptians, bell far. Palaftina, it was inhabited at length by all Older of the third while the governed Footi 1.14.6.12. Nations, and especially by Christians; and Others affirm, that while Ilis governed Egypt, the people were so increased, as Jerosolymus It was afterward in the 636. year after and Judas led thence a great multitude of Osuphrius Christ, taken by the Egyptian Saracens, who that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant In the year 1099, it was regained by God- by Moses and Aaron: for the name of Mofrey of Buillon, by affault, with an exceeding fer was accidental, because he was taken flaughter of the Saracens; which Godfrey, up and faved out of the waters. But juwhen he was elected King thereof, refused to fline, of all other most malicious, doth Mal 18.25.18. be crowned with a Crown of Gold, because derive the Jews from the Syrian Kings; of Christ, for whom he fought, was therein whom, Damascus, saith he, was the first: and crowned with thorns. After this recovery, to him succeeded Abraham, Moses, and If it remained under the Successiours of God- rael. He again supposeth (somewhat confrey fourfcore and eight years: till in the year | trary to himself) that Israel had ten sons, 1197. it was regained by Saladine of Egypt: among whom he divided the land of Juda; and lastly, in the year 1517. in the time of so called of Judas his eldest, who had the selim, the Turks cast out the Egyptians, who greatest portion. The youngest of the sons of now hold it, and call it Cuzumbarec, or the Ifrael he calleth Joseph: who being brought Holy City. Neither was it Jerusalem alone up in Egypt, became learned in Magical that had so often times been beaten down Arts, and in the interpretation of Dreams, and made desolate, but all the great Cities and figns prodigious; and this Joseph (faith of the World have with their Inhabitants, in he) was father to Moses: who with the rest, feveral times and ages, suffered the same by reason of their foul diseases, and lest shipwrack. And it hath been Gods just will, they should infect others, were banished Eto the end others might take warning, if gypt. Further, he telleth how these menthus they would not onely to punish the impiety banished, when in the Desarts they suffered of men, by famine, by the fword, by fire, and extream thirst and famine, and therein found by flavery; but he hath revenged himself relief the seventh day, for this cause ever afof the very places they possest; of the wals ter observed the seventh day, and kept it and buildings, yea, of the foil and the beafts Holy; making it a law among themselves, which afterward became a branch of their For, even that land, sometime called holy, Religion. He addeth also, that they might not

f:325 Agubeni The desert Arabia Arabia the Stonie Saccæa Agræi Saue or Saba from when the Sabeaus spoyled lob Alsadamus mons The contry of y Amonites Tome & Nabatha Paimerina tyme Zamzuminis nowphiladerphia he mountains of Arnon Mountaines of Ara: Stonie Emuth or Iturization Theshe of Elias & Tobit The mountains Soiner Emath or Iturization & Color Rath Moabites somtime Emims arom Bad

Hermon

Herm Gallon Bathanea, & & Gallaad Syria da masci 1 PHOENICIAN SYRIAN OR MEDITERAN

marry out of their own Tribes, lest disco-siciently answered. For that the Hebrens

first parents of the Tems.

demonians challenged kinred of the He- tude not long after, under Nabuchodonofor. brems: but they did it as descended of Aas touching the Jews and their originals, jo- these times. fephus against Appion, and Tertullian have suf-

vering their uncleanness, they might also be were the children of Arphaxad and Heber, no expelled by other Nations, as they were by man doubteth: and fo Chaldeans originally, the Egyptians. These and the like fables hath taking name either of Heber, the son of Sale, or else (saith Montanus) of wandring, as is Cornelius Tacitus doth as grolly belie before remembred. And therefore doth ste-Calab fes. them, in affirming, that in the inmost Oratory phanus, the Greek Grammarian, derive the of their Temple, they had the golden head Hebrews, or Jews, from Arabon; having miof an Als, which they adored. But herein Ta- staken the name of Abraham, who was the citus forgetteth himself, having in the fifth son of Heber, in the fixth descent. Their ancibook of his own History truly confessed of cat names were first changed by the two the Tems, that they worshipped one onely grand-children of Abram: for after Jacob, God: and thought it most prophane to re- otherwise Israel, the chief part were called present the Deity by any material figure, by Ifrael, another part after Esau or Edom, Edothe shape of a man, or any other creature: mites; at length the remnant of Jacob, beand they had therefore in their Temples no | ing most of the Tribe of Juda, honoured the Image or Representation, no not so much as name of Judas, the son of Jacob, and became in any City by them inhabited. Somewhat Judeans, or Jews: as also for a time in the like this bath Alexander Polyhistor, in Stepha- name of Ephraim the son of Joseph, the chief inut; who also makes Judas with Idumea, the of the Patriarchs of the ten Tribes, the rest of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but Claudius Iolaus draws them from Judaus, were first rooted out when the Kingdom of whose parents were Sparton and Thebis; Israel fell. The Judaus continued their whence it came, that the Spartans or Lace- names, though they suffered the same servi-

The government which this Nation unbraham, saith Josephus. Some of these reports | der-went, was first paternal: which continufeem to have been gathered out of divine ed till they ferved the Egyptians. They were letters, though wrested and perverted, ac- secondly ruled by their Captains and Leafetters, though wretter and perverted, according to the cuftom of the Heathen. For fohave they obscured and altered the Story of the Creation, of Paradise, of the Flood; and given new names to the children of A-had saul for the first: Of whom, and his dam in the first age, to Noah and his sons in Successours, before we intreat, we are first the second: and so to Abraham, Isaac, and Ja- to speak of their government under Judges, cob, Moses, and the rest of the Fathers, and after the death of Josua: with somewhat of Leaders of the Hebrews: all which feignings, the things of Fame in other Nations about

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Josua, to the War of Troy: which was about the time of Jephtha.

Of the Inter-regnum after Josua's death: and of Othoniel.

7 Hen Josua was now dead, who ance of simeon) they became victorious ty over the people, and ordered that nibezek prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Common-weal: it pleased God to direct Commander, both of the Canaanites and Personal Commander, both of the Canaanites the Tribe of Juda (in whom the King riziter. This tyrants cruelty, as elfewhere dom was afterward established) to under- hath been signified, they returned in the same

with the advice of the 70. Elders, In the first attempt which they made, they and the high Priest, held authori- not onely slew ten thousand, but made Adotake the War against the Canaanites, over kind upon his own head: and so by the torwhom (with Gods favour, and the affift-

CHAP. XIII.

on no management and acknowledge Gods judgments fed him to have compaffion on his people,

against himself. matter and possess during this Inter-regnum ed his brethren from oppression, and infor-(or as some think, before the death of Josia) ced the Aramites to return into their own the Cities of Azelus, Askelon, Ekron, and Hie- Defarts, and into Melopotamia adjoyning: rufalem, which they burnt, and the Jebulites after which the Ifraelites had peace fourty after re-edified. They took also the Cities of years, during all the time of Othoniels golet down in express words that any one per- Caleb, for as much as in the book of Judges, fon commanded in chief over the people, as he is twice called Othoniel, the fon of Cenaz, Mofes and Josia did: yet it seemeth that Calebs younger brother. Others do rather Caleb was of greatest authority among them: interpret those words [Calebs younger broand that he, with the advice of Phinees, dither] as if they signified the meanest of his rected and ordered their wars. For if any kinred. Indeed it is not likely that Calebr think that they proceeded without a Chief, Daughter should marry with her own Unthe good fuccels which followed their uncle; yet it follows not therefore that Othowas Calcheven while Jofina governed, as ap-kinred. Wherefore we may better think that of God) it gave him the greatest reputation lawful, but commendable to marry with his among them, and may be esteemed the se- Cousin German Calebs Daughter. cond cause of his preferment and election

Judg 1.19 cause they had Chariots of Iron.) The rest of and the best Writers are of opinion, that be-Judget, s. the house of eleph recovered Fethel, or Luz, of the Levites Wife. For it is written, that in I de 1.30 from the Hillies, lo did the Amerites recover those dayes there was no King in Ifrael, but

(before no otherwife known unto him but But after they had felt the fmart of Gods (perme no tomerwise magination) made him displeasure against them eight years, it pleaand to raise up othoniel to be their Judge The Tribes of Inda and Simeon did also and Leader: who by God affifted, deliver-Indas. Hebron, Debir, or Kiriathsepher, and Zephath, vernment. This Othoriel is thought by Tofia 2600. afterwards Horma. And although it be not tus, to have been the younger brother of 2642 dertakings, witnesseth the contrary. And it niel should have been the meanest of the pears, Jos. 10. 39. that propounded the at- he was the Nephew of Caleb, (as some learntempt of Debir, to the rest of the Captains: ed men expound it) and as the very words for the performance of which enterprife, he of Scripture feem to enforce. For Caleb was promited his daughter Achfah: which he perthe fon of Jephunneth, and Othoniel the fon formed to Othoniel his younger brother af- of Cenas, Calebs younger brother; that is, he ter the conquest: whose behaviour in that was not brother to Caleb, but his younger fervice was fuch, as (next unto the ordinance brothers fon; to whom it was not onely

How long it was from the death of Josua, for their first Judge soon after. But while to the government of Othoniel, it cannot be those of $\int\!\! u da$ made war with their border- found: but it seems to have been no short ers, from whom they onely recovered the time. For many wars were made in that space mountainous Countries (for they could not against the people of the Land. Laiß was drive out the Inhabitants of the Vallies, be- then taken (as is thought) by the Danies; the Tribes fought also to enlarge and esta-tween the times of Josua and othoniel, that bill their own Territories. In which war civil war brake out between the Eenjamite Jan they laboured with variable facees: for as the house of selve recovered Sethel or I was of the Lorito. With East in the selve recovered Sethel or I was of the Lorito. With East in the selve in the sel from Dan all the plain Countries, and forc't every man did that which was good in his them to fave themselves in the Mountains. own eyes And as Inda led the people against And now the Ifraclites, unmindful of Gods the Canaanites, during the Inter-regium, fo benefits, and how often he had miraculoufly was he commanded to do against Benjamin, a-fore-time defended them, and made them even by the Lord God, whose direction they victorious over their enemies (the Elders craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what being also consumed, who better advised should be done; which sheweth it to have them in the Inter-regnum) did not only joyn been when Josua was dead, and before the themselves in marriage with the Heathen government of othoriel, especially consider-Nations: but (that which was more dete-ing, that all other times wherein they wantstable) they served the Idols of Baal, and A- ed Governours, were spent under such opfleroth, with other the dead gods of the Ca- preffion of strangers, as would have given naanites and Amorites. And therefore did them no leave to have attempted fuch a cithe Lord God, whom they had provoked vil war, if their power had been as great, as with their Idolatry, deliver them into the it was in the managing of this action, where hands of the Aramites of Melopotamia, whom in they fo weakened the body of their Chufban Rifbathaim at that time commanded. ftate, by effusion of blood, that in many ages

they could not bring into the field fuch ticulars; to examine all which would renumbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

§. II.

of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficulty in the computation of times.

Here lived in this age of Othoniel, Pandon.or Pandareus, according to Homer, the fifth King of Athens; who began to rule in the twentieth year of Othoniel, and governed forty years. He was father to Erichew: his daughters were Progne and Philomela, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained Thebest of whose daughter Semele was born Dionylius or Liber Pater: under whom Linus the Musician lived. In his time also the Cities of Melus, Paphus, and Tharfus were built.

Ida and Dactylus flourished in this age, who are faid to have found out the use of 60. 4112 Iron: but Genesis hath taught us the contrary, and that Tubalcain long before which the indisputable authority of holy wrought cunningly both in Iron and Brass. Scripture hath summed up, as in that of Awrought cunningly both in Iron and Brais,

"plant" Not long after this time, Amphion and Zethus

braham's birth; and after in the times of the

hard gers find in Ehnds time. But S. Angultine times from the egreffion to the building of

later gers find in Ehnds time. But S. Angultine times from the egreffion to the building of

solomor's Temple, in the Persian Empire, the solomon's Temple, in the Perfain Empire, the few the detail and in what not? Where-devised among the Greeian and other that Nations, during the government of the latest account of times may suffer examine the solomon's Temple, in the Perfain Empire, the feventy Weeks, and in what not? Where-solomon's Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with Triptolemus, of whose pa- mination, the arguments are opposite, and rentage there is as little agreement. Vives contentions are such, as for ought that I see. upon the thirteenth Chapter of S. Augustine men have fought by so many wayes to uncode Civit. Dei, and the eighteenth book, hath ver the Sun, that the days thereby are made gathered all the opinions of this mans pro- | more dark, and the clouds more condenfed geny, where he that defires his pedigree than before: I can therefore give no other may find it. Lactantius and Eusebius make warrant, than other men have done in these him native of Attica: and the son of Elensius computations: and therefore that such and King of Eleusina: which Eleusius by careful | such Kings and Kingdoms took beginning in industry had fed the people of that Territo- this or that year, I avow it no otherwise than ry in the time of a great famine. This, when as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a upon the like occasion Triptolemus could not private opinion: which I submit to better perform, fearing the fury of the people, he judgments. Nam in prises rebus veritas non fled thence by Sea in a kind of Galley or ad unquem quærenda; In ancient things we long Boat, which carried in her Prow a gra- are not to require an exact narration of the ven or carved Serpent; who because he truth, sayes Diodore. made exceeding great speed to return and to relieve his people with Corn from fome neighbour Nation: it was feigned by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents of Ehuds time, and of Proferpina, Orithya, through the air.

Whether the times of these Kings, which lived together with Othonicl, and after him, with the rest of the Judges and Kings of Ifrael and Juda, be precifely fet down, I can-

quire the whole time of a long life; and therefore I defire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of better judgment. For whether Eusebius and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themfelves fo conversant with these ancient Kings; and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the farthest off and most defaced. I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the ancientest Chronologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but conjecture. Secondly, because their own disagreement and contention in those elder dayes, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is fuch, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans understanding fave his own; but that he is greatly diffracted, after what pattern to erect his

This disagreement is found not onely in the reigns of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in the computation of those times

§. III.

Tereus, Tantalus, Tytius, Admetus, and others that lived about these times.

Fter the death of Othoniel, when Ifrael fell back to their former Idolatry, God not avow; for the Chronologers, both of the incouraged Moab to invade and suppress former and latter times, differ in many par- them: to perform which, he joyned the

forces of Ammon, and Amalec unto his own, known to Fyrithens, with whom Hercules and and to (as all kind of mifery readily find- Thefeus joyned themfelves, they agreed toeth out those whom God hath abandoned, gether to recover her: but Pluto, or Orene or for a time with-drawn his help from, (whom others call Aidonius) had (as they thereby to make them feel the difference fay) a very huge Dog, which fastened on Pr. between his grace and his displeasure) these rithous, and tare him in pieces, and had also Heathen neighbouring Nations had an eatie worried Thefens, but that Hercules speedily conquest over Israel, whom God himself ex- rescued him, and by strength took and maposed to those perils, within which they stered the Dog Cerberus: whereof grey were so speedily folded up. In this miserable the sable of Hercules his delivering These estate they continued full eighteen years out of Hell. But Zezes, as I take it, hathwriteunder Eglon King of the Moabites and his ten this story somewhat more according to confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are the truth. For Thefeus and Pyrithous, faith he. infinite, he turned not his ears from their attempted to steal Proserpina Daughter to crying repentance: but raifed up Ehud the Aidonius, King of the Moloffians, who had fon of Gerato deliver them: by which weak Ceres to Wife, the mother of Proferping: man, though maimed in his right hand, yet Proferpma being a general name also for all confident in the justness of his quarrel, and fair women. This purpose of theirs being fearing that the Israelites were too sew in known to Aidonius, Theseus and Parithons numbers to contend with the Head of those were both taken; and because Prithous valiant Nations he refolved to attempt upon was the principal in this confpiracy, and the person of Felon, whom if he could but Thesens drawn on by a kind of affection or extinguish, he attimed simfelf of the follow- inforcement, the one was given for food to ing victory: especially giving his Nation Aidonius his great Dog Cerberus, the other no time to re-effeblish their government, or held prifoner, till Herenles, by the infligation to choose a King to command and direct of Eurischeus, delivered him by strong hand. them in the Wars. According to which refo- The Moloffi, which Stephanus writes with a lution. Ehnd went on as an Embatraciour to lingle (8, were a people of Epirus, inhabiting Eglon, loaden with prefents from the Ifrae-near the Mountains of Pindus: of which lites, as to appeale him, and obtaining pri- Moustains Ceta is one of the most famous. vate access, upon the pretence of some te- where Hercules burnt himself. The River of cret to be revealed, he pierc't his body with Acheron (which the Poets describe to be in a Poniard, made of purpose with a double Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is edge: and shutting the doors of his closet another Nation of the Molossi in Thessall: but upon him, escaped.

It may feem, that being confident of his Plutarch in his Greek questions. good friccess, he had prepared the strength The rape of Orithya, the daughter of Eof Israel in readiness. For suddenly after his rythem, King of Athens, taken away by Bomen: whereof not any one escaped. After Athens. In this time also Tereus ravished Phiterm expired in the Worlds year 2601.

lech her hufband, and with her two fons, tra- | died in the mid-way : all which her brovelled into Moab, and so the story of Ruth ther-in-laws merciless behaviour towards is to be referred to this time. About the be- her, Philomela expressed by her needle upon ginning of the fourfeore years which are gi- cloath, and fent unto Progne. In revenge ven to Ebud, it was that Orcus King of the whereof, Progne caused her onely fon Hysto Molossians, otherwise Pluto, stole Proserpina, be cut in pieces, and set before Tercus her as the walked to gather flowers in the fields hufband, fo dreft as it appeared to be some of Hipponium in Sicilia: or (according to other ordinary food: of which when he Paufanias) by the River Cephifus, which elfe- had eaten his fill, she caused his head, hands where he calleth Chemer, if he mean not two and feet, to be presented unto him; and

these are neighbours to the Cassiopei, saith

return, he did re-pass Jordan, and invading reas of Thrace, is referred to the time of Ehud. the Territory of Moal, overthrew their Ar- The Poets ascribe this rape to the Northmy, confifting of 10000, able and ftrong wind, because Thrace is situate North from which victory, and that Samgar his Successor | lomela, of which the fable was devised of her had miraculously flain 600. Philistims with conversion into a Nightingale. For Terens an Ox goad: the Land and People of Ifrael having married her fifter Progne, conducting lived in peace unto the end of fourfcore | Philomela from Athens to fee her fifter, foryears from the death of Othoniel, which ced her in her passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that the might not complain; In the dayes of Ebud, Naomi, with Elime- perswading Progne his Wife, that Philomela distinct Rivers. This stealth being made then fled away with such speed towards

ritory of Athens. By which, as also by the name Daulis, where these things are suppofed to have been done (whence also Philomela is called Daulias ales) it appears that now called Thracia, or in Odrysa, (as the Country in Greece not far from Attica, a City whereof is called Daulia, was in Panthis Tereus was King: whence Pandion, to have amity with his neighbours, made him faith Thucydides, that Pandion King of Athens made that alliance with a neighbour King, from vyhom he might have fuccour, rather than vvith any Tereus, that should have held the Kingdom of Odryse, vihich vias greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for Progne to be turned into, may feem to have been, partly because, as Pausanias sayes, Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines; as if a Swallow, remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her fifter, did for ever after hate that place.

Near this time Melampus (who is faid to have understood the voices of Birds and Beafts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. He restored to their former health the Daughters of Præ-Pull: two King of the Argives, who (as the Poets by II) please) were made mad by Juno: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries where the ground was light, they did use often to plough with Kine.

In the feven and fortieth year of Ehud, Tros began to reign in Dardania, and gave it his own name; about which time Phemone the chief Priest of Apollo in Delphos, devised the Heroical Verse,

Of the same date was Tantalus, King of Lydia: whom Eusebius makes King of Phrywere anciently Meones. Of Tantalus was devised the fable that some Poets have apmap. Ends. plied to the paffion of love; and some to the $i_{1,2_{RC}}$, coverous that dare not injoy his riches. Euill, s. febius calls this Tantalus the fon of Jupiter,

Athens, where her Father Pandion yet lived, | by the Nimph Pleta: Diaconus and Didymus as the Poets feigned, that she was turned in Zezes, give him another mother. He was into a Swallow. The place where it was faid to be the fon of Jupiter, as some will performed, Strabo finds to be Danlis, in have it; because he had that Planet in his Phocis: and the Tomb of Tereus, Paufanias afcendent, betckening Wifdom and Riches. hath built near the Rocks Mergi, in the Ter- It is faid, that when he made a feast to the gods, having nothing more precious, he caufed his own fon to be flain and dreft to the banquet: of whom Ceres ate part of one of the shoulders; whereby was signified, that it is true, which Theucydides notes by way those men which seek after Divine knowof digression in his Peloponnessan War, That ledge, preser nothing on earth before it: no this Tereus was not King in that which is not the care of their own children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was devised, Poets call him Odrysius) but that Phocis a that he had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, dions time inhabited by Thracians of which that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacy of the world, yet his mind being otherwise, and to higher defires his fon-in-law: as it is good to believe, transported he enjoyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom ovid:

Quarit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia cap-

Tantalus, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Here Tantalus in water feeks for water, and doth miss.

The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught wifdom and vertue to mortal men: which story Cornelius Gallus hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this table otherwise, and fay, That Tantalus, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirsty of more abundance, was never fatisfied. Of whom Horace against covetoulnels.

Tantalus à labiis sitiens fugientia captat Flumina; quid rides ? mutato nomine de te Fabula narratur.

The thirsting Tantalus doth catch at streams that from him flee. Why laughest thou? the name but chang'd,

the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is feigned of Tantalus, that he gave the Nectar and Ambrosia of the gods, to vain and unworthy men, giarand also of that part of which the people that he was therefore by them in that force punished. Of which Natalis out of Pindarus :

> Immortalitatem quod furatus, Coetaneis convivis. Neclar Ambrosiamque dedit,

Because

Because that stealing immortality, He did both Nectar and Ambrolia give To guests of his own age, to make them

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Whereby it was meant, that the fecrets of Divinity ought not to be imparted to the unpure Vulgar. For asthe cleanest meats in a foul fromack, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reserved mysteries are often perverted by an unclean and defiled mind. To you it is given (faith Christ in Mark)

done in Parables. So it is faid of him, that be was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still expounded all things to his Disciples apart. And lived, and had his flesh renewed. Most 4.14 therefore doth Gregory Nazianzene infer Greg in upon a place of S. Paul: Quod fi Paulo li-ora de upon a place of S. Paul: Quod fi Paulo li-ora de upon a place of S. Paul: Quod fi Paulo li-Ora de reile efferi ea, quorum iph cognitionem calum a Herd-man, and afterward, for his excellent medife de tertium & usque ad illud progressio suppedita- wit, was by him advanced; but having Dos. 2 vit, fortage de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius con- flain Hyacinthus, he croft the Hellespont, and

enysteria, que it a reciperet ut Sus tubam & fi- which faith: dem graculus, & unquenta Scarabaus : quare flentium indixit discipulis nè vulge divinorum arcana patefacerent, que meditando facilius quem loquendo apprehendantur; To jet an AS to a Harpor to learn mysteries : which he would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Jay a Viol, or Scarabies, and unclean flies soveraign ointment. Wherefore he commanded filence to his Disciples , that they should not disclose divine mysteries to the common fort, which are caster learned by meditation than by babling. certain Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that witness, saith Pausanias. their secrets might be hidden from the Vulgar : and that they might bestow the more | find it) in the dayes of Deborah, lived Persemeanings.

of Aod, or Ehud, with him it is also said, that dusa, the Daughter and Successor of Phorens, therefore called the son of the earth. Pausa- head, were turned into stones. nias speaking of the grave of this Giant, af- | Cecrops, the second of that name, and 7,

of a furlong. But Tibullus hath a louder lie of his stature out of Homer:

Porrect úsque novem Tytius per jugera terra. Affiduas atro viscere pascit aves.

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Nine furlongs stretcht lies Tytins, who for his wicked deeds, The hungry Birds with his renewing liver daily feeds.

This Strabo doth thus expound; That Apollo killing this cruel and wicked Tyrant Mak 4. 11 to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God, of Panopea, a City in Phoen, it was seigned by but unto them that are without, all things be the Poets, to the terrour of others, That he

Admetus, King of Thessaly, lived also in this flaret; If Paul might have uttered the things, fled into Phrygia: where, together with the knowledge whereof the third Heavens, and Neptune, he was entertained by Laonedon, his going thither, did bring unto him, perad- and got his bread by working in brick, for venture we might know somewhat more of God. building of the walls of Troy, not by making Pythagoras, aith Revelin, thought it not the the bricks leap into their places by playing part of a wife man, Asino lyram exponere, aut on his Harp: according to him in Ovid,

> Ilion aspicies, sirmataque turribus altis Mania, Apollinea struct a canore lyra.

Strong Ilion thou shalt see with walls and towers high, Built with the harp of wife Apollo's Harmony,

Thus the Poets: but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this work. And therefore did the Egyptians communi- And that he also laboured at the building of cate their mysteries among their Priests in the Labyrinth in Greece, all the Megariens pagia

In these dayes also of Ehnd, or (as some time in the contemplation of their covered us, the fon of Jupiter and Danae, by whose Souldiers (as they failed out of Peloponnefus, But to proceed with the contemporaries to feek their adventure on Africa fide) Me-Tytius lived, whom Apollo flew, because he being weakly accompanied as she hunted, fought to force his mother Latona. Enphori-on both ir thus, that Tating was taken to the Lake Tritan was surprised and flain. Lated on hath it thus, that Tytins was the fon of whose beauty, when Perseus beheld, he can ship Elara, the Daughter of Orehomenus; which fed her head to be imbalmed, and carried with Elara being beloved of Jupiter, to avoid Juinto Greece: the beauty whereof was fuch, putting the seventies he hid blane in the control into Greece: the beauty whereof was fuch, putting the seventies he hid blane in the control into Greece: no's reverge, he hid Elara in the earth, where and so much admired, and the beholders to the was delivered of Tyrius: whose Mother aftonished which beheld it, as thereof grew and diminest therein no wished has many the Court of the court of the was delivered of Tyrius: whose Mother aftonished which beheld it, as thereof grew and the Court of the was delivered of Tyrius: whose Mother aftonished which beheld it, as thereof grew and the court of the was delivered of Tyrius: whose Mother aftonished which beheld it, as thereof grew and the was delivered of Tyrius: whose Mother aftonished which beheld it, as thereof grew and the was delivered of Tyrius: whose Mother aftonished which beheld it, as thereof grew and the was delivered of Tyrius: whose Mother aftonished which beheld it, as thereof grew and the was delivered of Tyrius: whose Mother aftonished which beheld it, as thereof grew and the was delivered of Tyrius: whose Mother aftonished which beheld it, as thereof grew and the was delivered of Tyrius and the was delivered of Tyrius: whose Mother aftonished which beheld it, as thereof grew and the was delivered of Tyrius and th dying, and himself therein nourished, he was the fiction, That all that looked on Medica's

firms, that his body occupied the third part King of Athens, and Acrifius the 13. or, after

Eulebius, the 14. King of the Argives, began of Galley, of such swiftness, that it was calhy Antea, or Sthenobia, the wife of Pratus of for fo Virgil calleth one of the greatest ships neid. Ho. the Argives, to accompany her, but refuling of Aneas. it, the accused him to her husband, that he Ion also, from whom the Athenians (be-boll, offered to force her: whereupon Pretus ingignorant of the antiquity of their parent fent Bellerophon into Lycia, about some affairs Javan) derive their name of Iones, is said to of weight, between him and his fon-in-law have been about Ehnds time: Homer calls Tobates: giving secret order to Jobates to them Jaones, which hath a near resemblance dispatch him: but Jobates thinking it disho- to the word Javan. Perhaps it might be nourable to lay violent hands on him, im- fo that Ion himself took name from Javan: ploved him against *Chimæra*, a Monster vo- it being a custom observable in the Histomiting, or breathing fire. Now the gods (as ries of all times, to revive the ancient name the report is) pittying his innocency, sent of a fore-father, in some the principal of his him the winged Horse, Pegasus, sprung up of iffue. the blood of Medusa, formerly flain by the The invasion of India by Liber-Pater, is fouldiers of Perseus in Africa, to transport by some reported as done in this age: but Bellerophon overcame Chimera: and per-gypt, and the death of Josua. formed the other fervices given him in him: but being victorious also over all those, called Morea. he arrived to Fobates in fafety; whom Fobates for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdom: after which he grew fo infolent, as he attempted to flie up to heaven upon his Pegasus: whose pride Jupiter disdaining, caused one of his stinging flies so to vex Pegasus, ashe cast off Bellerophon from expounded; as first by some, That it pleathat when he was exposed to extream haproud and prefumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremity of forrow, and ever-during mife-

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alfo their reigns, as it is faid, in the time of led the flying Horse: to whom the invention this Judge: of which the first ruled 40. of sayls (the wings of a thip) are also attrivears and the fecond 31. years. Also Belle- buted. Many other expositions are made of rophon lived in this age, being the fon of this tale by other Authors: but it is not un-Glancus, the son of Sifyphus: who inticed likely, that Chimera was the name of a ship, L.s. E.

him; a horse that none other could master S. Augustine makes him far more ancient : Lib. 18.c. erbridle but Minerva: upon which beast placing him between the coming out of E-deci. 1.18.

About the end of the 80. years, ascribed charge: which done, as he returned toward to Ehnd, and Samgar, Pelops flourished: who Lycia, the Lycians lay in ambush to have slain gave name to Peloponnesus in Greece, now

6. IV.

Of Deborah and her Contemporaries.

Fter Ifrael had lived in peace and plenty to the end of these 80. years, they ahis back, into the Valley of Cilicia, where gain began to forget the giver of all goodhe died blind; of which burthen Pegafus ness, and many of those being worn out, being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew which were witnesses of the former misery, back to heaven: and being fed in Jupiters and of Gods deliverance by Ehud; and afown stable, Aurora begg'd him of Inpiter to ter him by Samgar; the rest began to reride on before the Sun. This tale is diverfly turn to their former neglect of Gods commandments. For as Plenty and Peace are the feth God to relieve men in their innocent parents of idle security; so is security as fruitand undescrived adversity, and to cast down sul in begetting and bringing forth both those which are too high minded: accor- danger and subversion: of which, all estates ding to that which is faid of Bellerophon: in the world have tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their fins were azard,or rather certain death, he found both deliverance and honour: but waxing over-zor, after the death of Ebnd, invaded the territory of Ifrael; and having in his fervice 900. iron Chariots besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subjection twenty years, ry. Secondly by others, That under the till it pleased God to raise up Deborah, the name of Chimera, was meant a cruel Pyrat | Prophetess, who incouraged Barac to levy a of the Lycians, whose ship had in her prow force out of Nepthalim, and Zabulon, to ina Lyon, a Goat in the mid-ship, and a Dra-counter the Canaanites. That the men of gon in the stearn, of which three beasts this Nepthalim were more forward than the rest Monster Chimara was said to be compound- in this action, it may seem to have proceeded ed, whom Bellerophon purfued with a kind partly from the authority that Barac had

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partly from their feeling of the common tations towards the Land; and the children grievance, which in them was more fentible of Dan, who neighboured the Sea, crept into than in others, because Hazor and Harofeth their ships for safety, shewing thereby that the chief holds of Fabin, were in Nepthalim. all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. She So in the dayes of Tepika the Gileadites took then curied the Inhabitants of Meroz, who the greatest care, because the Annuonites, dwelling near the place of the battel (bewith whom the War was, prefled most upon like fearing the success) came not out to afthem, as being their borderers. Now as it fift Ifrael, and then bleffeth Jael the wife of pleased God by the left hand of Ehud to Heber the Kenite, who nailed sifera in her deliver Is ael from the Moabites: and by the Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that counsel and courage of a woman, to free race to the Ifraelites. For though the Famithem from the yoak of Canaan, and to kill ly of Heber were inforced in that milerable the valiant Sifera by Jael the Kenites wife: time of subjection, to hold correspondency fo was it his will at other times, to work the with Jabin the Canaanite, yet when occasilike great things by the weakest means. For on offered them means, they witnessed their the mighty Affrian Nabuchodonofor, who was love and faith to their ancient Friends. Lasta King of Kings, and refiftless, he overthrew ly, she derideth the Mother of Siferawho by his own imaginations, the causers of his promised her Son the victory in her own brutish melancholy; and changed his match- hopes; and fancied to her felf, and descriless pride into the base humility of a Beast. bed the spoils both of Garments and Mai-And to approve that he is the Lord of all dens by him gotten. For conclusion, shedipower, he sometime punisheth by invisible recteth her praise and thanks to God onely ftrength, as when he flaughtered the Army victorious.

From the beginning of Jabins opprefion Fg yptians in Moles time: sometime by dead to the end of that peace, which Deborah and bodies, as when he drowned Pharaoh by the Barac purchased unto Ifrael, there passed 40. waves of the Sea; and the Canaanites by years. In which time the Kingdom of Argus, hail-stones in the time of Josha: sometimes which had continued 544. years, wastranby the ministery of men, as when he over-slated to Mycana: The translation of this threw the four Kings of the East, Chedorlao- Kingdom, Vives out of Pausanias writeth to mer, and his companions, by the houshold this effect: After Danaus, Lynceus succeedfervants of Abraham. He caused the Moa- ed in Argos, after whom the Children of Abites and Ammonites to fet upon their own bas the fon of Lynceus divided the Kingdom: confederate the Army of the Edomites; and of which Acrifius being eldest, held Argos it having flain them, to kill one another in the felf: Prætus his brother possest Ephyra, or speak unto Barac in these words: But this witness Pratus possession, saith Pausanias. Judg. 49. journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for the Lord flull fell Sifera into the that he should be slain by the son of his bands of a Woman. In which victory all the Daughter Danae: whereupon he caused her

God, and after the acknowledgement of all fon, or other worthy man, corrupted her his powerfulness, and great mercies, she Keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of sheweth the weak estate whereinto Israel whom Persens was born; who when he grew was brought for their Idolatry by the Canaa- to mans estate, either by chance (faith Ctefnites, and other bordering Nations, in these as) or in shewing his grand-father the invenwords: Was there a shield or spear seen among tion of the discus, or leaden ball, slew him forty thousand of Israel? She also sheweth unwillingly. After this, Persens, to avoid the how the Ifraelites were severed and amazed, infamy of Patricide in Argos, changed King fome of them confined over fordan, and domes with his Uncle Pretus: and built durst not joyn themselves to the rest; as Mycana. This imprisonment of Danae, 300

the fourth of Judges.

among them, being of the fame Tribe; and kept the Sea-coast, and for fook their habi-

2 Chro 20. fight of Jekofaphat: and of the like to thefe a Corinth, and Tirynthos, and other Cities, with raining volume of examples may be gathered. And all the Territory towards the Sea: there be nullian to this effect did Deborah the Prophetess ing many Monuments in Tirynthos, which

Now Acrifius was foretold by an Oracle, strength of the Canaanite Jabin fell to the to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that ground even to the last man : in the end of no man might accompany her. But the Lady which War it seemeth that Jabin himself a!- being exceeding fair, it is fained that Jupiter fo perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of turned himself into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with child: After all which, Deborah giveth thanks to the meaning whereof was, that some Kings those of Reuben in Gilead: that the Asperites phocles reporteth otherwise: and that she was inclosed in a brazen vault under the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Upon this close custody Horace hath this witty observation:

> Inclusam Danaen turris abenea, Robustaque fores, & vigilum canum Triftes excubiæ munierant satis NocInrnis ab adulteris:

Si non Acrifium Virginis abditæ custodem pavidum, Jupiter & Venus Rififent, fore enim tutum iter & patens Converso in pretium Deo.

Aurem per medios ire satellites, Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius Illu fulmineo.

The brazen tower with doors close barr'd. And watchful bandogs frightful guard, Kept safe the maidenhead

Of Danae from fecret love: Till smiling Venus, and vvise Jove Beguil'd her Fathers dread. For chang'd into a golden showre, The god into her lap did poure Himself, and took his pleasure. Through guards and ftony vvals to break, The thunder-bolt is far more weak, Than is a golden treasure.

The first Kings of the Argives were these.

Inachus the first King, who began to reign in the first year of Jacob, and the 61. of Ifaac: from which time, to the end of sthenelus, Castor misreckoneth 400. years. This Kingdom before the translation, Eufebius accounteth to have stood 544. years, others but at 417. Io was the daughter of this Inachus: vvhom the Egyptians called Iss.

> Phoroneus. Sthenelus, Apis, Danaus, Argus, Lynceus, Pirafus, Abas. Phorbas. Acrisus, Triopas, Pelops. Crotopus.

After the translation to Mycene, Mar. Scotus finds these Kings:

> Perfeus, Eurystheus, Sthenelus,

Atreus The fons of Pelops by Hippodamia: Atreus by Europe had Thyestes. \ Agamemnon and Menelaus.

Agamemnon. Ægyfthus, Oreftes,

Tifamenus. Penthilus and Cometes.

Of these Kings Mercator and Bunting leave out the two first, and the last, beginning with Eurystbeus: and ending with Penthilus. In Tifamenus time the Heraclide returned into Peloponesus: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of Barac and Debora, vvere Midas, vvho reigned in Phrygia: and Ilus, vvho built Ilium: vvith others mentioned in our Chronological Table, as Contemporaries vvith Debora.

of Gideon, and of Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, and others that lived in this Age.

Debora and Barac being dead, the Midianites, affished by the Amalekites, infested Ifrael. For when, under a Judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or prosperity: The Judge was no fooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did fo mafter them in a short time (the hand of God being withheld from their defence) as to fave themselves, they crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places of hardest access: their enemies possessing all the plains and fruitful vallies : and in har- Jud. 6. vest time, by themselves, and the multitude of their cattel destroying all that grew up: covering the fields as thick as grashhoppers: vyhich servitude lasted seven years.

Then the Lord by his Angel stirred up Gideon the fon of Joash, afterward called Jud. 6.0.5. Jerubbaal: vvhose fear and unvvillingness, and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precifely fet down in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleafed God by a few felect persons. namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make Jud. c. 6. them know that he onely wasthe Lord of or ?. Hosts. Each of these 300. by Gideons appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher instruments of more terrour than force, vvith vvhich he gave the great Army of their enemies an alarum: who hearing fo loud a noife, and feeing (at the crack of fo many pitchers broken) fo many lights about them, esteeming the Army of Israel to be infinite, and ftrucken with a fudden fear, they all fled vvithout a stroke stricken, and vvere flaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and

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na; which fled.

tions, and were not spoyled by them; or Histories. else they knowing that Zeba and Zalmunna In the end so much did the people revewere escaped with a great part of their Ar- rence Gideon in the present for his victory, my, might fear their revenge in the future. and there own deliverance, as they offered Secondly, it may be laid to the condition him the Soveraignty over them, and to and dispositions of these men: as it is not establish him in the Government; which he For there are multitudes of men, especially neither shall my childe reign over you, but the envy and maligne others, if they rerform any that they would beftow on him the golden praise-worthy actions, for the honour and car-rings which every man had gotten. For fafety of their own Country, though them- the Ismaelites, neighbours, and mixt with selves may be assured to bear a part of the the Midianites, used to wear them : the smart of contrary success. And such malici- weight of all which was a thousand and seous hearts can rather be contented that their ven hundred shekles of gold, which makes glory or good to either.

A place in Now Gideon, how or wherefoever it nen, belonging to the High Priest only, and A place in 190W G-732607, now of whereloever it nen, belonging to the Fight Friettom? self-and to me, belonging to the Fight Friettom? fet up the fame in his own City of Ophra or is thought fad 3.10. ry and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed Fphra, which drew Ifrael to Idolatry, the fame

flain. In his return the Ephramites began to the opportunity, and purfued his former quartel with Gideon, because he made war victory to the uttermost: and finding Zebah without their affiltance, being then greedy and Zalmunna in Karkor (tuspecting no furof glory, the victory being gotten: who ther attempt upon them) he again surprized (if Gideon had failed and fallen in the en- them, and flaughtered those 15000.remainterprize) would no doubt have held theming: having put to the fword in the former felves happy by being neglected. But Gide- attempt 120000. and withall he took Zebah on appealing them with a mild answer, fol- and Zalmunna prisoners: whom because lowed after the enemy, in which pursuit be- themselves had executed Gidion's brethren ing tyred with travel, and weary even with before at Tabor, he caused them both to be the flaughtering of his enemies, he defired flain: or (as it is written) at their own rerelief from the inhabitants of Succoth, to quest flew them with his own hands, his Son the end, that (his men being refreshed) he whom he first commanded to do it, resulting might over-take the other two Kings of the it; and in his return from the confummati-Midianites: which had faved themselves on of this marvellous victory, he took reby flight. For they were four Princes of venge of the Elders of succoth, and of the the Nations, which had invaded and wa- Citizens of Penuel: forgiving no offence ited Ifrael: to wit, Oreb and Seeb, which committed against him, either by strangers, were taken already, and Zebah and Zalmun- or by his brethren the Ifraelites. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own chil-Gideon being denied by them of succoth, dren found foon after his death, according fought the like relief from the Inhabitants to that which hath been faid before. The of Penuel, who in like fort refused to succour debts of cruelty and mercy are never lest him. To both of these places he threatned unsatisfied: for as he slew the 70. Eldersof therefore the revenge, which in his return | Succoth, with great and unufual torments, fo from the profecution of the other two Prin- were his own 70. fons, all but one, murtheces, he performed: to vvit, that he vvould red by his own bastard Abimelec: The like tear the flesh of those of succoth with thorns | Analogy is observed by the Rabbines, in the and briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and greatest of the plagues which God brought City of Penuel. Novv vvhy the people of upon the Egyptians, who having caused the these two Cities should resuse relief to male children of the Hebrews to be slain, otheir brethren the Israelites, especially after thers of them to be cast into the River fo great a victory: if I may prefume to and drowned: God rewarded themeven make conjecture, it feems likely, first, that with the like measure, destroying their those Cities set over Jordan, and in the vvay own first born by his Angel, and drownof all invasions, to be made by the Moabites, ling Pharaoh and his Army in the Red Sea. Ammonites and Midianites, into Ifrael, had And hereof a world of examples might be either made their own peace with those Nat given both out of the Scriptures and other

rare to find of the like humour in all ages. refused, answering; I mill not reign over 1011, July 813 of those which follow the war, that both Lord shall, &c. But he defired the people Prince and Country should suffer hazzard of ours 2380.li. if we follow the account of and want, than that fuch men as they mif- the shekle vulgar. And because he converlike, should be the authors or actors of any ted that gold into an Ephod; a garment of fugility or good to aither the state of the stat gold, blew filk, purple, fcarlet, and fine lifame was the destruction of Gideon and his house.

There was another kind of Ephod besides this of the High Priests, which the Levites used, and so did David when he danced before the Ark: and Samuel while he was yet young, which was made of linnen only.

death of Enrystheus, the Kingdom of Mycena was over-born and drowned. nage of Atrew died by the same sword.

In Gideon's time also those things were ly esteemed, having made for Minos a Laby- by Hercules his Scholar with his own Harp. geant, in those vicious times.

Junctam Pasiphaen Dicteo credite Tauro Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem. Nec se miratur Cafar, longava vetustas Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of Now if any man demand how it was pof- Pasiphae, Servius makes a less unhonest confible for Gideon with 300. men to deftroy struction of it, thinking that Dadalus was of 130000. of their enemies, and afterward her counsel, and her Pandar for the entice-15000. which remained, we may remember, ling of a Secretary of Minos called Taurus. that although Gideon with 300. gave the first which fignifieth a Bull, who begat her with alarm, and put the Midianites in rout and childe; and that she being delivered of diforder; yet all the rest of the Army came two sons, the one resembling Taurus, the in to the flaughter, and pursuit: for it is other her husband Minos, it was feigned written; That the men of Ifrael being gathe- that the was delivered of the Monster Minored together out of Nephtaly, and out of Asher, taur, half a Man, and half a Buil. But this and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midia- practice being discovered, and Dadalus annites: for this Army Gideon left in Tents be- pointed to be flain, he fled out of Crete to hind him, when he went down to view the cocalus King of sicil: in which paffage he Army of his enemies, who with the noise of made such expedition, as it was seigned that his 300, trumpets came after him to the exe- he fashioned wings for himself and his son to transport them. For whereas Minos pursued There lived with Gideon, Agens, the fon him with boats which had oares only, Daof Pandion, who reigned in Athens: Euryst- dalus framed fails both for his own boat. hem King of Mycene: Atrews and Thyeftes and for his fons, by which he out-went those the fons of Pelops, who bare dominion over a that had him in chase. Upon which new ingreat part of Peloponnesus, and after the vention, Icarus bearing himself over-bolds

fell into the hand of Atrews. This is that A- It is also written of Dedalus, that he made treus, who holding his brother in jealousie, Images that could move themselves, and as an attempter, both of his Wife and go, because he carved them with legs, arms, Crown, flew the children of Thyester, and and hands; whereas those that preceded causing their flesh to be drest, did therewith him, could only present the body and head feast their father. But this cruelty was not of those men, whom they carried to coununrevenged. For both Atreus and his fon terfeit, and yet the workmanship was e-Agamemnon was flain by a base son of Thye- steemed very rare. But Plutarch, who had ftes, yea the grand children, and all the li- feen some of those that were called the Images of Dædalus, found them exceeding rude.

With Gideon also flourished Linus the Howind. supposed to have been done, which are writ- Theban, the son of Apollo, and Terpsichore, Plat Paus. ten of Dædalus and Icarus. Dædalus, they who instructed Thamaris, Orphaus, and Her-1.9 fay, having flain his Nephew Attalus, fled to cules. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sun Minos, King of Crete, for fuccour; where and Moons course, and of the generation of for his excellent workmanship he was great- living Creatures, but in the end he was slain

rinth, like unto that of Egypt. Afterward he Again, in this age those things spoken of Strab. 1.9. was faid to have framed an artificial Cow Sphinx, and Oedipus, are thought to have been for Passphace the Queen, that she, being in performed. This Sphinx being a great roblove with a fair Bull, might by putting her ber by fea and land, was by the Corinthians felf into the Cow, fatisfie her lust; a thing Army, led by Oedipus, overcome. But that no less unnatural than incredible, had not which was written of her propounding of that shameless Emperour Domitian exhibi- riddles, to those whom she mastered, was ted the like beaftly spectacle openly before meant by the rocky and unaccessible Mounthe people of Rome, in his Amphitheater; of tain near Thebes, which she defended; and by purpose, as may seem, to verifie the old Fa- Oedipus dissolving her probleme, his victory ble. For fo it appears by those Verses of over her. She was painted with wings, be-Martial, wherein the flattering Poet magni- cause exceeding swift, and with the body of fieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pa- a Lion, for her cruelty. But that which Palaphatus reports of Sphinx, were more probable,

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bable, did not the time disprove it, for he | would take (supposing he were able) against calls her an Amazonite, and the wife of Cad- one of whom an Oracle should advise him to mus; who when by her help he had cast Dra- take heed? to which question when Ia. co out of Thebes (neglecting her) he marri- son had briefly answered, that he would fend ed the fifter of Draco, which sphinx taking in him to Colchos to fetch the golden Fleece, despightful part, with her own troop she held Pelias immediately commanded him to unthe Mountain by Thebes, from whence she dertake that service. Therefore Jason prepa. continued a sharp war upon the Thebans, till red for the voyage, having a ship built by by Oedipus overthrown. About this time did Argus the fon of Phryxus, by the counsel of Minos thrust his brother out of Crete, and Pallas: wherein he procured all the bravest held sharp war with the Megarians and Athe- men of Greece to fail with him: as Tuhis mians, because his fon Androgeus was flain the Master of the ship, Orpheus the famous by them. He possest himself of Megara, by Poet, Castor and Pollux the sons of Tyndarus. the treason of Scylla, daughter of Nisus the Telamon and Peleus sons of Eacus, and fa-King. He was long Master of the Sea, and thers of Ajax and Achilles, Hercules, Thesens. brought the Athenians to the tribute of deli- Zetes and Calais the two winged fons of Eq. vering him every year feven of their fons: reas, Amphiaraus the great Soothsayer, Me. which tribute Thefens released, as shall be leager of Calidon, that slew the great wild shewed, when I come to the time of the next Boar, Ascalaphus and Jalmenus, or Almenus, Judge Thola. In the end he was flain at the fons of Mars, who were afterwards at Arif. fol. Camerinus or Camicus in Sicilia, by Cocalus the last war of Troy, Laertes the father of Vthe King, while he pursued Dedalus: and was lyjjes, Atalanta a warlike Virgin, Idas and esteemed by some to be the first Law giver Lynceus the sons of Aphareus, who afterwards to those Islands.

Hercules, as the killing of Antous the Giant, selves: Lynceus by Pollux, Idas by Jupiter who was faid to have 60, and odd cubits of with lightning. length, which though Plutarch doth con- These and many other went with Jason in firm, reporting that there was fuch a body the ship Areo: in whose Prow was a table of found by Sertorius the Roman, in Lybia, where the Beech of Dodona, which could speak. Euleb. in Hercules flew Anteus: yet for my felf I think They arrived first at Lemnos; the women of it but a loud lie. That Anteus was of great which Island, having flain all the males, purstrength, and a cunning wrestler, Eusebins posing to lead an Amazonian life, were neaffirmeth: and because he cast so many men vertheless contented to take their pleasure to the ground, he was feigned to be the fon of the Argonauts. Hence they came to the of the earth. Pliny faith, that he inhabited Country about Cyzicus: where dwelt a peoune. de civil, Dei, near the Gardens Hosperisles in Mauritania. ple called Dolignes: over whom then reign-Lis. ct. St. Angustime affirms, that this Hercules was ed one Cyzicus, who entertained them in the Community of Lybia: and the Hydra al- friendly; but it so fell out, that looling fo which he overcame, Plato expoundeth to thence by night, they were driven by conbe a fubtle Sophister.

Of the Expedition of the Argonauts.

of which many fabulous discourses have been zed his funeral. Then departed they again, written, the fum of which is this:

mothers fide to Eson, who was Jasons far who went to feek Hylas the darling of Herdither, reigning in Jolcos a Town of Thessay, less that was ravished by the Nymphs. was warned by the Oracle of Apollo to take Polyphemus built a Town in Mysia called heed of him that wore but one shoe. This Cios, wherein he reigned. Hercules retur-Pelias afterward facrificing to Neptune, invited ned to Argos. From Mylia the Argonants fat-Jajon to him, who coming haltily, lost one led into Bythinia, which then was peopled thoe in palling over a brook: whereupon by the Bebryfer, the ancient Inhabitants of Pelias demanded of him what course he the Country, over whom Amycus the son

in fight with Caftor and Pollux, flew Caftor, To this time are referred many deeds of and wounded Pollux, but were flain them-

trary winds back into his Port, neither knowing that it was the same Haven, nor being known by the Doliones to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which means they fell to blows, infomuch that the Argonauts flew the most part of the Doliones, together with their Bout the eleventh year of Gideon, was King Ozicus: which when by day-light they the famous expedition of the Argonauts perceived, with many tears they folemaiand arrived shortly in Mysia, where they lest Pelias the fon of Neptune, brother by the Hercules and Polyphemus the fon of Elates,

er part of the victuals, did fo defile the them to Zetes. rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the Argonauts craved his advice about this task, Medica the daughter of Aand direction for their voyage: You shall etes fell into a most vehement love of him. do well (quoth he) first of all to deliver so far forth, that being excellent in Magique, me from the Harpies, and then afterwards the came privily to him, promifing her help to ask my counsel. Whereupon they cau- if he would affure her of his marriage. To sed the table to be covered, and meat set this Jason agreed, and confirmed his promise on; vehich was no sooner set down, than by oath. Then gave she to him a medicine that presently in came the Harpies, and play- wherewith she bade him to anoint both ed their accustomed pranks : vyhen Zetes his body and his armour, which would preand Calais the vyinged young men faw this, ferve him from neir violence: further she they drew their fwords, and purfued them told him, that armed men would rife out of through the air: Some fay, that both the the ground, from the teeth which he should Harpies and the young men died of weariness sowe, and set upon him. To remedy in the fight, and pursuit. But Apollonius which inconvenience, she bade him throw faith, that the Harpies did covenant with the stones amongst them as soon as they came youths, to do no more harm to Phineus, and up thick, whereupon they would fall towere thereupon dismissed. For this good gether to blows, in such wise that he might turn, Phineus gave them informations of the easily flay them. Jajon followed her counway, and advertised them withall of the sel; whereto when the event had answerdangerous Rocks, called Symplegades, which ed, he again demanded the Fleece. But by force of windes running together, Æetes was fo far from approving fuch his dedid shut up the passage; wherefore he sire, that he devised how to destroy the Ar: willed them to put a Pigeon before them in gonauts, and burn their ship; which Medea the passage: and if that passed safe, then perceiving, went to Jason, and brought to adventure after her; if not, then by no him by night to the Fleece, which hung on means to hazzard themselves in vain. They an Oak in the Grove of Mars, where, they say did so, and perceiving that the Pigeon had it was kept by a Dragon that never slept. onely lost a piece of her tayle, they ob- This Dragon was by the Magick of Medica ferved the next opening of the Rocks, and cast into a sleep so taking away the then rowing with all their might, passed Golden Fleece, the went with Jason into

From thence forward (as the tale go-

of Neptune vvas then King. He being a wild Boar, also here Typhia dved: and An. firong man, compelled all strangers to fight cons undertook to steare the ship. So they with him at whorlbats, in which kind of passed by the River Thermodon, and Mount fight he had flain many, and vvas now Cancasus, and came to the River Phases, which himself slain by Pollux. The Bebryces in re- runs through the land of Colchos. When venge of his death flew all upon Pollux, but they were entred the haven, Jason went to his companions refeued him, with great Actes the King of Colchos, and told him the tlaughter of the people. They failed from Commandment of Pelias, and cause of his hence to Salmydesus a Town in Thrace coming, desiring him to deliver the golden (somewhat out of their vvay) wherein Phi- Fleece; which Æetes, as the Fable goeth, reus a South-sayer dwelt, vvho vvas blind, promised to do, if he alone would youk and vexed with the Harpies. The Harpies together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowvere faid to be a kind of Birds vehich ing the ground with them, fowe Dragons had the faces of women, and foul long claws, teeth, which Minerva had given to him, very filthy creatures, which when the table being part of those which Cadmus did sowe was furnished for Phineus, came flying in, at Theles. These Bulls were great and sierce and devouring or carrying away the great- and breathed out fire: Vulcan had given

Whilest Jason was in a great perplexity through safe, onely the end of their Poop the ship Argo; having with her, her brother Absyrtus.

Æetes understanding the practices of Meeth) the symplegades have frood still, for the dea, provided to pursue the ship, whom gods, fay they, had decreed that after the when Medea perceived to be at hand, she Paffageof a fhip, they should be fixed. Thence slew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, the Argonauti came to the Mariandyni, a she scattered his limbs in divers places; of people inhabited about the mouth of the ri- which Æeter finding some, was fain to seek Ver Parthenini, where Ligens the King en out the reft, and suffer his daughter to pass: tertained them courteoully, Here Idmon a the parts of his fon he buried in a place, Southlayer of their company was flain by a which thereupon he called Tomi; the Greek

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threatning that if they brought not back he saw the ship Argo pass by, he threw stones bout the Seas, and were come to the River by potions, which made him mad; others, Eridanus: which is Po in Italy.

and carried them they knew not whether; died: others there are that fay he vvas slain when they came to the Islands Absgrides, by Paan, who vvounded him vvith anarthere the ship Argo, (that there might want row in the heel. From hence the Argonaus no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to sailed to Egina, where they were sain to them and faid, that the anger of Jupiter fight for fresh vvater. And lastly, from Ægina should not cease, till they came to Aufonia, they failed by Eubea and Locais, home to and were cleaned by Circe, from the mur- Joleos, where they arrived, having spent four der of Absprtus. Now they thereupon fail. whole months in the expedition. ing between the coasts of Lybia and Gal-lia, and passing through the Sea of Sardi-fason, understand the mistery of the Philonia, and alongst the coasts of Herruria, came sophers stone, called the golden siecee, to to the Isle of Aea, wherein Circe dwelt, who vinich also, other super-line Coymifts draw cleanfed them. Thence they failed by the the twelve labours of Hercules, Suidas coast of the Sgrens, who sang to allure them thinks, that by the golden Fleece was meant into danger: but Orphens on the other fide a golden book of Parchment, which is of fang so well, that he franch them. Onely sheep-skin, and therefore called golden, be-Entes swam out unto them whom Venus ra- cause it vvas taught therein how other met-

tween scylla and Carybdis, and the stragling which is most probable, is the opinion of Rocks, which feemed to cast out great store Dercilus, that the story of such a passage was of flames and smoak. But Thetis and the Ne- true, and that Jason with the rest went in reides, conveyed them fafe through at the deed to rob Colchos, to which they might are appointment of Juno. So they coasted si- rive by boat. For not far from Caucasus there cilie, where the Beeves of the Sun were, and are certain fleep falling torrents which touched at Coregra, the Island of the Phe- vvash down many grains of Gold, as in maaces, where King Alcinous reigned. Mean ny other parts of the World; and the peowhile the men of Colchor, that had been ple there inhabiting use to set many sleeces fent by Æles in quest of the ship Argo, of vvool in those descents of waters, in which hearing no news of it, and fearing his anger, the grains of gold remain, and the water if they fulfilled not his will, betook them- passed thorow, which strabo witnesseth to felves to new habitations: Some of them be true. The many rocks, straits, lands, and to the Pheaces, there found the thip Argo, and demanded Medea of Meinour whereto rifing out of the ground, the Dragon cast nauts departed thence, and after a while vels on the same In-land seas. came to Crete. In this Ifland Minos reigned, who had a man of brass given to him (as fome of the Fablers fay) by Vulcan. This man had one vein in his body reaching from the neck to the heel, the end whereof vvas closed up with a brazen naile; his name vvas

word fignificth Division. Afterwards he sent Talus, his custome vvas to run thrice a day many of his subjects to feek the ship Argo, about the Island for the defence of it. When Medaa, they should suffer in her stead. In the at it, but Medaa with her Magick demean while the Argonauts were driven as froyed him. Some fay that the flew him that promising to make him immortal, she Jupiter, effended with the flaughter of drew out the naile that flopt his vein, by Abstract, vexed them with a great tempest, which means all his blood ran out, and he

vished, and carried to Lylibeum in Sicily to tals might be transmuted. Others would fignifie by Jason, Wisdom, and Modera-Having past the Syrens, they came to tion, which overcomethall perils but that dwelt in the Mountains of Coregre, others in currents, in the passage between Greece and the Illands of Absorbides, and some coming the bottom of Pontus, are Poetically con-Aleinous made aniwer, that if its care not afleep, and the like. The man of braksthe Jasons wife, they should have ner; but if Syrens, Scylla and Charibdis, were other hazthe were already married, he would not zards and adventures which they fell into take her from her husband. Arete, the wife of in the Mediteran Sea, disguised, as the rest, by Alcinous, hearing this, married them:where- Orpheus, under Poetical morals : all which fore they of Colchos, not daring to return Homer afterward used (the man of brakexhome, stayed with the Pheaces, so the Argo- cepted) in the description of Vlysses his tra6. VII.

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tus, cvc.

of their Idoll Baalberith, with which treathe good juice it had: the Bramble onely, ny; of all which none escaped but Jotham Cedars of Libanon. the youngest, who hid himself from his pre- Now (as it is an easie matter to call those fent fury: all which he executed on one men back whom rage without right led stone; a cruelty exceeding all that hath on Gaal the son of Ebed withdrew the Cibeen written of in any age. Such is humane tizens of Sechem from the Service of Abimeambition, a monster that neither feareth lech: who therefore after some assaults en-God (though all-powerfull, and whose re- tred the place, and mastered it; and in convenges are without date, and for everlast-clusion fired the Town, wherein their Idoll ing) neither hath it respect to nature, which Baalberith was worshipped, and put all the laboureth the preservation of every being : people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, passions and affections, by which the souls and finding himself mortally bruised, he of men are tormented, are by their contra- commanded his own Page to pierce his body, ries often-times refifted or qualified. But thereby to avoid the dishonour of being flain ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is by so feeble a hand. it felf the child and darling of Satar, looketh onely towards the ends by it felf fet the Lapitha and Centaurs made war against on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or into the plains, those which had never seen Paper into the plains, those which had never seen Paper into the plains, those which had never seen and rather horsene before, thought them creatures in the plains. praiseth the adventure, than feareth the like compounded of men and horses; so did the success. It was the first sin that the World Mexicans, when Ferdinando Cortes the Spahad, and began in Angels: for which they | niard first invaded that Empire. were cast into Hell, without hope of re- After the death of Abimeleck, Tholo of demption. It was more ancient than man, Isfachar governed Ifrael 23. years, and after

and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation, yet hath the Devil, which felt the fmart thereof, taught him to forget of Abimelech, Tholan, and Jair, and of the one as out of date, and to practife the the Lapytha, and of Thefeus, Hippoly- other, as befitting every age, and mans condition.

Jotham, the youngest of Gideons sons, Fter the death of Gideon, Abimclech his having escaped the present peril, sought by A base son, begotten on a Concubine of his best perswasions to alienate the Sechethe Sechemites, remembring what offers had mites from the affifting of this merciless Tybeen made to his father by the people, who rant, letting them know, that those which defired to make him and his their perpetual were vertuous, and whom reason and reli-Princes; and, as it feemeth, supposing (not- gion had taught the safe and happy estate withflanding his fathers religious modesty) of moderate subjection, had refused to rethat some of his brethren might take on ceive as unlawful, what othershad no powthem the Soveraignty, practifed with the In- er to give, without direction from the habitants of Sechem (of which his mother King of Kings: who from the beginning was native) to make election of himself; (as to his own peculiar people) had appointwho being easily moved with the glory, to ed them by whom and how to be governhave a King of their own, readily conde-ed. This he taught them by the Olive, which feended: and the better to enable Abime- contented it felf with its Fatness, the Figgelech, they borrowed seventy pieces of filver tree with its sweetness, and the Vine with fure he hired a company of loofe and def- who was most base, cut down all the rest, and perate vagabonds, to affift his first detesta- accepted the Soveraignty. He also fore-told ble enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his them by a Prophetical spirit, what should befeventy brethren, the fons of Gideon, be- fall them in the end, and how a fire should gotten on his Wives, of which he had ma-come out of the Bramble, and confume the

but it rageth also against her, though gar- in the assault of the Castle or Tower of Tenished with beauty which never dieth, and | her, himself was wounded in the head with with love that hath no end. All other a stone thrown over the wall by a woman;

down, forgetting nothing (how fearfull the Thebans. These Nations were descended and inhumane soever) which may serve it ; of Apollo, and were the first in those parts remembring nothing, whatfoever justice, that devised to manage horses, to bridle and piety, right or religion can offer and alledge to sit them: insomuch, as when they first

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to be descended of Jair the son of Manasse, of his name Ægeum. Dent 3.14 who in Moles time conquered a great part | One of the first famous acts of Thesens, VVas of Gilead, and called the same after his the killing of scyron, who kept a passage beown name, Havoth Jair. For to this Jair there tween Megara and the Peloponnesian Ishmos. remained thirty of those Cities which his and threw all vyhom he mastered into the Ancestor had recovered from the Amorites | Sea, from the high Rocks. Asterward he did

else written, it is an argument, that during sed by that art to kill others. He also rid all their times Ifrael lived without distur- the Country of Procrustes, vvho used to

bance, and in peace.

to reign in Troy, who at fuch time as Hercn- of them to one, and part to the other bough, les facked Ilium, was carried away captive and by the fpringing up tare them afunder. with his fifter Hessiane into Greece, and being So did he root out Periphetes and other afterward redeemed for ransome, he re-built mischievous thieves and murtherers. He and greatly strengthened and adorned Troy; overthrew the Army of the Amazones, who and so far enlarged his Dominions, as he be- after many victories and vastations, entred came the supreme Lord in effect of all Asia the Territory of Atheus. Theseus having the less. He married Hecuba the Daughter of taken their Queen Hippolita prisoner, begat Ciffeus King of Thrace, and had in all (faith on her Hippolitus; with whom afterward Cicero) fifty fons, whereof feventeen by He- his mother-in-law Phedra, falling in love, cuba, of whom Paris was one; who attemp- and he refuling to abuse his fathers bed, ting to recover his Aunt Hesione, took Helena Pheedra perswaded Thesens, that his son offethe Wife of Menelaus, the cause of the war red to force her : after which it is seigned, which followed.

likewise to reign in the beginning of Jair: Neptune taking a time of advantage, sentout fome Writers call him the fon of Neptune his Sea-Calves, as Hippolitus passed by the and Æthra: but Plutarch in the Story of his Sca-shore, and so affrighted his horses, as castlife, finds him begotten by Ageus, of whom | ing the Coach over, he was (by being inthe Grecian Sea between it and Asia the less tangled therein) torn in pieces. Which mitook name. For when Minos had mastered serable and undeserved destiny, when Phathe Athenians, to far as he forc'd them to pay dra had heard of the strangled her self. After him seven of their sons every year for tri- which it is seigned, that Diana intreated #fbute, whom he inclosed within a Labyrinth, culapius to set Hippolitus his pieces together, to be devoured by the Monster Minotaur: and to restore him to life: which done, bebecause belike the sons of Taurus, which he cause he was chaste, she led him with her into begat on Paliphae the Queen, had the charge Italy, to accompany her in her hunting, and of them: among these seven Theseus thrust | field sports. himself, not doubting by his valour to deliver the rest, and to free the Countrey of that ther sought his life, thinking to escape by flavery occasioned for the death of Androge- Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receive

as, Minos his fon.

affection, who was Minos daughter, he re-skilful Physician, or Chirurgion, healed aceived from her a bottom of thred, by which gain: after which he passed into Italy, where he conducted himself through all the croo- he lived with Diana, that is, the life of a ked and inextricable turnings of the Laby- Hunter, in which he most delighted. But of rinth, made in all like that of the City of those ancient prophane Stories Plutarch saith Crocodiles in Egypt; by means whereof ha- well, that as Cosmographers in their descripving flain Minotaur, he found a ready way to tions of the World, where they find many return. But vyhereas his father Agens had vast places whereof they know nothing, fill given order, that if he came back with vi- the same with strange Beasts, Birds, and Fish-Ctory and in fafety, he should use a white fail es, and with Mathematical lines; so do the in fign thereof, and not that mournful black Grecian Historians and Poets imbroder and fail under which they left the port of Athens: intermixe the Tales of ancient times, with a This instruction being either forgotten or world of fictions and fabulous discourses. neglected, Agens descrying the ship of Thesens True it is, that Thesens did many great

him Jair the Gileadite 22. years, who feems | Rocks down into the Sea, afterward called

Of these Judges, because there is nothing the like to Cercyon, by vvrestling, vvho ubend down the strong limbs of two trees. When Jair judged Ifrael, Priamus began and fastned by cords such as he took, part that Theseus besought Neptune to revenge Thefens the tenth King of Athens, began this wrong of his fons by fome violent death.

It is probable that Hippolitus, when his famany wounds in forcing his passage and e-And having possess himself of Ariadnes scape; which wounds Asculapins, to wit, some vvith a black fail, did cast himself over the things in imitation of Hercules, whom he to live under, and in order, he was by the mefes, and afterwards Annemanes. beggarly, mutable, and ungrateful multitude, in the end banished. Some fay, per Oftracifinum, by the Law of Lots, or names written on shels, which was a device of his

fifty years old, from Aphidna, which City caftor and Pollux overturned, when they followed after Thefeus to recover their fifter. dothovid, Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit | this objection : ille petitum, &c. The rape Eusebius finds in the first of fair, who governed Ifrael twenty two years, to whom fucceeded Jephta or Jepte, fix years, to whom Ibzan, who ruled fever years, and then Habdon eight years: in whose time was the fall of Troy. So, as if Thefeus had a child by her in the If all this World had no original, first of fair, (at which time we must count | But things have ever been as now they are: her no less than fifteen years old: for the Before the fiege of Thebes, or Troys last fall, women did not commonly begin fo young as they do now) the was then at least two and fifty years old at the destruction of Troy: mitting, not agree. Yet Eusebius and Bunting, with of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the Ag to ded Lavinium. But S. Augustine hath other- Glaucus vvas vvorth an hundred Beeves; and the Copper Armour of Diomedes vvorth one.

on; Muestheus, Athens; Tantanes, Assyria; one. Habdon, Ifrael; then Eneas arrived in Italy, ftory of Troy at hand.

the common account in the time of Thola. may well be thought that the rest were pro-

made his pattern, and was the first that ga- | held a great part of Peloponnesus. In Asspria, thered the Athenians, from being difper- during the government of these two peacefed in thin and ragged Villages : in recom- able Judges, Mitreus, and after him Tantanes pence whereof, and for deviling them Laws reigned. In Egypt, Amenophio, the fon of Ra-

§. VIII.

Of the war of Thebes, which was in this He stole Helen (as they fay) when she was

N this age was the War of Thebes, the most ancient that ever Greek Poet or Historian Eralistratus and Pausanias write, that Thesens vvrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet Lubegot her with child at Argos, where the cretius, affirming (as the Epicures in this point erected a Temple to Lucina: but her age held truly against the Peripateticks) that the makes that Tale unlikely to be true, and so World had a beginning, urgeth them with

> —Si nulla fuit genitalis origo Rerumque & mundi, semperque aterna fuere, Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troja, Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poeta s

Why did no Poet fing some elder War?

It is true, that in these times Greece vvas and when she was stollen by Paris, eight very salvage, the Inhabitants being often and thirty: but herein the Chronologers do chaced from place to place, by the Captains Halicarnacesseus, do in effect consent, that the ground vyhereon he dwelt his own, longer City was entred and burnt in the first year than he could hold it by strong hand. Whereof Demoploon King of Athens, the Successions fore merchandize and other intercourse they four of Mnestheus, the Successiour of Theseus, used little; neither did they plant many feventeen daies before the Summer Tropick; trees, or fow more corn than vvas necessary and that about the eleventh of September | for their fustenance. Money they had little following, the Trojans croft the Hellespont or none; for it is thought that the name of into Thrace, and wintered there, and in the money was not heard of in Greece, when next spring that they navigated into Sicilia, Homer did vvrite, vvho measures the vawhere wintering the fecond year, the next lue of Gold and Brass: by the vvorth in Summer they arrived at Laurentum, and buil- cattel : faying, that the golden Armour of

Roberries by land and fea vvere common transporting with him in twenty ships the re- and vvithout shame, and to steal horses or mainder of the Trojans: but the difference is kine was the usual exercise of their great not great; and hereof more at large in the men Their Towns vvere not many, vvhereof those that vvere vvalled vvere very few, and In Sicyonia, Phasius the two and twenti- not great. For Mycena the principal City in eth King, reigned eight years, beginning by Peloponnesus was a very little thing, and it His successions, Adrastus, who reigned four portionable: briefly, Greece was then in her years, and Polyphides, who reigned thirteen infancy, and though in some small Towns of are accounted to the time of jair; so is also that half Ille of Peloponnesia, the Inhabi-Minestheus King of Athens and Atrens, who tants might have enjoyed quietness within

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Athenians, because their Country was so bar- whom striving about their lodging, he fell ren, that none did care to take it from them: to blowes. Adrastus hearing the noise came vet that the Land in general was very rude, forth and took up the quarrel. At which it will eafily appear to fuch as confider what time perceiving in the shield of Tydeus a Thueidydes the greatest of their Historians Bore, in that of Polynices a Lion, he rehath written to this effect, in the Preface to membred an old Oracle by which he was his History. Wherefore, as in these later advised to give his two Daughters in martimes, idle chroniclers use when the want riage to a Lion and a Bore: and according-good matter, to fill whole Books with re-ly he did bestow his Daughter Argia upon ports of great Frosts, or dry Summers, and Tydeus, and Deipyle upon Polynices, proother such things which no man cares to missing to restore them both to their Counreade; so did they who spake of Greece in tries. To this purpose levying an Army, her beginnings, remember only the great and affembling as many valiant Captains as Flouds which were in the times of Ogyges and he could draw to follow him, he was de-Deucation: or elle rehearse Fables of men firous among others to carry Amphiaraus changed into Birds, of strange Monsters, of the fon of Oicleus a great Soothsayer, and adultery committed by their gods, and the a valiant man, along with him. But Ammighty men which they begat, without wri- phyaraus, who is faid to have fore-feenall ting ought that favoured of humanity be-fore the time of the war of Thebes: the brief tains should escape, fave only Adrassus, whereof is this.

having been cast forth when he was an In- at home. Polynices therefore dealt with fant, because an tracle sorecold what evil Eriphyle the Wife of Amphyaraus, offering should come to pass by him, did afterwards unto her a very fair Bracelet, upon conin a narrow passage, contending for the dition that she should cause her Husbandto way, flay his own Father, not knowing affift him. The Soothfayer knowing what either then or long after, vvho he vvas. should work his destiny, forbade his Wife Afterward he became King of Thebes, by to take any gift of Polynices. But the Bracemarriage of the Queen Jocasta, called by let was in her eye so precious a Jewel, that Homodyff. Homer, Epicaste: on whom, not knowing she could not refuse it. Therefore whereher to be his mother, he begat two fons, as a great controversie between Amphya-Eteocles and Polynices. But when in process rans and Adrastus, was by way of comproof time, finding out by good circumstan- mise put unto the decision of Eriphyle, either ces, who were his Parents, he understood of them being bound by solemn oath to the grievous murther and incest he had stand to her appointment: she ordered the committed, he tore out his own eyes for matter fo, as a Woman should that did love grief, and left the City. His Wife (and a Bracelet better than her Husband. He Mother) did hang her felf. Some fay, that now finding that it was far more easie to Oedipus having his eyes pulled out, vvas ex- foresee then avoid destiny, sought for such pelled Thebes, bitterly curfing his fons, be-comfort as revenge might afford him, cause they suffered their father to be cast giving in charge unto his sons, that when out of the Town, and aided him not, they came to full age, they should kill Howsoever it were, his two Sons made this their Mother, and make strong war upon agreement, that the one of them should the Thebanes. reign one year, and the other another year, Now had Adrastus assembled all his forand so by course rule interchangeably. ces, of which, the seven chief Leaders were But this appointment was ill observed. For himsels, Amphiaraus, Capaneus, and Hippowhen Polynices had after a years govern- medon (in stead of whom some name Mesiment refigned the Kingdom to his brother : fens) all Argives, with Polynices the Theban, or (according to others) when Etcocles Tydeus the Etolian, and Parthenopeus the had reigned the first year, he refused to Arcadian, son of Meleager and Atalanta. give over the rule to Polynices. Hereup-on Polynices fled unto Argos, where Adra-they met a Woman, whom they defired to flus the son of Talass then reigned, unto help them to some Water; she having a whose Palace coming by night, he was Childe in her arms, laid it down, and led

the back-fide.

their parrow bounds; as likewise did the news, who was fled from Calydon: with did both utterly refuse to be one in that Oedipus the son of Laius King of Thebes, expedition, and perswaded others to stay

driven to seek lodging in an out-house, on the Argives to a Spring: but ere she return ed, a Serpent had flain the Childe. This There he met with Tydeus the fon of Oe- Woman was Hypfipyle the Daughter of Thors the Lemnian, whom the would have faved manders unto them, took advice of Tirefies when the Woman of the Isle slew all the the Soothsayer, who promised Victory to Males by conspiracy, intending to lead an A- the Thebans, if Menacius the son of Creen, a mazonian life. For such her Piety the Lemnian principal man of the City, would vow him-Wives did fell her to Pyrats, and the Py- felf to be flain in honour of Mars the god of rate to Lycurgus Lord of the Countrey a- War. So full of malice and pride is the Dehout Nemea, whose young fon Opheltes, vil, and so envious at his Creators glory, or Archemorus she did nurse, and lost, as is that he not only challengeth honour due to fet down.

had gates) did compass the Town, Adrastus according, slew each other. quartered before the Gate Homoloides , Capaneus before the Ogygean, Tydeus before Crenis, Amphiarans at Proctis, Hippomedon at Anchais, Parthenopaus at Electa, and Polynices at Hyplifta. In the mean feason, Eteocles

thewed before. When upon the Childs God alone, as oblations and facrifice withal death she hid her self for fear of her Master, Divine worship, but commandeth us to Amphiaraus told her Sons where they should offer our selves and our children unto him. find her: and the Argives did both kill when he hath sufficiently clouded mens unthe Serpent which had flain the Child, and derstanding, and bewitched their Wils with in memory of the chance, did institute so- ignorance and blind devotion. And such lemn funeral games, called Nemaan, where abominable facrifice of men, maides, and in Adrustus wan the prize with his swift children hath he exacted of the syrians, horse Areon, Tydeus with the whorlbars, Am- Carthaginians, Gauls, Germans, Cyprians, Ephiaraus at running and quoiting, Polynices gyptians, and of many other, if not of all Naat wrestling, Parthenopeus at shooting, and tions, when through ignorance or sear they one Landocus in darting. This was the first were most filled with superstition. But as institution of the Nemean games, which con- they grew more wife, so did he wax less imtinued after famous in Greece for very many | pudent in cunning , though not less maliciages. There are, who think that they were ous in defiring the continuance of fuch barordained in honour of one opheltus a La- barous inhumanity. For King Diphilus in cedemonian. Some fay by Hercules, when Cyprus without advice of any Oracle, made he had flain the Nemaan Lion: but the com- the Idol of that Country rest contented with mon opinion agrees with that which is here an Oxe in stead of a man. Tiberius forbade humane facrifices in Africa, and crucified From Nemea the Argives marched on-wards, arrived at Citheron, whence Tydeus practifed them. Hercules taught the Lalians was by them fent Embassadour to Thebes, to to drown men of hay in stead of the living: require of Eteocles the performance of Covenants between him and Polynices. This these cruel offerings have been practised of message was nothing agreeable to Eteocles, late Ages: which, as it is a sufficient arguwho was throughly refolved to hold what ment that Satan's malice is only covered he had, as long as he could: which Tydens and hidden by this subtilty among civil peoperceiving, and intending partly to get ho.

ple: fo it may ferve as a probable conjecture of the barbarismes then raigning in Thebanes, he made many challenges, and ob- Greece. For Menacius, as foon as he undertained victory in all of them, not without stood that his death might purchase Victory much envy and malice of the people, who to his people, bestowed himself (as he laid fifty men in ambush to intercept him at thought) upon Mars, killing himself before his return to the army, of which fifty he flew the gates of the City. Then was a battel allbut one, whom he fent back to the City as fought, wherein the Argives prevailed so far a Reporter and Witness of his Valour. When at the first, that Capanius advancing laddars the Argives understood how resolved Eteo- to the Wals, got up upon the Rampart: cles was, they presented themselves before whence, when he fell, or was cast down, or the City, and encamped round about it. (as Writers wave it) was stricken down by Thebes is faid to have had at that time seven Jupiter with a thunder bolt, the Argives fled. gates, which belike stood not far asunder, Many on each part were sain in this battel, feeing that the Argives (who afterward which caused both fides to defire that Eteowhen they were very far ftronger, could | cles and Polynices might try out the quarrel fearce muster up more thousands than Thebes in single fight: whereto the two brethren

Another battel was fought after their death, wherein the fons of Aftacus behaved themselves very valiantly: Ismarus one of the fons flew, Hippomedon, which was one of the seven Princes: Parthenopaus being anohaving armed his men, and appointed Com- ther of the feven (who was faid to have

been so fair, that none would hurt him when | Tutor to Laodamas) who though he did his face was bare) was flain by Amphidicus, valiantly in the battel, and flew Agialeus. his tace was bare) was hant by amputations, variating in the barter, and frew Agralem, cr, as fome fay, by Periclymenus the fon of Neptune: and the valiant Tydeus, by Mena-lippus vet ere Tydeus died, the head of Menalippus was brought unto him by Amphy-araus, which he cruelly tore open, and fwal-time they conveyed themselves with their Wilson and Children and Childr lowed up the brains. Upon which fact, it is Wives and Children away from thence by faid, that Pallas, who had brought from Ju- night, and so began to wander up and down. piter such remedy for his wounds, as should till at length they built the Town called have made him immortal, refused to bestow Estina. The Argives, when they perceived it upon him: whereby perhaps was meant that their enemies had quitted the Town, that his honour which might have continu- entring into it, facked it, threw down the ed immortal, did perish through the beastly Wals, and laid it waste; howbeit it is rerage that he shewed at his death.

comfitted, Adrastus and Amphyaraus fled: of the Citizens to return, did there reign over whom Amphyarans is faid to have been swal- them. That he saved the City from utter delowed quick into the earth, near to the Ri- struction, it is very likely; for he reigned ver Ismenus, together with his Chariot, and there, and led the Thebans to the War of fo loft out of mens fight, being peradven- Troy, which very shortly after ensued. ture overwhelmed with dead carkasses, or drowned in the River: and his body never found, nor greatly fought for. Adrastus escaped on his good horse Arion, and came to of Jephta, and how the three hundred years Athens; where fitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercy he made supplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For Creon having obtained the government of Thebes after the death of Etcocles, would not fuffer the bodies of the Argives to be buried : but caused Antigone, the only daughter then 1 whose time these things hapned in living of Oedipus, to be buried quick, because Greece, and during whose Government, and the had fought out and buried the body of that of Thola, Ifrael lived in peace and in orher brother Polynices, contrary to Creons der) they revolted again from the Law and Edict. The Athenians condescending to the Service of God, and became more wicked request of Adrastus, did send forth an Army and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in under the conduct of Thefens, which took the former times they worshipped Baal and Thebes, and restored the bodies of the Ar- Asteroth, they now became followers of all gives to fepulture: at which time Evadne the Heathen Nations adjoyning, and imbrathe Wife of Capaneus threw her self into the ced the Idols of the Aramites, of the Zidanifuneral fire, and was burnt willingly with ans, Moabites, and Ammonites: with those her Husband. But it little contented the of the Philistims. And as before it pleased fons of those Captains which were flain at God to correct them by the Aramites, by City: Wherefore ten year after, having terward by the Philistims. levied Forces, Egialeus the son of Adrastus, Now among the Israelites, those of Gilead Australia in the line life Diomedes of Tideus, Promachus of Partheno-peus, Sthenelus of Capaneus, Therfunder of Po-peus, Sthenelus of Capaneus, Therfunder of Po-tonics, and Envisedum of Marideau of manded to kill his own Mother.

encountred by Landamas the fon of Eteocles ry. And when he had disputed with Ammon

ported by fome, that the Town was faved by The host of the Argives being wholly dif- Thirfander the son of Polynices, who causing

which he speaketh of , Judg. 11. 28. are to be reconciled with the places, Acts 13.20. 1 Reg. 6.1. together with some other things touching Chronology about these times.

A Fter the death of Jair (near about Thebes, that any less revenge should be taken the Amalekites, and Midianites: so now he falon of their Fathers death, than the ruinc of the scourged them by the * Ammonites, and of the feeth

Ignices, and Euripylus of Mecisteus, marched seek Jephta, whom they had formerly despt. interest thither under the conduct of Alemeon, the fed and cast from them, because he was base work fon of Amphiaraus: with whom also went born; but he (notwithfanding thole for single this brother Amphylotlus. Apollo premifed mer injuries) participating more of goddy form. Victory, if Alemeon were their Captain, compassion, than of devilish hatred and re-gangle whom afterward by another Oracle he com- venge, was content to lead the Gileadites to 11. the War, upon condition that they should When they came to the City, they were establish him their Governour after Victothen King of the Thebans (for Creon was only for the Land, disproved Ammon's right, and

fortified the Title of Ifrael by many argu-the foundation of solomon's Temple, there of Gideon, 3. of Abimelech, 23. of Thola, and

of the Tribe of Ephraim, either envious of their neighbour Princes, and therefore Jephta's victory, or otherwise making way knowing that to name three hundred years, to their future calamity, and to the most it was enough for prescription, he omitted grievous flavery that ever Ifrael fuffered, the rest. quarrelled with Jephta, that they were not called to the War, as before time they had was omitted.

be necessary upon the occasion of Jephta's account of the times, Jud. 11.28. (where he oright and possession of Gilead: the second quiet possession of the Countries in questi-

ments, the same prevailing nothing, he be- were consumed 480. years. To the first, Began the war; and being strengthened by roaldus findeth Jephta's 300. years to be but God, overthrew them: and did not onely 266. years, to wit, 18. of Josus, 40. of Othobeat them out of the Plains, but forc't them niel,80. of Aod and Samgar,40. of Debora,40. over the industrial of the vineyards, Citics exprest heretofore in the description of the Holy Land. After which victory it is said, that an uncertain: Sie ut dicat annum agi proper principal property in the property of t he performed the vain vow which he made, trecentesimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re moto facrifice the first living creature he in verit Israeli; So he speaketh (faith he) as countred, coming out of his house to meet meaning, that then it was about, or well-nigh the him; which happened to be his own daughter, and onely childe, who with all patience Countries, no man making question of their submitted her self, and onely defired two right. Codoman on the contrary finds more moneths time to bewail her Virginity on the years than Jephta named by 65, to wit, 365, Mountains of Gilead; because in her the whereof 71. were spent in Israels captivity, at iffuses of her Father ended: but the other feveral times, of which (as Codoman thinkopinion, that she was not offered, is more pro- eth, Jephta forbare to repeat the whole sum, bable, which Borhaus and others prove luffi- or any great part, left the Ammonites should have justly objected, that 71. of those years After these things the children of Israel, the Israelites were in captivity, and vasials to

contested with Gideon. Jephta hereupon to be added to Beroaldus his 266. he addeth inforced to defend himself against their su- also 28, years more, and so maketh up the ry, in the incounter flew of them 42000. fum of 365. These 28, years he findeth which so weakened the body of the Land, out thus: twenty years he gives to the as the Philistims had an easie conquest of seniors between Josta and Othoniel: and them all not long after. Jephta, after he had where Beroaldus alloweth eighteen years to judged Israel in years, died: to whom suc- Josua his government, Codoman accounts ceeded Ibzan, who ruled seven years: after that his rule lasted 26. according to Johim Elon was their Judgeten years: in all fephus; whereas Saint Agustine and Eusebiwhich time Ifrael had peace. Eusebius finds us give him 27. Melanthon 32. The not Elon, whom he calleth Adon, for in the truth is, that this addition of 28. years, is septuagint, approved in his time, this Judge | far more doubtful than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this additi-Now before I go on with the rest, it shall on, yet by accounting of some part of the years of affliction (to wit 34. years of the 71.) if we add them to the 266. years fayes that Ifrael had then possess the East of Beroaldus, which reckoneth none of fide of Jordan 300. years) to speak somewhat these, we have the just number of 300. years, of the times of the Judges, and of the differ- Neither is it strange that Jephta should leave ing opinions among the Divines and Chro- out more than half of the years of afflinologers: there being found three places of ction: feeing, as it is already faid, the Am-Scriptures touching this point, seeming re- monites might except against the 71 years, Pugnant or disagreeing: the first is in this and say, that during these years, or at least dipute between Jephia and Ammon, for the a good part of them, the Ifraelites had no is that of S. Paul, Alls 13. the third is that on. Martin Luther is the author of a third which is in the first of Kings. Jephia here challengeth the possession of Gilead for 300. bred by Jephia, to be 306. which odd years, years: S. Paul giveth to the Judger, as it feems, faith he, Jephia omitteth. But because the from the end of Tofia to the last of Heli,450. years In the first of Kings it is taught, that from the departing of Ifrael out of Egypt, to do onely compound 266, therefore doth

which Mofes fpent in the Defarts of Arabia lites had conquered Sehon and Og, the right Petraa; which forty years of Moses added of possession which they had, passed to Israel. to the number which Beroaldus indeth of and fo Jephta might fay, that they had pof-266. make indeed 306.

Luthers judgment herein: for in the dispute rest of the possession of the two Kings, Schon between Jephta and Ammon for the Land of and og, whose right the Ifraelites had by the Gilead, it is written in the person of Ammen, law of conquest. in these words: Because Israel took my Land, ginning of this account is to be referred to doth the better to approve the times from the time of the taking: which Jephta's answer the egression out of Egypt to the building of also confirmeth in these words: When Ifrael the Temple, which in the first of Kings 6. is Judg. 11. dwelt in Heshbon, and in her Towns, and in said to be 480. years. Aroer, and in her Towns, and in all the Cities | Now forasmuch as Saint Paul (as it seems) that are by the coast of Arnon 300. years: why finds 450. years from the death of Josuan did ye not then recover them in that space? to the last of Heli, and leaves but thirty years as this place speaks it directly, that Ifrael had for Saul and Samuel, who governed 40. for inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of Gilead David who ruled 40. and for Solomon who 200. years: and therefore to account the wore the Crown three whole years erethan victories and possessions.

Luther add to this number the whole time and Ammon thereof: fo that when the Ifraefeffed those Countries 300. years, reckoning But I see nothing in the Text to warrant 266. years of their own possession, and the

The second place disputed is this of Saint Render when they came up from Egypt , from Arnon Paul, Act. 13 that from the end of Josua, to the 14 of unto Jaboc . Oc. now therefore restore those beginning of Samuel, there past 450. years, and the Lands quietly; or in peace. So by this place And this place Luther understandeth also finds it is plain, that the time is not to be account- befides the letter (as I find his opinion cited closed) ed from Moses departure out of Fgypt: but by Functius Krentzhemius, and Beza) for I Bert intit from the time that the Land was possess. For have not read his Commentaries. For heacit is said, Quia cepit Ifrael terram meam, Behold counteth from the death of Moses, to the last the u. d Ifrael took my Land: and therefore the be- year of Heli, but 357. years: and this he 4ff. s.in.

times from the hopes or intents that Ifrael the foundation of the Temple was laid; had to possess it, it seemeth somewhat strain- therefore Luther takes it, that there was ered to me: for we do not use to reckon the rour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece time of our conquests in France, from our of Scripture of Saint Paul: to wit, Then af-Princes intents or purposes, but from their termard he gave unto them Judges about 450. Allen years, unto the time of Samuel the Pro-Junius nevertheless likes the opinion of phet: the words [then afterward] being Luther, and fayes, that this time of 300. years clearly referred to the death, or after the hath reference, and is to take beginning from death of Josua, as shall be hereafter proved. the first of Tephta's narration: when he But where Saint Luke, rehearling the words makes a brief repetition of Moses whole of Saint Paul, wrote 350. years (faith Luther) journey: to wit, at the fixteenth Verse of the | the Scribe in the transcription being deceieleventh Chapter of Judges, in our translati- ved by the affinity of those two Greek on in these words: But when Israel came up words, whereof the one signifieth 300, and from Egypt, &c. and therefore Moses his 40. the other 400. wrote Tetracosiois, for Triacoyears (ashe thinks) are to be accounted, fiois; 400. years for 300. years; and 450.for which make the number of 305. years: and 350. This he feeketh to strengthen by manot onely the time in which Ifrael possest Gi- ny arguments: to which opinion Beza in his lead, according to the Text, and Jephra's own great annotations adhereth. A contrary words: of which I leave the judgment to o- judgment to this hath Codoman: where Luthers; to whom also I leave to judge, whe- ther and Beza begin at Moses death, he takes ther we may not begin the 480. years, from his account from the death of josta, and the deliverance out of Egypt to the Temple, from thence to the beginning of Samuel he even from the first departure out of Egypt, makes 430. years: to wit, of the Judges (not and yet find a more probable reconciliation reckoning sampsons, years) 319, and of years of Saint Pauls and Jephta's account with this of servitude and affliction under stranreckoning than any of those that as yet have gers, 111. The reason why he doth not receive been signified. For first touching Table been signified. For first, touching Jephia's kon Sampsons twenty years, is, because he three hundred years of possession of the East, thinks that they were part of the 40. Years, fide of Jordan, it is to be remembred, that in which the Philiftims are faid to have for a good while before the *Wraelites* posses oppressed. For it is plain, that due for a good while before the *Wraelites* posses of the state of t fed it, Sehon and Og had dispossessed Month ring all Sampfons time, they were Lordsover in

Israel So then of the Judges, besides the III. doth evidently teach the contrary, though years of servitude, Codoman reckoneth it be received for true that there was viti-25 I have faid) 319. years, which two um feriptoris in the rest. For these be fums put together, make 430 years And Saint Pauls words: And about the time of whereas Saint Paul nameth 450, years, he forty years, God suffered their manners in the finds 20. years to make up Saint Paul's num- wilderness: and he destroyed seven Nations ber, to have been spent after the death of in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Tofia by the Seniors, before the Captivity Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gave of Cushan, or the election of Othoniel: unto them Judges about 450. years, unto the which 20. years added to 430. make 450. time of Samuel the Prophet. So as first in according to Saint Paul. To approve this the eighteenth verse he speaketh of Moles time of the Elders, he citeth two places of and of his years spent in the Wilderness, Scriptures, namely the 24. of Josua, and the then in the nineteenth verse he cometh fecond of Judges, in each of which places it unto the acts of Josus; which were, that is written, that Ifrael served the Lord all the he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of dages of Johna, and all the dayes of the Elders | Canaan, and divided their Land to them that over-lived Josua: so as to these times by lot. In the twentieth Verse it followof the Elders, Codoman giveth 20. years, eth, Then aftermard he gave them Judges a- Jof. 14.1; which make as before 450. according to bout 450. years, &c. and therefore to rec-Saint Paul. Neither would it breed any konfrom the death of Moses, is wide of Saint great difficulty in this opinion, if here al- Pauls meaning, fo far as my weak underio the 20. years of the Seniors between Jo- standing can pierce it. The onely inconvefua and othoniel should be denied. For they nience of any weight in opinion of Codomain which deny these years, and make Othoni- touching this place in the Ads, is, that it els 40. to begin presently upon the death of seems irreconcileable with the account, Hofina, as in the beginning of this reckoning, I Reg. 6.11. For if indeed there were spent they have 20. years less than Codoman, for 450. years between the end of Josia and the toward the end of it (when they reckon beginning of Samuel, certainly there must the years of affliction apart from the years needs be much more than 480. years beof the Judges) in the number of sampsons tween the beginning of the Israelites jouryears, and of the forty years of the Phili- neying from Egypt, and the foundation of flims oppressing the Israelites, they have 20. the Temple by Solomon. To this difficulty years more than Codoman. For they rec- Codoman answereth, that these 480. years, kon these 40, years of oppression all of them 1 Reg. 6.1. must begin to be reckoned, not in a-part from Sampsons 20. but Codoman, as the beginning, but in the ending of their is faid, makes Sampsons 20. to be the one journeying from Egypt, which he makes to be half of the forty of the Philistims oppressi- 25. years after the beginning of Othoniels ons; fo that if the 20. years of the Seniors government; from whence if we cast the be not allowed to Codoman, then he may years of the Judges, with the years of fervireckon (as the letter of the Text feems to tude (which fums, according to his account, inforce) that the Philistims in any Inter- of which we have already spoken, make 397. regnum, before Sampson judged Israel, vexed years) and so to these years add the 40. of the Israelites 40. years, besides the 20. while samuel, and saul, and the 40. of David, and Sampson was their Judge; and so the rec- the 2, of solomon, we shall have the just sum koning will come to 450, years between the of 480. years. Neither is it hard, faith he, that end of Josua, and the beginning of Samuel, the annus egressionis, 1 Kings 6. 1. should though we admit not of an Inter-regnum of be understood egressionis non incipientis, sed the seniors between Josua and Othoniel: For, finita, the year of their coming out of Egypt if the times of their affliction be summed, (for so it is in the original) or the year after they make III. years, to which if we add they came out of Egypt, may well be underthe years of the Judges, which are 339 we stood for the year after they were come out have the just sum of 450. And this com- thence, that is, after they had ended their putation either one way or other, may feem | wandring from thence. For so we find that to be much more probable, than theirs that things which were done forty years after correct the Text, although we should ad- they had set foot out of Egypt, are said to mit of their correction thereof, and read have been done in their going out of Egypt; with them 350. for 450. For whereas they as Pfal. 114. When Ifrael came out of Egypt, conceive that this time of 350. years, is to Jordan was driven back. And Deut. 4.45, begin immediately, or soon after the death | These are the testimonies which Moses spake of Moses: certainly the place of Saint Paul when they came out of Egypt. And thus far

CHAP. XIII

man, for the interpretation of the ab exitu, might indeed be properly faid to have been, to be as much as quum exivissent, or ab exitu when Israel came out of Egypt: like as we finite: for if Junius, Deut. 4.45. do well fay that King Edward the first was crowned read quum exivissent, for in exitu, as it seems when he came out of the Holy Land, for so that herein he doth well, why may not we all journies with their accidents commonly also, to avoid contradiction in the Scri- take name from the place either whence or pture, expound ab exitu to be, postquam exi- whither they tend. But I think that he can

journeying should be said not to have had converting the proposition, when Jordan end until the 25. year after the victory of was turning back, Ifrael came out of Egont. Othoniel. To this Codoman answereth, that Indeed most unproper it were to give date then it had no end, till when all the Tribes unto actions commenced long after, from an had obtained their portions, which happen- expedition finished long before, namely, to ed not until this time: at which time the say, that King Edward at his arrival out of Danites at length seated themselves, as it is Palestina did win Scotland, or died at Carlile. July 18.1 declared, July 18. For doubtless to this How may we then believe that enterprize time the Expedition may most conveniently performed so many years after the division be referred. And thus without any great of the Land(which followed the conqueftat inconvenience to him appearing, doth Codo the journies end) should be said to have man reconcile the account of Jephta, and of been at the time of the departure out of E-Saint Paul, with that in the first of Kings, c. 6. gppt? Or who will not think it most strange, Now whereas it is faid, that the Expedition that the most notable account of time, ferof the Danites was when there was no King | ving as the onely guide for certain ages in in Ifrael: to this Codoman answereth, that it | facred Chronology, should not take name is not necessary that we should suppose that and beginning from that illustrious delive-Othoniel lived all those 40. years of rest, of rance out of Egypt, rehearled oftenby God which judg. 3.11. so that by the 25. year himself among the principal of his benefits after his victory, either he might have been to Israel, whereof the very day and moneth dead, or at least, as Gideon did, he might have are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are refused all Soveraignty, and so either way it the year and moneth wherein it expired) might truly be faid that at this time (to wit, and the form of the year upon that occasion the 25. year after Othoniels victory) there changed; but should have reference to the was no King in Ifrael. This opinion of Codo- furprizing of a Town by fix hundred men, man, if it vvere as consonant to other Chro- that robbed a Chappel by the way, and stole nologers, grounding their opinions on the from thence Idols to be their guides, as not plain Text, vvhere it is indisputable, as it is going to work in Gods Name? For this acin it felf round enough and coherent, might cident whereupon Codoman buildeth, hath perhaps be received as good: especially either no time given to it, or a time far diffeconfidering, that the speeches of S. Paul rent from that which he supposeth, and is have not otherwise found any interpretati- indeed rather by him placed in such a year, on, maintaining them as absolutely true, in because it best stood with his interpretation fuch manner as they found, and are fet down. fo to have it, than for any certainty or likeli-But feeing that he wanteth all help of autho- hood of the thing it felf. rity, we may justly suspect the supposition | Wherefore we may best agree with such whereupon his opinion is grounded; it be- as affirm, that the Apostle S. Paul did not ing fuch as the confent of many Authors herein labour to fet down the course of time would hardly fuffice to make very proba- exactly (a thing no way concerning his ble. For who hath told Codoman, that the purpose) but onely to shew that God, who conquest of Laish, by the Tribe of Dan, was had chosen Israel to be his people, delivered performed in the five and twentieth year of them out of bondage, and ruled them by Othoniel? Or what other probability hath Judges and Prophets unto the time of Saul, he than his own conjecture, to shew that did raise up our Lord Jesus Christ out of the Othonicl did fo renounce the office of a feed of David the King, in whole succession Judge after five and twenty years, that it the Crown was established, and promise might then be truly faid there was no King made of a Kingdom that fhould have no end. in If act, but every man did that which was Now in rehearing briefly thus much which good in his own every good in his own eyes?

it feems we may very well agree with codo- by Mofes, and the stopping of Jordan, they find no fuch phrase of speech in Scripture as The next point to be cleared, is how their limiteth a journey by an accident, or faithby

tended as a Preface to the declaration fol-Now concerning the rehearfal of the Law lowing (wherein he fleweth Christ to have heen the true Messas) the Apostle was so (as well they might and ought) that purpreached) that he spake as it were at large the very moneth it self. of the 40. years confumed in the Wilder- Now (as commonly the first apprehensi-

ascribing in the same place 40. years to the ground be strong enough to uphold a Parareign of saul: whereas it is manifest that dox, I leave it to the decision of the judicithose years yvere divided between saul and ous Reader. follow their example. The words of S. Paul not begin till the third of Ailon or Elon, yet having reference to a common opinion a- selves the rule holding not true in this War, mong the Scribes in those days that the III. Longa praparatio belli celerem affert victoriyears of servicude were to be reckoned a- am's. That a long preparation begets a speedy Judges; which account the Apostle would in the attempt; and Troy, as it seems, was not in this place stand to contradict, but ra- entred, fackt, and burnt in the third year of ther chose to speak as the vulgar, qualifying Habdon. it vvicha quali, where he faith, quali quadrinfour hundred and fifty years. But Codoman Italy. Habdon in the eighth year of his rule, being not thus contented would needs have died, after he had been the Father of 40: it be so indeed, and therefore dis-joyns the sons, and 30. grand-children. And whereas members to make the account even. In so it is supposed, that the 40. years of Israels doing he dasheth himself against a notable oppression by the Philistims (of which Judg.

far from labouring to make an exact calcula- posely and precisely doth cast up the years tion of times (the History being so well from the departure out of Egypt, unto the known and beleived of the Jews to whom he building of solomons Temple, not omitting

ness, whereof no man doubted, faying, that ons are strongest) having already given God suffered their manners in the Wilder- faith to his own interpretation of S Paul, he ness about 40, years. In like manner he thinketh it more needful to find some new proceeded, faying, that from the division of exposition for that which is of it self most the Land unto the dayes of Samuel the Pro- plain, and to examine his own conjecture upphet, in whole time they required to have a on a place that is full of controversie. Thus King, there passed about 450. years. Nei- by expounding after a strange Method, that ther did be stand to tell them, that an hun- vvhich is manifest by that vvhich is obscure. dred and eleven years of bondage menti- he loseth himself in those vvayes vvherein oned in this middle while, were by exact before him never man vvalked. Surely if computation to be included within the 339. one should urge him to give reason of these years of the Judges: for this had been an new opinions, he must needs answer, that impertinent digreffion from the argument Othoniel could not govern above 25. years, which he had in hand. Wherefore it is not because then was the taking of Lailb; at a work so needful as laborious, to search which time there was no King in Ifrael; That out of this place that which the Apostle the Danites must needs have taken Laish at did not here intend to teach, when the fum that time, because else we could not reckon of 480, years is so expresly and purposely backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed Now that the voords of S. Paul (if there the coming of I/racl out of Egypt, vvithout be no fault in the copy through error of some excluding the years of servitude; And that Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined the years of servitude must needs be incluin matter of chronology, but must be taken, ded, for that otherwise he himself should as having reference to the memory and ap- have fpent his time vainly, in feeking to pleaprehension of the vulgar, it is evident by his fure S. Paul with an exposition. Whether this

Samuel, yea, that far the greater part of them And how to proceed in our story. To the vvere spent under the government of the time of Jephta are referred the death of Prophet, howfoever they are here included Herciles, the rape of Helen by Paris, and the in the reign of the King. As for those that provisions which her husband Menelaus, with so much cunning for sake the general reigning then in sparta, and his brother Aopinion, which it favoureth not such exposi- gamemnon King of Mycene, made for her retion as they bring out of a good mind, to covery. Others refer this rape of Helen to help where the need is not over-great; I the fourth year of Ibzan: from which time, had rather commend their diligence, than if the war of Troy (as they suppose) did were sufficiently justified by Beroaldies, as the Greeks had six years to prepare thempart from the 339, years ascribed to the victory: for the Greeks consumed ten years

Three years after Troy taken, which was gentio of quinquaginta, annie ; As it were in the fixt year of Habdon, Eneas arrived in War 6. Text; whereupon all Authors have builded, 13. v. I.) took beginning from the ninth

don: I fee no reason for that opinion. For own deliverance, than against their own Ephraim had had little cause of quarrel a- brethren the Ifraelites? but Ammon being gainst Jephta, for not calling them to war overthrown, it seemed at that time, that they over fordan, if the Philistims had held them feared no other enemy. And therefore these in servitude in their own territories; and if 40 years must either be supplied elsewhere. Ephraim could have brought 42000. armed as in the time of Sampson, and afterward: men into the field, it is not likely that they or else they must be referred to the Interwere then opprest: and had it been true regnum between the death of Habdon, and that they were, who will doubt but that the deliverance of Ifrael by Sampfon, such as they would rather have fought against the it was.

year of Jair, and ended with the last of Hab- Philistims with so powerful an Army for their



CHAP. XIV. Of the War of Troy.

§. I.

of the Genealogic of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets, how ther have observed historical truth.

He War at Troy, with other stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this City, by most Chronologers is found in the time of Habdon Judge of Israel, whom in the last place I have mentioned.) I rather choose here to treat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineal descent of their Princes, than to break the ftory into peices by rehearing a part in divers years, the diverlity of occurrents.

The History of the aucient Kings of Troy is uncertain, in regard both of their original, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that Teucer and Dardanus were the two Founders of that Kingdom. This. is the opinion of Virgil: which if he (as Reineccius thinks) took from Berofus, it is the more probable: if Annius borrowed it of him, then it refts upon the authority of Vir- furely good authority, that Tencer first gave gil, who faith thus:

Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula Ponto: Mons Idaus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostra. Centum Urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:

Maximus unde Pater (fi ritè audita recordor)

Tenerus Rhæteas primum eft advectus ad

Optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium &

Pergameæ steterant: habitabant vallibus imis.

Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybaniaque æra, Idaumque nemus, 🦠

In the main Sea the Ile of Creete doth lie: Where Jove was born, thence is our pro-

There is a mount Ida: there in fruitful . Land

An hundred great and goodly Cities stand.

Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame) Teucer the eldest of our grand-fires came To the Rhætean shores: and reigned there, Ere vet fair Ilion was built, and ere The Towers of Troy: their dwelling place

they fought In lowest Vales. Hence Cybels rites were

brought: Hence Corybantian Cymbals did remove; And hence the name of our Idean grove.

Thus it feemeth by Virgil, who followed name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere Troy was built by Dardanus: of which Dardanus in the same book he speaks thus:

Est locus, Hesperiam Grait cognomine di-

Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ,

Oenotrii coluere viri; nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem. He nobis proprie sedes : binc Dardanus ortus:

Jasiusque Pater, genus à quo principe nostrum.

Hesperia the Gracians call the place: An ancient fruitful Land, a warlike race, Oenotrians This feat belongs to us; hence Dardanus,

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Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior

Auruncos ita fere senes, hic ortus ad agris Dardanus Ideus Phrygie penetravit ad urbes, Threiciamque Samuni, que nunc Samothracia

Hine illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum, Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia celi Accipit, &c.

Some old Aruncans, I remember well. (Though time have made the fame obscure) would tell

Of Dardanus, how born in Italy. From hence he into Phrygia did fije. And leaving Tuscaine (where he earst had place)

With Corytus did fail to Samothrace; But now inthronized he fits on high, In golden Palace of the starry Sky.

it is probable that he carefully fought, and ing.

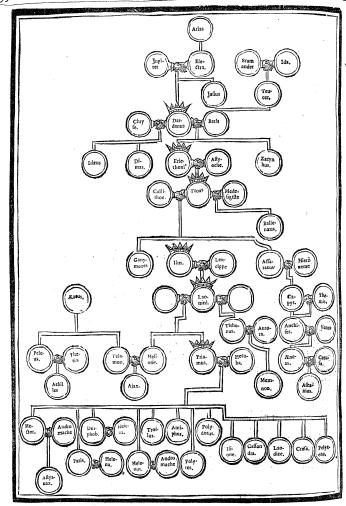
e domes of the Williams charge

Oenotrians held it: now the later progeny [in this did follow, feeing it no way concer-Gives it their Captains name, & calls it Italy; ned Augustus (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether Teucer were of Crete or no. Hence came the Author of your stock, Jassus. Reineccius doth rather embrace the opinion of Diodorus, & others that think him a Phrygian, by which report he was the Son of Scamander and Ida, Lord of the Country, not founder of the City; and his Daughter or Neece Batia was the second wife of Dardanus founder of Troy. Reineccius further thinks that Atlas reigned in Samothracia, and gave his daughter Electra to Corytus, or Coritus: and that these were parents to Chryse, first wife to Dardanus. Virgil holds otherwife; and the common Tradition of Poets makes Dardanus the fon of Electra by Jupiter, which Electra was the daughter of Atlas. and wife to Coritus King of Hetruria to whom she bare Jasius. Annius out of his Berofus finds the name of Camboblascon, to whom he gives the addition of Corytus, as a Title of dignity, making him Father of Dardanus and Jalius; and further telling us very particularly of the faction between these Brethren, which grew to fuch a heat, that finally Dardanus killed his Brother, and therefore fled into samothrace. The obscu-But contrary to this, and so many Authors, rity of the History gives leave to Annius of approving and confurming it, Reineccius faying what he lift. I, that love not to ule thinks that these names, Troes, Teneri, & Thra-fuch liberty, will for bear to determine any ees, are derived from Tiras or Thiras the son thing herein. But if Dardanus were the Son of Japhet: and that the Dardanians, Mysians, of Jupiter, it must have been of some elder and Ascanians, mixt with the Trojans, were Jupiter than the Father of those that lived Germane Nations, descended from Ashkenaz, about the war of Troj. So it is likewise prothe son of Gomer: of whom the Country, bable that Atlas the Father of Electra was ra-Lake, and River of Ascanius in Asia took ther an Italian than an African, which also name. That Ashkenaz gave name to those is the opinion of Boccace. For (as hath often Devol 4. ! places and people, it is not unlikely: nei-been faid) there were many Jupiters, and is Botther is it unlikely, that the Ascanii, Dardani, many of almost every name of gods: but it gen. and many others, did in after-times pass into was the custome to ascribe to some one the Europe: that the name of Tencer came of Ty-acts of the reft, with all belonging to them.

1. The conjecture is formewhat hard. Con-Therefore I will not greatly trouble my felf

cerning Tencer, whereas Halicarnasseus makes vith making any narrow search into these him an Athenian, I-find none that follow fabulous Antiquities, but fet down the Pedihim in the same opinion. Virgil(as is before gree according to the general same; allowshewed) reported him to be of Crete, whose ing to Tencer such Parents as Diodorus gives, authority is the more to be regarded, because because others giving him none, and carryhe had good means to find the truth, which ing the line of Dardanus in manner follow-

esti eksest Shiri iningb to principal of the new recommendation



of the Trajan Kingdom, with the length of e- elsewhere done. And first for the destruction very Kings reign, I have chosen good Authors of Troy, which was of greater note than any to be my guides, that in a History, where- accident befalling that City whilst it stood, on depends the most ancient computation it is reckoned by Diodorus to be 780. years of times among the Greeks, I might not fol- more ancient then the beginning of the

Concerning the beginning & continuance | fent of Writers, and general paffage of things low incertainties, ill cohering with the con- ninty fourth Olympiad. Whereas therefore 272. did pass between the beginning of the | narration of the actions which were memothat is, 408 years event between the destru- the most renowned. aion of Troy, and the first institution of those games by Iphitus, if the authority of Diodorus vears after the fall of Troy, vvas 328. years before the first Olympiad.

Hereunto agrees the authority of Diony-Hill As fius Halicarnasseus, vvho placing the foundation of Rome in the first of the seventh Olympiad, that is, four and twenty years after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. words makes the institution of the Olympiads by sphitus, vyhom he calleth Iphiclus, 480. years later than the destruction of Troy. The fum is eafily collected by necessary inference out of divers other places in the same book. Hereunto doth Eusebins, reckoning excluluci, "Wely agree, and Erasoftania (as is eneed by any deceds, done both before and made and like Clemens Alexandrinus) makes up out of many time. For it is true which Horace faith: m lib particulars, the fame total fum, vvanting, but one year, as reckoning likewife exclutively.

The other collections of divers Writers that are cited by Clemens in the same place, do neither cohere any vvay, nor depend upon any collateral History, by which they Many by valour have deferv'd renown may be verified.

The destruction of Troy being in the year before the Olympiads four hundred & eight: vve must seek the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of Eusebius, who leads us from Dardanus on-wards, through memorable accident in the due year.

no good form of a year; but rather to make doubtful.

Olympiads, and the first year of the 94. it is rable, and acknowledged by all Writers. manifest that the remainder of 780 years, whereof this destruction of Troy was one of

The first enterprise that was undertaken by general consent of all Greece, was the last be good proof, vvho elsewhere tels us, that war of Troy, which hath been famous even to the return of the Heraclida, vehich was 80. this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there affembled, the great battails fought with variable successthe long endurance of the fiege; the destruction of that great City; and the may Colonies planted in fundry countries, as well by the remainder of the Trojans, as by the victorious Greeks after their unfortunate return. All which later then the fall of Troy. Solinus in express things, with enumerable circumstances of especial note, have been delivered unto po-Iterity, by the excellent wits of many Writers, especially by the Poems of that great Homer, whose Verses have given immortality to the action, which might elfe perhaps have been buried in oblivion; among other wornetwork fively agree: and Eratosthenes (as is cited by thy deeds, done both before and fince that

> Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona Multi, sed omnes illacrymabiles Urgentur, ignotiq; longa Nocte: carent quia vate sacro.

Ere Agamemnon; yet lie all opprest Under long night, unwept for, and unknown: For with no facred Poet were they bleft.

Yet fo it is, that whilft these Writers have with strange fables, or (to speak the best of the reigns of four Kings, by the space of two them) with Allegories far strained, gone ahundred and five and twenty years, and after | bout to enlarge the commendations of those of Priamus, with whom also at length it en- noble undertakers: they have both drawn ded. As for the time which passed under into suspition that great vertue which they Laomedon, we are fain to do as others have fought to adorn, and filled after-ages with done before us, and take it upon trust from almost as much ignorance of the History, as Annius his Authors; believing Manetho fo admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is much the rather, for that in his account of expedient that we feek for the knowledge of the former Kings reigns, and of Priamus, he such actions, in Histories; learning their quais found to agree with Eusebius, which may lities who did manage them, of Poets, in give us leave to think that Annius hath not | whose works are both profit and delight; herein corrupted him. But in this point we yet small profit to those which are delighted need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing otherwise: but such as can interpret their fathat no History or account of time depends | bles, or separate them from the naked truth, upon the reign of the former Kings, but only shall finde matter in Poems, not unworthy to upon the ruins of the City under Priamus, it be regarded of Historians. For those things may suffice that we are careful to place that excepted which are gathered out of Homer; there is very little, and not without much True it is, that some objections appearing disagreement of Authors, written of this weighty, may be alledged in maintenance of great war. All Writers consent with Homer, different computations, which with the an- that the rape of Helen by Paris the fon of fwers I purposely omit, as not willing to dis- Priamus, was the cause of taking Arms: but pute of those years, wherein the Greeks knew how he was hereunto emboldened, it is 6. II.

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fides for the War.

people opposed to all the World; and that expedition. even then when as the Greeks had not yet one common name among themselves. O oath, or led by reputation and power of the rape of Helen was to procure the redelivery or desirous to partake of the profit and ho-

Greeks, as Herodotus discourseth; but all people were accustomed to steal Women and Cattel, if they could by ftrong hand or of the rape of Helen: and flrength of both power get them: and having stoln them. either to fell them away in fome far Country, or keep them to their own use, So did * Erodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape | Theseus and Pirythons attempt Proserpina; from very far; faying, That whereas the and so did Theseus (long before Paris) ravish phenecians had ravished Io, and carried her Helen. And these practices, as it appears in into Egpt, the Greek, to be revenged on the Thursdider, were so common, that none Barbarians, did first ravish Europa, whom they brought out of Phanicia into Creta, and pyracy, which was accounted a trade of life afterward Medea, whom they fetcht from no less lawful than merchandise: where-Colches, denying to restore her to her father, fore Tyndarens, the father of Helen, consitill fuch time as they might be fatisfied for dering the beauty of his daughter, and the the rape of Io. By these deeds of the Greeks, rape vihich Thesens had made, caused all Paris (as the same Herodotus affirms) was her Wooers, vvho vvere most of the prinemboldened to do the like; not fearing fuch cipal men in Greece, to bind themselves by revenge as enfued. But all this narration folemn oath, that if the vvere taken from her feems frivolous. For what had the King of husband, they should with all their might Colchos to do with the injury of the Phæni- help to recover her. This done, he gave free cians? Or how could the Greeks, as in re- choice of a husband to his daughter, who venge of Io, plead any quarrel against him, chose Menelaus brother to Agamemnon. So that never had heard the name of Phanici- the cause which drew the Greeks unto Troy ans? Thucydides, a writer of unquestionable in revenge of Helens rape, vvas partly the fincerity, maketh it plain, that the name of oath vyhich fo many Princes had made un-Barbarians was not used at all in Homers to her Father Tyndarens. Hereunto the great time, which was long after the War of Troy: power of Agamemnon was not a little helpand that the Greeks themselves were not ing for Agamemnon, besides his great Dothen called all by one name, Hellenes, as af minions in Peloponnesus, vvas Lord of many terwards. So that it were unreasonable to Islands: he was also rich in money, and therethink, that they should have fought revenge fore the Arcadians vvere vvell contented to upon all Nations, as barbarous, for the injury follow his pay, vvhom he embarked for Troy received by one: or that all people elfe in his own thips, which were more than any should have esteemed of the Greeks, as of a other of the Greek Princes brought to that

Thus did all Greece, either as bound by thers with more probability fay, that the two brethren, Agamemnon, and Menelaus; of Hesione, King Priamus his sister, taken for- nour in that great enterprise; take Arms amerly by Hercules, and given to Telamon. gainst the Trojans. The Greeks Fleet was This may have been true: for Telamon (as it (by Homers account) 1200. fayl, or therefeems) was a cruel man, feeing his own fon abouts: but the veffels were not great: for it Tencer durst not come in his fight, after the was not then the manner to build thips with war of Trog, but fled into Cyprus, onely be- decks; only they used (as Thucydides faith) cause his brother Ajax (which Teucer could small ships, meet for robbing on the Sea; not remedy) had flain himself. Yet, were it the least of which carried sifty men, the fo, that Hessone was ill entreated by Telamon, greatest 120. every man (except Captains) it was not therefore likely that Priamus her being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By brother would feek to take her from her, this proportion it appears that the Grecian husband, with whom fhe had lived about Army confifted of 100000. men or therethirty years, and to whom she had born chil- about. This was the greatest Army that dren which were to succeed in his Domini- ever was raised out of Greece : and the greaton. Whereupon I think that Paris had no ness of this Army doth well declare the regard either to the rape of Europa, Medaa, ftrength and power of Troy, which ten whole or Hesione, but was meerly incited by Fenns, years did fland out against such forces: yet that is, by his lust, to do that which in were the Trojans which inhabited the City, those daies was very common. For not only not the tenth part of this number, as Aga-Greeks from Barbarians, and Barbarians from memnon faid in the fecond of Homers Iliads; brought them fuccour. And Rhefus out of come about, and ferved for his Navigation. Thrace, and Memnon out of Affyria (though One great argument Herodotus brings to fome think out of Ethiopia) came to their confirm the faying of the Egyptian Priests;

6. III.

of the Grecians journey, and Embassage to Troy, and of Helena's being detained in Egypt, and of the facrificing of Iphigenia.

W Herefore the Greeks, unwilling to ed Helen, and the goods were taken with her Trojans made hereunto it is uncertain, Herodotus from the report of the Egyptian Priests, from Paris before his return to Troy. The sum of his discourse is this.

Paris in his return with Helena, being driven by foul weather unto the coast of Egypt. was accused for the rape of Helen by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. Proteus then King of Egypt, finding the accufation true by examination, detained Helen, and the goods taken with her, till her hufa stranger. When therefore the Greeks demanding Helen, had answer, that she was in the ruine of Troy. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed she had not been there, they returned home, fending Methe whole Nation of Poets (except Euripides) more magnificent, and more graceful to their that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his Odyffes, Homer speaks of Mene-

but their followers and aids were very ma- any Haven in the Greek Seas: whereas Meneny and strong. For all Phrygia, Lycia, Miffia, laus might have putinto any port in Greece, and the greatest part of Asia the less, took and there have remained with good enterpart with the Trojans. The Amazons also tainment, until such time as the Wind had

which is, that if Helen had been at Troy, it had been utter madness for Priamus to see so many miseries befall him, during the war, and so many of his fons flain for the pleasure of one, who neither was heir to the Kingdom (for Hectorwas elder) nor equal in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seem that Lucian spake not more pleasantly then truly, when he faid that Helen, at the war of Troy, was alcome to tryal of arms, if things might most as old as Queen Hecuba, considering that be compounded by treaty, fent Menelaus and she had been ravished by Theseus the compa-Olysse Embassadours to Troy: who demand- nion of Hercules, who took Troy when Priamus was very young; and confidering further, that out of Menelans his house. What answer the she was fifter to Castor and Pollux (she and Pollux being faid by some to have been twins) who failed with the Argonauts, having Telamakes it very probable, that Helen was taken mon the father of Ajax in their company, before the time that Hesione was taken; on whom Telamon begat Ajax, that was a principal commander in the Trojan war. But whether it were fo that the Trojans could not, or would not reftore Helen, fo it was that the Embaffadours returned ill contented, and not verv well entreated, for there wanted not fome that advised to have them flain. The Greeks hercupon incensed, made all haste towards band should require them: dismissing Paris Troy:at which time Calchas (whom some say to without further punishment, because he was have been a Runagate Trojan, though no such thing be found in Homer) filled the Captains, and all the Hoast with many troublesome an-Egypt, they thought themselves deluded, and swers and divinations. For he would have Athereupon made the war, which ended with gamemnons daughter facrificed to appeafe Diana, whose anger he said, withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrifized, or vvhether (as some vvrite) the goddes nelaus to ask his wife of Proteus. Homer, and vvas contented with a Hind, it is not needful here to be disputed of Sure it is that the mavary from this History, thinking it a matter lice of the Devil, which vvaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate, then Poems, for the retaining of a fair Lady, than vvhere mens ignorance is most. Calchas also told the Greeks, that the taking of Troy vvas impossible, till some fatall impediments vvere removed : and that till ten years vvere past, laus his being in Egypt, before he returned the Town should hold out against them. All home to Sparta; which voyage it were not which not with standing, the Greeks proceeded easily believed that he made for pleasure, and in their enterprise, under the command of Aif he were driven thither by contrary Winds, gamemnon; who was accompanied with his much more may we think that Paris was Brother Menelates, Achilles the most valiant of likely to have been driven thither by foul all the Greeks, his friend Patroclus, and his Tu-Weather. For Paris immediately upon the tor Phwnix, Ajax and Tencer, the fons of Telarape committed, was enforced to fly, taking | mon; Idomeneus, and his companion Merifuch Winds as he could get, and rather en- ones; Neftor and his fons Antilochus and during any storm, than to commit himself to Thrasymides; Ulysses, Muestheus the son of Petreus. CHAP. XIV

Petreus. Captain of the Athenians; Dio- Priannus made, when the Greek Princes modes the son of Tydens, a man of singular came into the field, the tenth year, for he contage; the wife and learned Palamedes, knew none of them; and therefore fitting up-Ascalaphus, and Jalmenus, the sons of Mars, on an high tower (as Homer tels) he learnwho had failed with the Argonauts; Phi- ed their names of Helen: which though it is House lettetes also the son of Paan, who had the ar- like to be a siction, yet could it not at all have like, rows of Hercules, without which Calchas been supposed that he should be ignorant faid, that the City could not be taken, Ajax of them, if they had shewed themselves bethe fon of Oileus, Peneleus, Theas, Eumelus, fore the town fo many years together. Be-Tylandrus, Euripilus, Athamas, Sthenelus, tween these relations of Thucidides and Hero-Tlepolemus the fon of Hercules; Podalyrius, dicus, the difference is not much, the one and Machon, the sons of Esculapius; Epens, saying, that a few of the Greeks remained in who is faid to have made the wooden the Camp before Troy, whilest the rest made Horse, by which the town was taken; and purveyance by land and by sea: the others Protest ans, who first leapt on shore, neglecting that the whole army did spend the time in the Oracle that threatned death to him that wasting the Sea-coasts. Neither do the landed first.

6. IV.

of the Ads of the Gracians at the fiege.

tertainment, as might eafily perswade them that Summer, in which Troy was taken, great to think that the war would be more than | booties were brought into the Camp, and one years work. For in the first encounter, a great pestilence arose among the Greeks: they lost Protesilans, whom Heller flew, and which Homer faith, that Apollo sent in revenge many others, without any great harm done to of his Priests daughter, whom Agamemnon the Trojans: fave only that by their numbers | had refused to let go, for any ransome: but of men, they wan ground enough to incamp Heraclides interpreting the place, faith, that themselves in, as appeareth in Thucydides. by Apollo was meant the Sun, who raised The principal impediment which the Greeks pestilent Fogs, by which the army was infound, was want of victuals, which grew up- feeted, being lodged in a moorish piece of on them by reason of their multitude, and the ground. And it might well be that the camp finalness of their vessels, wherein they could was over-pestered with those, who had been not carry necessaries for such an Army. Here- labroad, and now were lodged all close toupon they were compelled to fend fome part | gether: having also grounded their ships of their men, to labour the ground in Cherro- within the fortifications. ness:others to rob upon the Sea for the relief About the same time arose much contenof the Camp. Thus was the war protracted tion between Agamemnon and Achilles anine whole years, and either nothing done, bout the booty, whereof Agamemnon, as Geor if any skirmishes were, yet could the town neral, having first chosen for his part a captive receive little loss by them, having equal woman, and Achilles in the second place chonumbers to maintain the field against such sen for himself another, then Ajax, Dlyses, and Greeks as continued the fiege, and a more fafe fo the rest of the chief Captains in order: retrait if the enemy got the better.

first year, till the tenth, there was no fighting her father Apollo's Priest, that so the pestilence at all, and Heraclide commends as very might cease, then did Agamemnon greatly credible, the report of Herodicus, that the rage, and ray, that he alone would not lose his Greeks did not lye before Troy the first nine part of the spoile, but would either take that years: but onely did bear up and down the which had been given to Achilles, or that Seas, exercising their men, and inriching which had fallen to Ajax, or to Ulyles. Here themselves, and so by wasting the enemies upon Achilles defied him, but was fain to sufcountry did block up the Town, unto which fer all patiently, as not able to hold his Conthey returned not untill the fatall time drew cubine by firong hand, nor to revenge her near when it should be subverted.

Poets greatly disagree from these authors:for they make report of many towns and Ilands walted, and the people carried into Captivity; in which actions Achilles was employed, whom the army could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had been to be performed before the "Flese, and many other of less note, City. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by arriving at Troy, found such sharp en- general consent, that in the beginning of

when the South-sayer Calchas had willed that Wherefore Ovid faith, That from the Agamemnons woman should be restored to losse otherwise than by refusing to fight, or This is confirmed by the enquiry which to fend forth his Captains. But the Greeks, encouraged by their Captains, prefented of theirs, which drave up and down the field. themselves before the City without him as they were directed by the Captains, who

the Greeks was almost desperate.

Greeks with a fresh supply. Agamemnon, Di- death of Patroclus his dear friend. omades, Vlyses, and the rest of the Princes At this time Agamemnon reconciled him-

by the fwiftness of their horses, presenting The Trojans were now relieved with themselves where need required, threw first great fuccours, all the neighbour Countries their Javelins, and then alighting, fought on having fent them aid: partly drawn to that foot, with swords and battle-axes, retiring War by their Commanders who affifted Pri- into the ranks of footmen, or elfe returning amus for money, wherewith he abounded to their Chariots when they found cause, when the War began (as appears by his and so began again with a new dart as they words in Hower, or for love of himselfand could get it, if their old were lost or broken. his fons, or hope of marriage with some of his Their arms defensive were helmets, breastmany and fair Daughters; partly also (as we plates, boots of brass, or other mettal, and may well ghesse) incited by the wrongsre-fhields commonly of leather plated over. ceived of the Greeks when they wasted the The offensive were swords and battel-axes Countries adjoyning unto Troy. So that at hand; and stones, arrows or darts when when Hellor issued out of the Town, he was they fought at any distance. The use of little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of their Chariots (befides the swiftness) was to men.or quality of their Leaders. The prin-keep them from weariness, whereto the cipal Captains in the Trojan Army, were leaders were much subject, because of their Hellor, Paris, Deiphobias, Helenus, and the o- armour, which the strongest and stoutest ther fons of Priamus : Antenor, and ware heaviest, also that from them they his fons, Polydamas, Sarpedon, Glaucus, Afins, might throw their Javelins downwards, with and the fons of Panthus, befides Rhefus, who the more violence. Of which Weapon! find was flain the first night of his arrival; Mem- not that any carried more than one or two non. Queen Penthesilea, and others who came into the field: wherefore they were often towards the end of the War. Between these driven to return to their tents for a new one and the Greeks were many battels fought: when the old was gone. Likewise of arthe greatest of which were, that at the tomb mours they had little change or none; eveof King Ilus upon the Plain: and another at ry man (fpeaking of the chief) carried his the very trenches of the Camp, wherein He- own compleat, of which if any piece were dor brake through the fortifications of the loft or broken, he was driven to repair it Greeks, and began to fire their ships; at with the like, if he had any fitting, taken which time Ajax, the fon of Telamon, with from fome Captain whom he had flain, and his brother Tencer, were in a manner the on-stripped; or else to borrow of them that ly men of note that remaining unwounded, had by fuch means gotten some to spare. made head against Hector, when the state of Whereas therefore Achilles had lost his armour which Hettor (as is faid before) had Another battel (for fo Antiquity cals it) taken from the body of Patroclus, he was or rather the same renewed, was fought by sain to await the making of new, ere he Patroclus, who having obtained leave, drew forth Achilles Troops, relieving the weary very defirous, that he might revenge the

though fore wounded, yet were driven to felf unto Achilles, not only refloring his conput on armour, and with help of Patroclus, cubine Brises, but giving him very great repelled the Trojans very hardly. For in that gifts, and excusing former matters as well as fight Patroclus was lost, and his body, with he might. In the next battel Achilles did so much contention recovered by his friends, behave himself, that he did not only put the was brought back into the Camp: the armour Trojans to the worst, but also slew the valiof Achilles which he had put on, being torn ant Hedor, whom (if Homer may herein be from him by Hestor. It was the manner of believed) he chased three times about the those Wars, having slain a man, to strip him, Wals of Troy. But great question may be and hale away his body, not reftoring it made of Homer's truth in this narration. For vvithout ransome, if he vvere one of marke, it is not likely that Hellor would stay alone Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: without the City (as Homer doth report of for they fought all on foot, flightly armed, him) when all the Trojans were fled into it: and commonly followed the fuccess of their nor that he could leap over the Rivers of Captains; who rode not upon horses, but Xanthus and Simois, as he must have done in in Chariots, drawn by two or three horses, that flight: nor that the Trojans, perceiving which were guided by some trusty followers Hestor in such an extremity, would have for-

CHAP. XIV.

in. But this is reported only to grace Achil- must have perished for hunger, if they had les, who having (by what means foever) not by isluing forth unseasonably discovered flain the noble Hettor, did not only carry a- the invention. Whereas further it is faid. way his dead body, as the custome then was, that this Horse was so high and great, that it but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting could not be brought into the Town through leathern thongs into them, tyed him to his any of the gates, and that therefore the Tro-Chariot, and dragging him shamefully about jans were fain to pull down a part of their the field, felling the dead body to his father Wall to make way for it, through which Priamus for a very great ransome. But his breach the Greeks did afterwards enter; it cruelty and covetousness were not long unis hereby manifest, that the inclosing of so revenged; for he was shortly after slain many principal men was altogether needless. with an arrow by Paris, as Homer fayes in confidering that without their help there the Scean Gate; or as others, in the Tem- was way sufficient for the Army, so that the ple of Apollo, whither he came to have mar- furprifing of any gate by them was now to ried Polyxena the daughter of Priamus, with no purpose. whom he was too far in love, having flain John Paptifta Gramay in his History of Afo many of her brethren; and his body was fia, discourting of this War, faith that the ransomed (as Lycophron faith) at the felf-Greeks did both batter the Wals with a fame rate that Hedors was by him fold for. Wooden Engine, and were also let into the Not long after this, Penthesilea Queen of the City by Antenor, at the Scaan gate: the Amazons arrived at Troy, who after some Townsmen sleeping and drinking without proof given of her Valour, was flain by Pyr- fear or care, because the fleet of the Greeirhus the fon of Achilles.

of the taking of Troy, the wooden Horse, the the reliques of Troy.

by night, as all Writers agree: but whether ctory in most points to these two Authors, by the Treason of Eneas and Antenor; or without once taking notice of the oppositiby a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and com- on, which they having served in that War mon Fame (which followed the Poets) have made against the common report, had it not delivered, it is uncertain. Some write that been that either those books were even in upon one of the gates of Troy, called Scan, those times thought frivolous, or elseconwas the Image of a Horse, and that the Greeks tained no such repugnancy to the other Auentring by that gate, gave occasion to the thors as now is found in them. report, that the City was taken by an artifi- Also concerning the number of men slain cial Horse. It may well be that with some in this War, which Dares and Dyllis say to wooden Engine, which they called a Horie, have been above 600000. on the Trojan they either did batter the Wals as the Ro- fide, and more then 800000. of the Greeks, mans in after-times used to do with the it is a report meerly fabulous; for as much Ram: or scaled the Wals upon the sudden, as the whole Fleet of the Greeks was reckoand so took the City. As for the hiding of ned by Homer, who extelled their Army and men in the hollow body of a wooden Horse, deeds as much as he could, to be somewhat it had been a desperate adventure, and ser less than 1200. sail, and the Army therein ving to no purpose. For either the Trojans transported over the Greek seas, not much might have perceived the deceit, and slain above 100000. men, according to the rate all those Princes of Greece, that were inclo- formerly mentioned. But it is the common fed in it (which also by such as maintain this fashion of men to extol the deeds of their report they are faid to have thought upon:) Ancients: for which cause both Homer mag, or they might have left it a few dayes with nified the Captains of the Greeks that ferved out the City (for it was unlikely, that they in the War, and Virgil with others were as fhould the very first day both conclud eponthe bringing it into the Town, and break trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it into the Town, and break trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it into the Town, and break trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it into the Town, and break trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City, from which the Roman bringing it is the trojans and their City is the trojans and the received bringing it is the re down their Wals upon the sudden to do it:) mans descended. Yea the Athenians long

born to open some of their gates and let him by which means they who were shut into it.

ans had hoisted sail, and was gone the day before to the He of Tenedos, thereby to bring the Trojans into fecurity. That the City was betrayed, the Books of Dares and Dydis must prove, which whether we now have the Book of Dares and Dyctis, the Colonies of same that were by them written, it may be fuspected; for furely they who have made mention of these Writers in ancient times, Finally, after the death of many Worthy would not, as they did, have followed the Persons on each side, the City was taken reports of Homer and others quite contradi-

after in the War which Xerxes the Persian agreeing. For (besides other quarrels a-King made against all Greece, did not for- rising upon the division of the booty, and bear to vaunt of the great cuming which the like occasions) at the time when they Almesteus the fon of Peteus had shewed in should have set fail, Agamemnon and his bromarshalling the Grecian Army before Troy: ther fell out, the one being desirous to dewhereupon, as if it had been a matter of part immediatly, the other to fray and permuch consequence, they were so proud, form some sacrifices to Minerva. Hereupon that they refused to yeeld unto Gelon King they fell to hot words, half the Fleet remainof almost all Sicily, the Admiralty of their ing with Agamemnon, the rest of them sailed Scas, notwithstanding that he promised to to the Isle of Tenedos; where when they arbring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000 rived, they could not agree among themmen for their defence.

parts of the World, which have striven to fore vexed with tempels: for Pallas (as bring their descent from some of the Princes Homer saith) would not be perswaded in that warred at Troy: all difficulties or un- hafte. likelihoods in fuch their Pedegree notwith- They who returned fafe were Neftor.and standing. But those Nations which indeed, Pyrrhus, whom Orestes afterwards slew: also the Country adjoyning, by Antenor: the non likewise returned home, but was forth-Chaonians planted in Epirus by Helenus, the with flain by his Wife, and by the Adulterer

6. VI.

reigned over them about Troy.

returning from Troy.

on the Trojans. For Thucydides notes, that some of the Locrians were driven into Aby reason of their long abode at the siege, frick, others into Italy, all the East part they found many alterations when they re- whereof was called Magna Gracia, by reason turned : fo that many were driven by their of fo many Towns which the Greeks were borderers from their ancient feats: many driven to erect upon that Coast. Finally, it were expelled their Countries by faction: appears in Homer, that the Gracian Ladies, some were slain anon after their arrival: o- whose Husbands had been at the War of thers were debarred from the Soveraignty | Troy, were wont to call it, The place where among the people, by such as had stayed at the Greeks suffered misery, and the unlucky home. The cause of all which may seem City not to be mentioned. And thus much to have been the dispersion of the Army, for Troy, and those that warred there: the which, weakned much by the calamities of overthrow of which City, as hath been faid, that long War, was of little force to repel happened in the time of Habdon Judge of injuries, being divided into so many pieces Israel, whom Sampson, after a vacancy or

felves, but some returned back to Agamem-The like vanity possessed many other Ci-non; others were dispersed, each holding ties of Greece, and many Nations in these his own course. But the whole Fleet was

or in most probability, came of the Trojans, Idomeneus and Philottetes, who nevertheless were the Albanes in Italy; and from them the as Virgiltels, were driven foon after to feek Romans, brought into that Country by Ane- new feats: Idomeneus among the Salentines, as: the Venetians first seated in Padna, and and Philotletes at Petilia in Italy. Agamemfon of King Priamus. To which Hellani- Ægystus, who for a while afterusured his cus addeth, that the Posterity of Hellor did Kingdome. Menelaus wandring long upon assemble such of the Trojans as were left, and the Seas, came into Agypt, either with Helen, or (as may rather feem) to fetch her. Ulyffes, after ten years, having lost all his company, got home in poor estate, with much ado recovering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greeks the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to feek out new habitations.

Ajax the fon of Oileus was drowned : Ten-Oncerning the Greeks, they talted as cerfled into Cyprus; Diomedes to King Danmuch mifery as they had brought up- nus, who was Lord of the Japiges in Apulia; under several Commanders, not very well Inter-regnum for certain years, succeeded.



CHAP. XV. Of Sampson, Ely, and Samuel.

of Sampson.

these things I gather out of that Story. First, sear of their revenge; though he was no that the Angel of God forbad the Wife of looner loofened, but he gave them another Monoah the Mother of Sampson, to drink overthrow, and slew 1000. with the jaw-Wine or ftrong drink, or to eat any unclean bone of an Affe. meat after the was conceived with child; Laftly, being made blind, and a prifoner because those strong liquors hindered the by the treason of his Wife, he was content strength, and as it were wither and shrink to end his own life, to be avenged of his encthe child in the mothers womb. Though mies, when he pulled down the pillars of this were even the counsel of God himself, the house at the Feast whereto they sent for and delivered by his Angel, yet it feemeth Sampson, to deride him; till which time he that many Women of this age have not bare his affliction with patience: but it was read, or at least will not believe this pre- truly said of Seneca; Patientia sape lasavercept : the most part forbearing nor drinks, titur in furorem; Patience often wounded is nor meats, how ftrong or unclean foever, converted into fury: neither is it at any time filling themselves with all forts of Wines, and so much wounded by pain and loss, as by dewith artificial drinks far more forcible: by rifion and contumely. reason whereof so many wretched feeble bodies are born into the World, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

of God refused the facrifice which Manoah would have offered him, commanding him to prefent it unto the Lord: and therefore those that professe divination by the help of ceeded sampson, is written in the be-Angels, to whom also they facrifice, may af- ginning of Samuel; who foretold him of the furedly know that they are devils who ac- destruction of his house, for the wickedness cept thereof, and not good Angels, who re- of his fons, which he suppressed not, neither ceive no worship that is proper to God.

by his Wives, to wit, by their importunity buling the Sacrifice, and prophaning and poland deceitful tears: by the first he lost but a luting the holy places: though Levi Ben Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas ever- forcing the woman by the sons of Eli, hatha Inpinousness overturned.

HE birth and acts of Sampson Juda, to befiege Sampson, in the rock or are written at large in the 13. mountain of Etam, using these Words: 14.15. and 16. of Judges; and Knowest not thou that the Philistims are Rulers therefore I shall not need to over us? &c. After which they bound him. make a repetition thereof. But and delivered him unto the Philiftims, for

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the Angel of Eli, and of the Ark taken; and of Dagons fall, and the fending back of the Ark.

"He Story of Eli the Prieft, who fucdid he punish them according to their de-1 Sun in Thirdly, this Sampson was twice betrayed serts: whose sins were horrible, bothin a-" part of his goods; by the second his life. Gerson, to extenuate this filthy offence of tit: Whom no force could over-master, Vo- contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the Israelites under the Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in fwords of the Philiftims; of whom there peall deliver Israel from the oppression of the rished in the first encounter 4000, and in the Philistims; though in some fort he revenged, second battel 30000. footmen; among and defended them: for notwithstanding whom the sons of Eli being slain, their father that he had shin 30, of them in his first at- (hearing the lamentable success) by falling tempt, burnt their Corn in harvest time, and from his chair, brake his neck. He was the given them a great overthrow instantly up- first that obtained the High-Priesthood of on it : yet so much did Ifrael fear the Phili- the stock of Ithamar the son of Aaron, bestims, as they affembled 3000. men out of fore whose time it continued successively in

the race of Eleazar the eldest brother of men in their ears (to wit, the hearing of the Ithamar: for Aaron was the first, Eleazar the Gospel preached) how should it profit them by fecond, Phinees the fon of Eleazar the third, hanging it about their necks? For it was ner-The Bocci the fift, Ozi the fon of Bocci the fixt, the Cross, but the reverence of the Father, and then Eli, as Josephus and Lyranus out of that gave the one for a memory of his Codivers Hebrew Authors have conceived. In venant; and the Faith in his Son, which shed the race of Ithamar the Priesthood conti- his blood on the other for redemption, that cast out Abiathar, and established Sadock life or after it. and Achimaas and their fuccessors. The Ark tivity, &c.

1500 5.6. they did, they were then victorious. For af- | sent him into the world, that all the Oracles, to me as seemeth good in his eyes.

in Troy, the City should never be overturned: became speechless. fo did the Christians in the last fatal battel Now while the Philistims triumphed after

Abilize the fon of Phinees the fourth, his fon ther the wood of the Ark, nor the wood of nued after Eli, to the time of Salomon, who could or can profit them and us, either in this

The Philistims returning with the greatest of God which Ifrael brought into the field, victory and glory which ever they obtainwas in this battel taken by the Philistims. ed, carried the Arkof God with them to A-For as David witnesseth, God greatly abhor- zotus, and set it up in the house of Dagon red Ifrael, so that he forsook the habitation their Idol: but that night the Idol fell out of shilo: even the Tabernacle where he dwelt of his place, from above to the ground, and among men, and delivered his power into cap- lay under the Ark. The morning following they took it up, and fet it again in his Now as it pleased God at this time, that place. And it fell the second time, and the the Ark whereby himself was represented head brake from the body, and the hands should fall in the hands of the Heathen, for from the arms, shewing that it had nor powthe offences of the Priests and people: so did er nor understanding in the presence of he permit the Chaldeans to destroy the Tem- God; for the head fell off, which is the feat ple built by Salomon; the Romans to over- of reason and knowledge, and the hands throw the second Temple; and the Turks to (by which we execute strength) were sunoverthrow the Christian Churches in Asia dred from the arms. For God and the devil and Europe. And had not the Israelites put inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. more confidence in the facrament, or repre- And if this Idol could not endure the reprefentation, which was the Ark, than in God fentation of the true God, it is not to be himself, they would have observed his Laws, marvelled, that at such time as it pleased him and ferved him onely: which whenfoever to cover his onely begotten with flesh, and ter the captivity they had no Ark at all, nor wherein the Devil derided and betrayed in the times of the Macchabees: and yet for | mortal men, lost power, speech and operatitheir piety it pleased God to make that Fa- on at the instant. For when that true light mily as victorious as any that guarded them- which never had beginning of brightness, felves by the fign in stead of the substance. brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, And that the Ark was not made to the end shining upon the earth which had been long to be carried into the field as an enfign, Da- obscured by Idolatry, all those foul and stinkvid witnessed when he fled from Absalon. ing vapours vanished. Plutarch rehearseth a For when the Priests would have carried memorable accident in that age concerning the Ark with him; he forbad it, and caused the death of the great god Pan, as he stileth it to be turned into the City, using these him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he words: If I shall find favour in the eyes of the searcheth his brains for many reasons of so Lord he will bring me again: if not, let him do great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old Devil did The Trojans believed that while their then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as Palladium or the image of Minerva was kept Apollo, Jupiter, Diana, and the whole rabble

against Saladine carry into the field, as they this victory, God strook them with the were made believe, the very Cross whereon grievous disease of the Hemorrhoides, of Christ died; and yet they lost the battel, which they perished in great numbers. For it their bodies, and the wood. But Chrysoftome is written, that the Lord destroyed them. It was upon Saint Matthem (if that be his work) gi- therefore by general consent ordered, that veth a good judgment, speaking of those the Ark should be removed from Azotus to that wore a part of Saint John's Gofpel a-bout their necks, for an annulet or preferva-ties of the Philiftim; to prove, as it feemeth, tive: si tibi ea non prosunt in auribus, quomodo whether this disease were fallen on them by Proderunt in collo ? If those words do not prosit accident, or by the hand of God immediatly:

CHAP. XV

2 Sams 5.9. but when it was brought to Gath and re-1 ces of the Philiftims perceived, they returnceived by them, the plague was yet more ed to Ekron. After which, God spared not his grievous and mortal. For the hand of the own people the Bethshemites, in that they pre-Lord was against this City with a very great sumed to look in the Ark, And because they destruction, and he smote the men of the City knew God and his commandements, and had both small and great &c. And being not yet been taught accordingly; he strook them fatisfied, they of Gath fent the Ark to Ekron more grievously than he did the heathen: or Accaron, a third City of the Philiftims: for there perished of them fifty thousand and but they also soit the same smart, and crycd seventy. From hence the Ark was carried to out, that themselves and their people should Kiriath-jearim, and placed in the house of be flain thereby; For there was a destructi- Abinadab; where it is written that it remainon and death throughout all the City. In the ed twenty years in the charge of Eleazarhis end, by the advice of their Priests, the Prin- son, until David brought it to Hierusalem. ces of the *Philiftims*. did not onely refolve Now whereas it is faid, that in the mean vice by strong hand. Wherefore confessing | jearim. the power of the God of Ifrael to be almighty, and that their own Idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a fin-offering, using these words; so ye shall give glory to the God of Ifrael, that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your

feen his miracles by Daniel. wherefoever; much less when they were left among you.

to return the Ark, but to offer gifts unto the while the Ark was in Nob, Miffa, and Galga- & Ithe God of Ifracl, remembring the plague which last was the Tabernacle, which was at this !. had fallen on the Egyptians, when their time severed from the Ark, or at least, it this look hearts were hare not hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his ferthefe places, and anon returned to Kiridh. inheritance.

of Samuel, and of his Government.

land. And what can be a more excellent Hese Tragedies overpast and ended, witnessing, than where an enemy doth approve our cause? according to Aristotle; he was yet a child, became now Judge and Pulchrum of testimonium, quo nostra probantur Governour of Israel. He was descended of ab bossibus. So did Pharao consess the living the samily of (b) Chore or Korach. For Levi Osta God, when he was plagued in Egypt: and had three sons; Gerson, Cheath, and Meran: 6.12. Nabuchadonofor and Darius, when they had Cheath had Amram and Izaar; of Amram came Mofes and Aaron; of Izaar, Chore; This counsel therefore of the Priests be- and of the family of Chore, Samuel. His faing imbraced and the golden Hamorrhoides, ther Eleana a Levite, was called an Ephraand the golden Mice prepared, they caused twan; not that the Levites had any proper (1) White two milch Kine to be chosen, such as had not inheritance, but because he was of (e) Mount Region been yoaked, and a new Cart or Carriage to Ephraim, like as Jesse, David's sather was call was difficult to the control of the control be framed: but they durst not drive or di- led an Ephrataan, because born at Ephrata, appeared rect it to any place certain, thereby to make or Bethleem. Hannah his mother being long Judits tryal whether it were indeed the hand of fruitles, obtained him of God by prayers difficult God that had strucken them. For if the Ark and tears: it being an exceeding shame to were of God were carried towards Bethsbemesh, the Jewish women to be called barren, in Robbits and interaction to be called barren, in Robbits and into the territory of Ifrael, then they respect of the bleffing of God, both to Abra- Booking should resolve that from God onely came have, that his feed should multiply as the the total the total should resolve that from God onely came have, that his feed should multiply as the total should resolve that from God onely came have, that his feed should multiply as the their late destruction. For the Philistims Stars of Heaven, and the fands of the Sea; Epine knew that the milch Kine which drew the as in the beginning to Adam, Increase and which Ark, could not be forced from their Calves, multiply, ocand in Denteronomy the feventh, in Jul. but that they would have followed them There shall be neither male nor female barren cassis

to themselves, would they travel a contrary | Samuel was no foorier born, but that his short way. For in the darkest night in the world, mother, according to her former vow, dedi-which if calves be removed from their dams, the cated him to God, and his fervice; to which kine will follow them through woods and she delivered him even from the dig. For where defars by the foot, till they find them. But as the first-born of all that were called Naza Estates the kine travelled directly towards Bethfhe- rites, might be redcemed till they were five put mesh: and when they came into the fields years old for five sheekles, and between five h, which there is a substitute of the second of the sec thereof, to wit, of one Fosia of the same City, years and twenty, for twenty sheekles: 10 mind they frood fill there; which when the Prin- was it not required by the Law, that any of stand

the race of the Levites should be called to the Philistims vvere in view. But God being ferve about the Tabernacle, till they were moved with samuel's prayers (as he was by five and twenty years old.

velations before Samuel's time, vvere more who for a long time after did not offer any

fee in this book, e. 12. clouded and obscure. The places vyherein invasion or revenge. And the better to at-

King of Roses, that affembly and preparation of War at Milfra, at once ; having the Philistims towards the when as he in the beginning of Samuel's government, West and Sea-coast, the Canaanite toward was facil gathered their Army, and marched towards the North and East, and the Idumite on the king, it watched the City: at vyhose approach the Israelites South. The estate being thus settled, Samuel him that firucken with fear, and with the memory of for the ease of the people gave audience and mining their former manginers and the victoria, fought samuel to pray to God for them, who been elsewhere said. he nothing vvas * then performing his facrifice vvhen difmaied, answered

those of Moses, when Ifrael fought against Saint Peter reckons in the Alls the Pro- the Amalekites at the first entrance into Araphets from Samuel, who was the first of the bia:) it pleased him with thunder and tem-Writers of holy Scriptures, to vyhom usually pest to disperse and beat down the Army of this name of a Prophet was given, and yet the Philistims, according to the prophecie of did Moses account himself such a one; as in Hanna, Samuel's Mother, The Lords adversathe 18. of Deuteronomie, The Lord thy God ries shall be destroyed, and out of Heaven shall be millraise up unto thee a Prophet like unto me, thunder upon them, &c. Josephus affirms, that Or. But he is diffinguished from those that a part of the Philiftims were swallowed with preceded him, vvho were called Seers; as an earthquake: and that Samuel himselfled before time in Israel, when a man went to feek the Israelites in the profecution of their vian answer of God, thus he spake; Come and Ctory. After which Samuel erected a Monulet us go to the Seer: for he that is now called ment in memory of this happy fuccess, oba Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And tained by the miraculous hand of God, although it pleased God to appear by his which Josephus called Lapidem fortem: Sa-Angels to Moses, as before to Abraham, Isaac, muel, Ebenezer, or the stone of affistance: and and Jacob; yet in the time of Eli, there was then following the opportunity and advannomanifest vision; not that God had alto- tage of the victory, the Ifraelites recovered gether withdrawn his grace from Ifrael: but divers Cities of their own formerly loft, and as the Chaldean Paraphrast hath it, those re- held long in the possession of the Philistims, Samuel judged vvere Matspa or Mitspa, seat-tend their purposes, and to withstand any of ed on a hill in Benjamin near Juda: also Gil- their attempts, the Ifraelites made peace with gal and Bethel, of vyhich vve have spoken the Amorites, or Canaanites, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that The Philistims taking knowledge of the they might not be assaulted from divers parts their former flaughters and servitude, be- judgment in divers places by turns, as hath

CHAP. XVI. Of SAUL.

6. I.

Of the deliberation to change the Government into a Kingdom.

affairs on his fons, Joel and Abijah, who Elders of Ifraael observed, and faw that judged the people at Beersheba, a City, the Samuel as a natural man (though a Provery utmost towards the South of Judea. phet) could not so well discern the er-And as the place was inconvenient and far rours of his own, they prayed him to away, so were themselves no less removed consent to their change of government, from the justice and vertue of their Fa- and to make them a King, by whom they

Ut when age now began to over- the more it swalloweth, the more it dritake Samuel and that he was not eth, and defireth, finding tafte in nothing able to undergo the burthen of but gain; to recover which, they fet the fo careful a government, he put off Law at a price, and fold Justice and Judgfrom himself the weight of the ment to the best Chapmen. Which when the ther: For the thirst of coveteousness, might be judged as other Nations were

defend them against their enemies. For after may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep the ill and lamentable success which follow- all the words of this Law, and these ordinances ed the rule of Eli his fons, when those of Sa- for to do them: that he may prolong his dayer wuel by their first blossomes promised to in his Kingdom, he and his sons. But to take yield fruit no less bitter, they saw no way to away any other mans field, say they, is conput the government from out his race, trary to the Laws of God, in the fame book

choice of a King. teration, Sanuel fought counfel from God: grapes more than thou canst eatout of awhich furely he did not for the establishing nother mans vineyard, but fordidden by Now as it appears by the Text, this speech nother. Neither are the words of the Text guments to dehort them: which when he rael, or make it proper unto them, to take at perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered will any thing from their vallals. For it is not unto them from Gods revelation, the incon- faid that it shall be lawful for the King, or the veniences and miscries which should befal King may do this or that: but it is written, them. And yet, all which he fore-shewed that the King will take your sons : and again, was not intolerable, but fuch as hath been This shall be the manner of the King that born, and is fo faill, by free confent of the shall raign over you. God thereby foresubjects towards their Princes. For first he shewing what power, severed from piety (bemakes them know that the King will use cause it is accountable to God onely) will their fons in his own service to make them do in the future. And hereof we find the first his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; example in Achab, who took from Naboth Vaffals of all Kings, according to their birth the trust which God had put in him, of goand condition, defired: it being very agree- verning well his people. For God command-

who might also lead them to the War , and read therein all the dayes of his life; that he put the government from one has been written. For it is faid, That which is just and whom they so much reverenced, but by the written. For it is faid, That which is just and whom they so much the thorn would be bounded. right fhalt thou follow, that thou mayft live. In a cause of so great consequence and al- Now if it be not permitted to carry away of his own Sons; who being as they were, God: it is much less lawful to take the vine-God would not have approved his election. yard it felf from the owner, and give it to a. u. or motion displeasing him, he used his best ar- (say they) such as do warrant the Kings of Is- Link. which is not onely not grievous, but by the both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to able to subjects of the best quality to com- ed, That his people should be judged with righter pents. mand for the King in his Wars; and to till ous judgment. Wherefore, though the King the ground no less proper and appertaining had offered unto Naboth composition, as a to those that are thereto bred and brought Vineyard of better value, or the worth in up: so are likewise the offices of women- money, which he refused: yet because he was fervants to dress meat, to bake bread, and falfly accused, and unjustly condemned the like. But whereas immediately it is (though by colour of laws) how grievoully threatned, He will take your Fields and your Achab was punished by God, the Scriptures Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and give tell us. Neither was it a plea sufficient for Athem to his servants; with other oppressi- chab against the all-righteous God, to say ons: this hath given, and gives daily occasi- that it was done without his consent, and by on to fuch as would be ruled by their own the Elders of Ifrael. For God had not then discretion, to affirm that Samuel describeth left his people to the Elders, but to the King, here unto them the power of a King govern- who is called a living Law, even as David teed by his own affections, and not a King that fliffieth of himself: Posifit me in caput gentifeareth God. But others upon further exa- um: For this of S. Augustine is very true; simmmination confirme this Text far otherwise, as lata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata teaching us what Subjects ought with pati- equitas non est equitas sed duplicatur peccatum ence to bear at their Soveraigns hand. The in quo est iniquitas & simulatio; Feigned innoformer opinion is grounded first upon that place of Deuteronomy, where God fore-shewn nor the other: but the fault or offence is there eth this change of government from Judges doubled in which there is both iniquity and difto Kings; and after he had forbidden many fimulation. Such in effect is their diputation, things unto the Kings, as many wives, coverwho think this place to contain the description. ousness, and the like, he commandeth that tion of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the the Kings which were to raign over Ifrael, contrary fide, as they are many and forcible, should write the Law of Deuteronomie, or so are they well known to all; being excelcause it to be written: and to snew how lently handled in that Princely discourse of greatly the King should honour the Law, The true Law of free Monarchies: which he addeth, It shall be with kim, and he shall Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much

less here to insert. Only thus much I will fay that if practice do thew the greatness of authority, even the best Kings of Juda and Thrael were not fo tyed by any laws, but that they did whatfoever they pleafed in the greatest things; and commanded some of their own Princes, and of their own brethren to be flain without any trial of law, on of a King, till fuch time as he was therein being fometime by Prophets reprehended. fometime not. For though David confessed his offence for the death of Vriah, yet so-Jomen killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed to him as any

That the state of Ifrael should receive this change of government, it was not onely foretold by Moles in Deuteronomie, but perceived by Jacob in this Scripture; The Scepter Shall not depart from Juda, &c. It was also Ramath to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping promifed by God to Abraham for a blefling: from him to be told what way to take, to should in number equal the stars in heaven, God (who doth many times order the greatbut that Kings thould proceed of him: Which eft things by the simplest passages and pernot need to over-paint that which is gar-

own territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly loft. The Canaanites dwelt in the best vallies of the Country. The Ammodefend them: whereunto when samuel had and of Gods graces to be bestowed on him, warrant from God to confent, he fent every man to his own City and abiding.

§. II.

Of the election of Saul.

Fter that Samuel had dismissed the affembly at Mizpal, he forbare the electidirected by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would prefent unto him a man of the Land of Benjamin, whom he commanded Samuel to anoint. So Samuel went unto Ramath Sophim, to make a feast for the entertainment of Saul (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and Saul also having wandred divers dayes to feek his fathers Ailes, at length, by the advice of his fervant, travelled towards For it was not onely affured that his iffues find his beafts. In which journey it pleafed flate seeing it is framed from the pattern of sons to elect saul, who sought an Ass and not his fole rule, who is Lord of the Universal; a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleafed and the excellencie thereof in respect of him to call Moses, while he fed the sheep of all other governments, hath been by many fethro; and after to make choice of David judicious men handled and proved, I shall the youngest of eight sons, and by the Scri- 1 Samits: ptures called a little one, who was then nithed with better colours already, than I keeping of beafts; and changed his sheephook into a Scepter, making him of all other In the time of the Judges every man hath the most victorious King of Juda and Israel. observed what civil war Ifrael had: what So John and James were taken from casting outragious flaughters they committed upon | their nets, to become fishers of men, and hoeach other: in what miserable servitude noured with the titles of Apostles: a dignithey lived for many years: and when it fa- ty that died not in the grave, as all worldly red best with them, they did but defend their | Honours do; but permanent and everlasting in Gods everlafting Kingdom.

When Samuel was entred into Ramath, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he nites held much of Gilead over Jordan; the expected, and flayed his arrival at the gate. Philistims the Sea-coasts; and the Jebusites Not long after came Saul, whom God shew-Hierufalem it self, till Davids time: all which ed to Samuel, and made him know that it was that King did not onely conquer and esta- the same whom he had foretold him of, that blish, but he mastered and subjected all the he should rule the people of God. Saul findneighbour Nations and Kings, and made ing Samuel in the gate, but knowing him not, them his tributaries and vallals. But whether though a Prophet and Judge of Ifrael, much it were for that the Israelites were moved less knowing the Honour which attended by those reasons, which allure the most of all him, asked Samuel in what part of the City Nations to live under a Monarch, or whe- the seer dwelt; Samuel answered, that himther by this means they fought to be cleared | felf was the man he fought, and prayed saul from the sons of samuel, they became deaf to go before him to the high place, where to all the perswasions and threats which sa- | samuel setting him according to his degree, muelused, insisting upon this point, that they above all that were invited, conferred with would have a King both to judge them and him afterwards of the affairs of the kingdom, and the morning following annointed him King of Ifrael.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward, that two men

who should tell him that his Asses were not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who found, and that his Fathers cares were gave samuel former knowledge of his elechanged from the fear of losing his beasts, to ction: from which election Saul withdrew doubt the loss of his son: that he should himself in modesty, as both Josephus conthen meet three other men in the plain of Ta- strue it, and as it may be gathered by his bor; then a company of Prophets: and that former answers to Samuel, when he acknowhe should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and ledged himself the least of the least Tribe. prophecy with them: and that thereby his But Samuel inlightened by God, found where condition and disposition should be changed saul was hidden, and brought him among from the vulgar, into that which became a the people, and he was taller than all the King elected and favoured by God.

and most reverenced number, who by divine King, and prayed for him; yet some there revelation foretold things to come, repre- were that envied his glory (as in all estates hended without fear the errors of their Kings there are fuch) who did not acknowledge and wrought miracles of which number were him by offering him prefents, as the manner Moses, Joshua, Samuel, and after them Gad, Na- was, of whom Saul, to avoyd sedition, took than, Abias, Elias, Elifaus, Esay, Jeremy, and the no notice. chryf in rest; for these Prophets, faith S. Chryfostome, Omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præsentia. & futura: but they were of those of whom S. Paul speaketh 1 Cor. 14. 14. who inriched with spiritual gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

yet knew nothing of his election: neither that Nahas King of the Ammonites prepared did 8 aul acquaint his own Uncle therewith, to besiege Jabes Gilead: which nation since when he asked him what had past between the great overthrow given them by Jephia, him and Samuel: for either he thought his never durst attempt any thing upon the Ifestate not yet assured, or else that it might be raelites, till the beginning of Saul his rule. dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were And although the Ammonites did alwaysattend upon the advantage of time, to recover mim in the Tribes were affembled at Mizpeth, the gene- those Territories which first the Amorite, and ornaments ral opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. then Ifrael disposses them of; which they Chimbi thinks by the answer of * Vrim and made the ground of their invasion in Jephta's Thumnim: that is, by the answer of the time, yet they never perswaded themselves Priest, wearing that mistery upon his breast of more advantage then at this present. For within the when he asked the counsel of the Lord. But first, they knew that there were many of the pedoral, the casting of lots was not only much used a Ifraelites that did not willingly submit themtherefore mong the Jews, but by many others, if not felves to this new King: fecondly, they were was du- by all nations. The Land of promise was di- remembred that the Philistims had not long pucuum: they were vided by lot: God commanded lots to be before flain 34000. of their men of Warrand placed in cast on the two Goats, which should be sacri- besides had used great care and policy that the peace ficed, and which turned off:a figure of Christs they should have no Smiths to make them against the suffering, and our deliverance, for whose swords or spears : neither was it long before, heartof garments the Jews also cast lots. Cicero, Plant that of the Bethspenesites, and places adjoyn-Prieft It is trus, Paufanius, and others, have remembred ing, there perished by the hand of God more plain that divers forts of lots, used by the Romans, Gre- than 50000, and therefore in these respects, they were cians, and other Nations: as in the division even occasion it self invited them to inlarge precious of grounds or honours; and in things to be their Dominions upon their borderers jables thousand undertaken: the two first kinds were called Gilead being one of the nearest. Besides it may any thing any thing divisiony; the Third, Divinatory, and unfurther be conjectured, that the Ammonitor the Ani to one of these three all may be reduced, all were imboldened against Jakes Gilead, in refaces. See

Exo. 38.1. which kinds, howsoever they may seem spectful of their weakness: since the Intelligence of their weakness.

should encounter him by Rahels Sepulchre, in like fort fell the Kingdom of Israel on Sant. rest by the shoulders. And Sannel made them But the Prophets here spoken of, men in- know that he was the chosen King of Israel, dued with spiritual gifts, were not of the first whereupon all the multitude saluted him

6. III.

Of the establishing of Saul by his first victory.

At Mizpeth Samuel affembled the people, that he might present Saul to them, who as O some was Saul placed in the Kingdom, but that he received knowledge constitution of the control of the c

men and male children, but took from them would have flain all those Ifraelites that murphilifims, was not apt to fuccour those whom worldly accident hath thrown down. they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. After the Army removed, samuel summon- 1 samits. coasts, protesting thus: That whosever came in Micmus; and in the Hill of Bethel. not forth after Saul, and after Samuel; fol should his Oxen be served: threatning the people by their goods, and not by their lives ble an Armie, by reason that the Gileadites had obtained the respite of these seven days to give Nahas the Ammonite an answer:

their young women, and gave them to the mured against his election, had not him-Reniamites and therefore they were not like- felf forbidden and refifted their resolutions. ly to have been increased to any great num-Such is the condition of worldly men, as they bers: and if they had recovered themselves of are violent lovers of the prosperous, and base this great calamity, yet the Ammonite might Valials of the time that flourisheth; and as flatter himself with the opinion, that Israel, despightful and cruel without cause against having for long time been difarmed by the those, whom any misadventure, or other

But contrariwife, when the tidings came ed the people to meet at Gilgal, where Saul to Sanl of their danger, and that the Ammo- was now a third time acknowledged, and, nites would give them no other condition to as some Commenters assirm, anointed King: ransome themselves, but by pulling out their and here Samuel used an exhortation to all 1 sam. 12. right eyes, by which they should be utterly the assembly, consaining precepts, and a rediabled for the War, as elsewhere hath hearfal of his own Justice, during the beginbeen spoken: Saul, both to value himself in ning of his government to that day, after Saul his first years reign, and because perchance had now reigned one year before he was estahe was descended of one of those 400. Maids blished in Gilgal, or Galgala, he strengthned taken from the Gileadites, and given to the himself with a good guard of 3000, chosen Benjamites, gave order to affemble the forces men, of which he affigned 1000 to attend on of Ifrael, hewing a yoak of Oxen into pieces, Jonathan his fon at Gibeah, the City of his naand fending them by messengers over all the tivity: the rest he kept about his own person

at the first. Seven days had Saul to assem- Of Sauls difference in his proceedings in the Wars with the Philistims and Amalekites, which caused his final rejection.

who, could they have obtained any rea. Tonathan with his small Army or Regiment fonable condition, were contented to have I that attended him, taking a time of adfevered themselves from Israel, and to be vantage, surprized a Garrison of Philistims: comeVaffals and Tributarics to the Heathen. the same, as some think, which Saul past by, In the mean while Saul affembled the forces when he came from Rama, when he was first which repaired unto him at Bezec, near anointed by Samuel, which they think to Jordan, that he might readily pass the river; have been Cariath-jearim: because a place which done, he might in one day with a where the Philistims had a Garrison. 1 Sam. 1 Sun 1, speedy march arrive at Jabes, under the Hills 10. is called the hill of God, which they understand of cariath-jearim: but Junius under-The army by Saul led, confifting of three stands this Garrison to have been at Gebab in hundred and thirty thousand, he returned Eenjamin near Gibha, where Jonathan abode an answer to those of Jabes, that they should with his thousand followers. Howsoever, by assure themselves of succour by the next this it appeareth that the Philistims held some day at noon. For, as it feemeth, Sanl march-ed away in the latter part of the day, & went of Sanl, within the Territory of Ifrael and on all night; for in the morning watch he now being greatly inraged by this surprize, furprized the army of Nahas the Ammonite. they affembled thirty throusand armed Cha-And to the, end that he might fer on them riots, and fix thousand Horse, wherewith they & sants. on all sides, he divided his forces into three invaded Judea, and incamped at Machinus parts, putting them to the sword untill the or Michmis, a City of Benjamin, in the direct heat of the day, and the weariness of sauls way from Samaria to Hiernfalem, and in the troop inforced them to give over the pur- middeft of the Land between the Sea and fuit. Now the Ammonites were become the Jordan. With this sudden invasion the Ifmore careless and secure, in that those of raelites were strucken in so great a fear, as Jabes promised the next morning to render some of them hid themselves in the caves of themselves and their City to their mercy. the Mountains, others sled over Jordan After this happy fuccels, the people were fo into Gad and Gilead: Saul himself with some far in love with their new King, that they 2000 men of ordinary, and many other peo-

ple, staid at Galgala in Benjamin, not far some kind of arms, it is manifest, or essether from the passage of Joshua when he led Israel durst not have attempted upon the Phi. over Jordan. Here Saul by Samuels appoint- listims as they did. And it is not said in the ment was to attend the comming of Samuel Text that there was not any fword in all feven days:but when the last day was in part Ifrael, but onely that there was not any found fpent, and that Saul percieved his forces to amongst those 600. fouldiers which staydiminish greatly, he presumed (as some ex- ed with Saul after Samuels departure: and pound the place, 18am. 13.9.) to exercise it seemeth that when Samuel had sharply rethe office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt offering, and a peace of look him, having but 600. remaining of his fering unto God, contrary to the Ecclefiaftical 3000. ordinary fouldiers, and of all the rest Laws of the Hebrews, and Gods Command-that repaired unto him, of which many were ments: others expound the word obtulit, in this fled from him before Samuel arrived. place, by obtulit per Sacerdotem, and so make the fin of Saul not to have been any intrusion his own City of Gibeah, as a place of more into the Priests office, but first a disobedience strength, and better assured unto him, than to Gods Commandment, in not staying ac- Gilgal was Neither is it obscure how it should cording to the appointment, 1 Sam. 10. 8. fe- come to pass that the Philistims should thus condly, a deffidence or miltrust in Gods help, and too great relying upon the strength of sover in the time of samuel much had been the people, whose departing from him he done against them. For the victories of Sacould not bear patiently: and lastly, a Con- muel were not got by sword or spear, but by tempt of the holy Prophet Samuel, and of the thunder from Heaven; and when these crasshelp which the prayers of fo godly a man men were once rooted out of the Cities of might procure him. But what foever was his Israel, no marvel if they could not in a 15am. 13, fin, not with standing his excuses, he was by Sa- short peace under Samuel be replanted amuel reprehended most sharply, in terms un- gain. For this tyranny of the Philistims is fitting his estate, had not extraordinary war- to be understood, rather of the precedent rant been given to Samuel fo to do, from times, than under Samuel: and yet under God himself; at which time also samuel fear- him is to be thought that by their crafts they ed not to let him know, that the Kingdom proceeded in the policy, not suffering their should be conferred to another (a man after Artificers to teach the Ifraelites, and so even Gods own heart) both from saul and his to the times of saul kept them from having posterity.

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weapon to defend themselves withall, save vid himself slew the Gyant Goliah. onely in the hand of Saul and Jonathan his While the State of If ael flood in the chard

any store of armour. The same policy did After this, Samuel and Saul returned to Gi- Nebuchodonofor wie after his Conquest in Jubeah, where Saul, when he had taken view dea: Dionifius in Sicily, & many other Princes of his army, found it to confift of 600. men: else-where in all ages. But these lost weapons for the most were fled from him and scat- in part the Ifraelites might repair in Gilead, tered, yea and among those that staid, there for over fordan the Philistims had not invadwas not any that had either fword or spear, ed. The rest of their desences were such as but Saul and his son Jonathan onely. For the antiquity used, and their present necessity Philistims had not left them any smith ministred unto them, to wit, clubs, bows, and in all Israel, that made weapons; besides, slings. For the Benjamites exceeded in calling they that came to Saul, came hastily, and left stones in slings: and that these were the nafuch weapons and armour as they had be- tural weapons, and the first of all nations, it is hind them in their garrisons: for if they had manifest; and so in the first of chronicles the had none at all, it might be much doubted 12. Chapter, it is written of those that came how saul should be able the year before, or to succour David against saul, while he lurk, in some part of this very year, to succour Ja- ed at siklag, That they were weaponed with bes Gilead with 300. and thirty thousand bowes, and could use the right and the left hand men, if there had not now been any iron with stones, and with a sling it was that Da-

fon. But howfoever, all the rest of the peoterms, the Philistims having parted their ple were formerly disarmed by the Piviliftims, army into three troops, that they might spoil and all those crafts-men carried out of and destroy many parts at once, Jonathan, the land that made weapons: there being strengthened by God, and followed with left unto the Israelites onely files to sharpen his Esquire only, scaled a mountain, whereon & amend such stuff as served for the Plough, a company of Philistims were lodged: the sat and for nought else : yet that they had rest of their army (as may be gathered by in

the fuccess) being encamped in the plain ad- the living God. Therefore did Samuel now In which confusion, fear, and jealousie, they rant how severely it pleased God to enjoyn flaughtered one another in flead of enemies: the Ifraelites to revenge themselves upon whereupon those Hebrews which became of that Nation, he was in all unexcusable. For their party, because they feared to be spoi- God had commanded that the Ifraelites be led by them, took the advantage of their should put out the remembrance of Amalec from bers. And lastly, saul himself taking know- decessors of this sign gusted against the lifrae-ledge of the rout and disorder, together lites, especially on those which were overwith those Ifraelites that shrouded them- wearied, faint, sick, and aged people, was now tion) a most happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that prophesie in *Deuterono* borrowed from the innocent: himself having two of them ten thousand.

patfage: for which Saul his father would have day of his death. put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of Saul and Philistims remembrance their former overthrow, likewise miraculous in the daies of

joyning. And though he were discovered a second time make him know that God before he came to the hill top, and in a kind would cast him from his royal estate, to which of derifion, called up by his enemies: yet he he was raifed when he was of base condition, so behaved himself, as with the aflistance of and, as the Text hath it, little in his own eyes. God he flew 20. of the first Philistims that And though the offence was great in Saul he encountered. Whereupon the next com- for not obeying the voice of God by Samuel, panies taking the alarm, and being ignorant had there been no former precept to that of the cause, fled away amazed altogether, effect: yet seeing saul could not be ignodestruction, and slew of them in great num- under heaven. For the cruelty which the preselves in Mount Ephraim, set upon them, and to be revenged on him, and his Nation, above obtained (contrary to all hope and expecta- 400. years afterward; and now he was to my fulfilled by Jonathan, That one of those also finned in the same kind, as these words which feared God, should kill a thousand, and of Samuel witness: As thy sword hath made other women childless, so shall thy mother be This done, the small Army of Ifrael made childless among other women; at which time 1 Sam 15. retreat from the pursuit. And although samuel himself (after he had been by many 33. saul had bound the people by an oath not to bootless intreaties perswaded to stay a while take food till the evening, yet his fon Jona- with Saul) did cut Agag in pieces before the than, being infeebled with extream labour Lord in Gilgal, and foon after he departed to and emptiness, tasted a drop of honey in his Ramath, and came no more to see Saul until the

Jonathan, feems to have reduced unto the of the occurrents between the rejection of Saul and his death.

Samuel; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the mean while God commanded him to choose a King Saul being now greatly encouraged, under- for Ifrael, among the fons of Ishai: which Satook by turns all his bordering enemies; muel (doubting the violent hand of Saul) namely, the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, feared in a fort to perform, till it pleased and the Arabians of Zobah, against all which God to direct him, how he might avoid both he prevailed. He then affembled all the for- the suspition, and the danger. And if samuel ces he could make to wit 210000 men, and knew that it was no way derogating from receiving the commandement of God by sa- the providence of God, that by his cautious muel, he invaded Amalec, wasting and de- care and wisdom he sought to avoid the instroying all that part of Arabia Petrea, and conveniences or dangers of this life: then do the Defart belonging to the Amalekites, from these men mistake the nature of his divine Havilah towards Tigris unto Shur, which ordinance, who neglecting the reason that bordereth Egypt; in which war he took A- God hath given them, do no otherwise avoid gag their King prisoner. But whereas he was the perils and dangers thereof, than as men instructed by Samuel to follow this Nation stupisfied in the opinion of fate or destiny, without compassion, because they first of all neglecting either to beg counsel at Gods attempted Israel, when they left Agypt in hands by prayer, or to exercise that wildom Moses time: he notwithstanding did not on- or forelight, wherewith God hath enriched ly spare the life of Agag, but reserved the the mind of man for his preservation. Neibest of the beasts, and spoil of the Country, ther did the all-powerful God (who made with pretence to offer them in facrifice to and could destroy the world in an instant)

disdain

fury of Saul, by the accustomed cautious undertook to desie the whole Hoste of Israel.

The fecond Book of the first Part

rected, made choice of David, the youngest, him hand to hand; offering condition, that having refused Eliab, the first born: who the party vanquished in Champion, should though he were a man of a comely person & hold it self as overcome in gross, and become great strength; yet unto such outward ap- vassal unto the other. This gave occasion to pearance, the Lord had no respect. For as it young David, whom Samuel by Gods ap-1 Sam. 10. is written, God feeth not as wan feeth, &c. but pointment had annointed, to make a famous the Lord beholdeth the heart. He also refu- entrance into publique notice of the people. fing the other fix brethren, made choice of For no man durst expose himself to encounone whom his father had altogether negle- ter the great strength of Goliah, until David Cted, and left in the field to attend his flock; (fent by his father of an errand to the Camp) for of him the Lord faid to Samuel, Arife and accepted the combat, and obtained the vianoint him, for this is he: which done, Samuel ctory, without other arms, offensive or defendeparted and went to Ramath. Neither was five, than a fling, wherewith he overthrew it long after this that Saul began to feek the that haughty Giant, and after with hisown life of David: in which bloody mind he con- Sword strook off his head. Hereupon the tinued till he died, overcome in battel by Philistims, who should have yielded themthe Philistims.

it feems) the increase of Saul his power pounded, fied without stay; and were pursuthrough many victories by him obtained, ed and flaughtered even to their own gates. whilst they had fitten still and forborn to By this victory the Philistims were not so give impediment to his prosperous courses, broken, that either any of their Towns were thought it good to make new trial of their lost, or their people discouraged from infestfortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs, ing the Territories of Ifrael. But David, by which they had done to Israel, might be re- whom God had wrought this victory, fell paied with advantage, if ever opportunity into the grievous indignation of his Master should serve their often injured neighbours saul, through the honour purchased by his against them, as lately it had done against well-deserving. For after such time as the spi-Moab, Ammon, and the rest of their ancient rit of God departed from Saul, and came uphad reason to think themselves equal, if not Priest Abimelech fed David in his necessity fuperiour to Ifrael. The fuccess of their for- with hallowed bread, and armed him with a mer wars had, for the most part, been agree- fword of his own conquest, taken from Goliable to their own wishes: as for late disasters, abs Saul not only by his wicked Edomite Dog they might, according to humane wisdom, murthered this Abimelech and 85. Priests of impute them to fecond causes; as to a tempest | Nob, but also he destroyed the City, and whereby their Army, possessed with a need- woman, both child and suckling, both 0x and less fear, had fallen to rout. Having therefore Ass, and Sheep. And he that had compasmustered their forces, and taken the field, fion on Agag the Amalekite, who was an eencamping so neer to the Army, which King nemy to God and his people, and also spa-Saul drew forth against them, that they could red and preserved the best of his Cattel, heaven were to be feared. Goliah of Gath, a nying David his daughter, whom he had

disdain here to instruct samuel, to avoid the strong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man. provoking them with despightful words, to Of the fons of Ilhai, Samuel, by God di- appoint a Champion that might fight with felves as subjects to the Conquerour, accor-The Philistims having well considered (as ding to the covenant on their own side proenemies. Now for the quality of their Souldi- on David, he then became a cruel Tyrant, I Sanil ers, and all warlike provisions, the Philistims faithless, and irreligious. Because the High 13happing by chance, and to a militaken alarm, finote with the edge of the fivord both man and is. not easily depart without the trial of a bat- contrary to the Commandement and Orditel, each part kept their ground of advan-nance of God, both by Moses and Samuel, tage for a while, not joyning in gross, but had not now any mercy in store for the maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both innocent, for the Lords servants, the Priests of them to pass the Valley that lay between of Israel. Yea, he would have slain his own 13. their Camps. Just causes of fear they had on son Jonathan, for pitying and pleading Daboth fides; especially the Philistims, whose wids innocency; as also once before for talate attempts had been confounded by the sting the honey, when his fainting for hunger angry hand of God. Upon this occasion per- made him forget his fathers unreasonable haps it was, that they fought to decide the commination. The companions of cruelty are matter by fingle combat, as willing to try in breach of faith towards men, and implety one mans person, whether any stroak from towards God. The former he shewed in depromised

columns to Cedrenus Theophilus, and Josephus. But yet it under their obedience, calling themselves (s. Theoph. seemeth to me, that after the death of Samuel, generally by one name, and yet every seve-Nabal, and Abigail, after which the death of of her first planters. Saul quickly enfued.

had beaten the Ammonites with their neigh- for his knowledge in Aftronomy & Philosophy. and pride of the Philistims.

6. VI.

Of fuch as lived with Samuel and Saul; of Hellen, and Hercules, and of their issues: upon occasion of the Dores, with the Heraclida, entring Peloponnesus about this time.

promifed him; and again in taking her away | are who place before him Latinus Silvius, as from him to whom he had given her: also brother to Posthumus, calling him the fifth in that when as David had twice spared his from Aneas, and fourth King of Alba, wherelife in the Territory of Ziph, and Saul twice of I will not frand to dispute. In the eleventh fworn to do him no hurt, and confessed his of Samuel, Dercilas sate in the Throne of Assert errours, yet he fought still to destroy him, by ria, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruall the means he could. His impiety towards led that Empire forty years. In this age of \$400 God he shewed, in that he sought counsel of muel the Dores obtained Peloponnesus, and at the Witch of Endor, which was the last pre- once with the Heraclida, who then led and parative for his destruction. For whereas commanded the Nation, possess a great part when he fought counsel from God, he had thereof,328. years before the first olympiad, been alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of according to Diodorus and Eratofthenes. For the Devil this success followed, that both all Greece was anciently possessed by three himself, and his three sons, with his nearest Tribes or Kindreds, viz. the Ionians. Dorians. and faithful fervants, were all flaughtered by and Eolians: at length it was called Hellas, the Philifims: his body with the bodies of and the people Hellenes, of Hellen the fon of his fons (as a spectacle of shame and disho- Deucation , Lord of the Country of Pthiotis nour) were hung over the vvalls of Bethfan; in Theffaly. But before the time of this Hellen, and there had remained till they had found yea, and long after, Greece had no name comburial in the bowels of ravenous birds, had monto all the Inhabitants, neither were the not the grateful Gileadites of Jabes stoln people called Hellenes, till such time as parttheir carcasses thence, and interred them. This ly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly vvasthe end of Sanl, after he had governed by the Plantation of many Colonies, and fun-Ifrael, together with Samuel, 40, years, and dry great victories obtained, the iffues of by himself after Samuel 20. years, according Hellen had reduced much of the Country Saul did not rule very long: For in the be- ral Nation after some one of the posterity of ginning of the 25. chapter, it is vvritten, that Hellen, who had raigned over it. And be-Samuel died; and in the rest of the same cause this is the farthest antiquity of Greece, chapter, the passages are written of David, it will not be amis to recount the Pedegree

Japetus (as the Poets fable) was the fon of An exceeding valiant man he was, and Heaven and Earth, so accounted, either begave a fair entrance to all those victories cause the names of his Parents had in the which David afterward obtained: for he Greek tongue fuch fignification: or perhaps

bouring Nations; crusht the Syrians, and Japetus begat Prometheus, and Ephimetheus: their adherents; broken the strength of the of whom all men have read that have read Amalekites; and greatly vvafted the power Poets. Prometheus begat Deucalion; and Epimetheus, Pyrrha; Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha reigned in Thejjaly, which was then called Pyrrha (as Cretenfis Rhianus affirmeth) of Pyrrha the Queen. In Deucalions time was that great floud, of which we have spoken elsewhere. Dencalion begat Hellen: whose sons were Xuthus, Dorus, and Æolus: of Dorus and Holus the Dores and Holians had name. The Holes inhabited Beotia. The Dores ha-N the fecond year of Samuel, according to ving first inhabited fundry parts of Thessals, Euschins, was David born: after Codoman, did afterward seat themselves about Parnaslater, and in the ninth year: after Bunting, in Jus, and finally became Lords of the Counthe tenth. For David, faith he, was thirty tries about Lacedamon: Xuthus the eldeft fon years old when he began to reign: whence of Hellen, being banished by his brethren, it followeth, that he was born in the tenth for having diverted from them to his own of the forty years, which are given to Samuel use some part of their Fathers goods, came and Saul. About the eleventh year of Samuel, to Athens: where marrying the Daughter of Eneus Silvius the fon of Posthumus began King Ericiheus, he begat on her two sons, his reign over the Latines in Alba, who go- Achaus and Ion. Of these two, Achaus, for a verned that State one and thirty years. There flaughter by him committed, fled into Pelo-

ponnesus: and seating himself in Laconia, gave name to that region: from whence (as of his Grand-father in Thessalie.

Eumolous the Thracian invaded Attica, did Erymanthus in Arcadia: the fifth was the obtain a great Victory, and thereby fuch cleaning of Angias his Oxe-stall in one day. love and honour of the people, that they which he performed by turning the River committed the ordering of their State into Alphews into it: the fixt was the chafing away his hands. He divided the Citizens into of the Birds from the Lake Stymphalis the Tribes, appointing every one to some occu- seventh was the fetching a Bull from crete: pation, or good course of life. When the the eighth was the taking of the Mares which people multiplied, he planted Colonies in Sy- Diomedes King of Thrace fed with humane cionia, then called Agialos or Agialia: In flesh: the ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the which Country Solimus then reigning, Queen of the Amazons: the three last were. thought it fafer to give his Daughter Helice to fetch Gerion's Beeves from Gades; the in marriage to Ion, and make him his Heir, golden Apples of the Heferidas; and Certhan to contend with him. So Ion married berns from Hell. The Mythological interpre-Helice, and built a Town called by his Wives tation of these I purposely omit, as bothoname in Ægialia, where he and his posterity ver-long to be here set down, and no less reigned long, and (though not obliterating | perplexed than the labours themselves. For the old name) gave to that Land denomina- fome by Hercules understand Fortitude, tion. But in after times the Dores affifting Prudence, and Constancy, interpreting the the Nephews of Hercules , invaded Pelopon- Monsters, Vices. Others make Hercules the nesus, and overcomming the Acheans, pos- sun, and his travels to be the twelve signes seffed Laconia, and all those parts which the of the Zodiac. There are others who apply Achei, had formerly occupied. Hereupon his Works historically to their own conthe Achei driven to feek a new feat, came ceits; as well affured, that the exposition unto the Iones, desiring to inhabit Agialia, cannot have more unlikelihood, than the with them, and alleged in vain, that Ion and Acheus had been brethren. When this re- and other Towns, being affifted by such as quest could not be obtained, they sought by either admired his vertues, or were beholdformed; but they loft their King Tifamenes, the fon of Orestes, in that War.

Thus were the Iones driven out of Peloponnesus, and compelled to remove into Atinto Asia, and peopled the Western coast thereof; on which they built twelve Cities, least without any universal or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the Iones have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. years after the War of Troy, and 60. years after the descent of the Heraclida into Peloponnesus. These Heraclida were they of whom the Kings of Sparta issued; which race held that Kingdom about 700, years. Of their Father Hercules many strange things are delivered unto us by the Poets of which fome are like to have been true, others percd thefe 12. great labours.

First he slew the Nemean Lyon: secondly, he flew the ferpent Hydra, which had nine fome write) he afterwards departed; and heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew levying an Army, recovered the Kingdom in the place: the third was the overtaking a very fwift Hart: the fourth was the taking Ion being General for the Athenians when of a wild Bore alive, which hanted mount fables. That he took Elis, Pylus, O Echalia, force to expel the Ionians, which they per- | ing unto him; Also that he slew many Theeves and Tyrants, I take to be truely written, without addition of Poetical vanitv. His travels through most part of the World, are, or may feem, borrowed from tica, from whence after a while they failed | Hercules Libycus. But fure it is that many Cities of Greece were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his endeavours to inhabited by them, even to this day, at the the common good J delivered the Land from much oppression. But after his death, no City of Greece (Athens excepted) requiinto Asia hath been mentioned of all which ted the vertue and deserts of Hercules, with constant protection of his Children, persecuted by the King Eurystheus. This Eurystheus was Son of Sthenelus, and grand-child of Perseus; he reigned in Mycena, the mightiest City then in Greece. He it was that imposed those hard tasks upon Hercules, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madness he had committed upon his haps must be allegorically understood. But own children; but as others say, because he the most approved Writers think that there was his Subject and Servant: wherefore were many called Hercules , all whose ex- there are who commend Eurystheus for emploits were by the Greeks ascribed to the ploying the strength of Hercules to so good fon of Alemena, who is said to have perform- a purpose. But it is so generally agreed by the best Writers, that Hercules was also of

which appeared more and more in the dangerous services, wherein he was imployed. to that he grew great in reputation and power through all Greece; and had by many Wives and Concubines above threefcore the iffue of Pelops had reigned after the death of Eurystheus four generations.

of Homer and Hesiod, and many changes in the World, that happened about this Age.

Poet Homer lived, as many of the best name plantations, came to visit him, near 240. Chronologers affirm. He was by race of the years after Troy taken. Herodotus finds Ho-Her. in vi-Meones, descended (as Functius imagineth) mer flourishing 622; years before Xerxes en: 416.

the flock of Perseus, and holden in great of Berosus his Anamaon, who gave name to Fund jealousie by Eurystheus because of his vertue, that people. But this Functions imagineth Chro fel. Homer the Poet to have been long after these times, rashly framing his Era according to (a) Archilochus in the tract, or rather frag- (4) This ment de temporibus; and makes seven more Author of this name to have flourished in divers Ci- with Bereny Wives and Concluding above the distribution of the Children Euryfibeus would ties in Greece. Whence, perhaps, fprang farand of Children Euryfibeus would ties in Greece. Whence, perhaps, fprang farand of Children Euryfibeus the distribution of Children Euryfibeus would ties in Greece. Whence, perhaps, fprang farand of Children Euryfibeus would ties in Greece. fain have got into his power, when Hercules the diversity of opinions, both of the time, at Biffs, was dead: but they fled unto Cerx King of and of the native City of Homer. According and after Thracinia, and from him (for he durst not to this Archilochus, Functius sinds Homer a-with Fryer Amelius withstand Eurystheus) to Athens. The Athe- bout the time of Manaffe King of Juda, and his Comnians not only gave them entertainment, Numa of Rome. He was called Melefgenes ment at but lent them aid, wherewith they encounfrom the place of his birth, and at length is ment. but lent them and, whetevard they encount tred Euryfteus. Idolaus the brothers fon of Homer, because blind men follow a guide, féin.

Hercules, who had assisted him in many of which signification among others, is in the water, but the fignification among others, is in the water, but the fignification among others is in the water. his travels, was Captain of the Heraclidae. It Verb oussein: for this Homer in his later time ceth Ho is said of him, that being dead he obtained was blind. * Clemens Alexandrinus recites mer in the leave of Pluto to live again till he might re- many different opinions touching the quefti- ration in venge the injuries done by Eurystheus: whom on of the time when Homer lived. So also the time when he had flain in battel, he died again. (b) Aulus Gellius, and Tatianus Affyrius in his Servine-It feems to me, that whereas he had led Co- Oration ad gentes. Paterculus reckons that tum, t. 5. lonies into Sicily, and abode there a long Homer flourished 950. years before the Con- (b) Not. time forgotten: he came again into Greece Julfhip of Marcus Vinutius: which Mercator c. 11, item. to affift his Coufins, and afterwards returned | cafteth up in the Worlds year 3046. and af-1. 17.8.21. back. When the Peloponnessans understood ter Troy taken, about 260. years: and about that Euryscheus was slain, they took Atreus 250. years before the building of Rome; the Son of Pelops to their King: for he was making him to have slourished about the rich, mighty, and favoured of the People. time of Jehosaphat King of Juda. But Clemens Against him the Heraclida marched under Alexandrinus & Tatianus above named, men-Hyllus, the fon of Hercules. But to avoid tion Authors that make him much antienter. effusion of bloud, it was agreed, that Hyllus The difference of which Authors in this should fight with Echenics King of the Tegea- point is not unworthy the Readers considete, a people of Arcadia, who affifted Atreus; | ration, that by this one instance he may with condition, that if Hyllus were Victor, ghesse of the disticulty, and so pardon the he should peaceably enjoy what he chal- errours in the computations of ancient time: lenged as hisright: otherwise the Heracli- seeing in such diversity of opinions a man de should not enter Peloponnesus in an hun- may hardly find out what to follow. For dred years. In that combat Hyllns was flain, Crates the Grammarian (as Clemens Alexanand the Heraclide compelled to forbear drinus reports) gave being to Homer about their Country, till the third generation: at 80. years after Troy taken, near the time that which time they returned under Aristode- the Heraclidae returned into Peloponnesus : mus (as the best authority doth shew , and * Eratostenes after Troy 100. years. Theo- * As both though some have said, that they came under the conduct of his Children) and said its conduct of his Children) and said into Phryoia for the War of Troy. End of the said that they came under the conduct of his Children) and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children) and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children) and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of his Children and said said that they came under the conduct of the children and said that they came under the children and said they came under the chi brought with them the Dores whom they phorion makes him contemporary with Gp-porthis oplanted in that Country, as is before shew | ges, who began to reign in the 18. Olympiad pinion Reed, having expelled the Achai, over whom (which was 45, years after Rome was built) Phil. 42. and sofibius faith, that he was 90. years be- Rof in dife. fore the first Olympiad : which he feeks to remporam. prove by the times of Charillus and his fon com, in Nicander. Philechorus placeth him 180. af- Archilog ter Troy: Aristarchus 140. in the time of the feating of the Colonies in Ionia. Apollodorus affirms that he lived while Agellaus governed Lacedamon; and that Lycurgus in his Bout this time that excellent learned | young years, about 100, years after the 10-

aldus accounteth at 168. years after the Tro- rifion whereof Lucian feigning himself to jan War. Enfebius feems to make him to have been in Hell, and to have spoken with fome place him in the time of Samuel, and came in his head fo to do. others in the end of David, and others in o- It feemeth that Senyes, or, after Macrobia dry opinions touching the time when Homer ceded Vaphres, Father in law to Solomon, lived, he reckoneth many other Greek Wri- About the end of Sauls government or

sic. 1. 3. c. elder, it is also much disputed. Aulus Gelli- years before David's time) there were many imag. I. i. certain which of these learned Fablers was the Latines: in the South part of Greece, chron cass first born: but he finds that they lived toge- those of Lacedamon, Corinth, and the Achei. 1.1. annal. ther some certain years, wherein he con- In Arabia, Syria, Soba, and Damascus, the Trevit, and left by Hefiod in Helicon.

gan his Iliads with the word Menin, as per- and paid him tribute.

terprise against the Grecians: which Bero-haps containing some great mystery. In dehave been about the time of Joas King of Ju- Homer, there asked him the cause why he beda, 124. years before Rome built: though gan his book with that word: who answeelsewhere in his Chronology he notes that red, That he began in that fort, because in

ther Ages. In his Evangelical Preparation, us, Senemires ruled Egypt at this time: for where out of Tatianus Alyrius he citeth fun- Tanephersobris was his Successiour, who pre-

ters more ancient than Homer; as Linus, in the beginning of Davids time, according English Philammon, Epimenides, Phemius, Ariftaus, to Caffiodorus, the Amazones with the Cym chine. Orpheus, Museus, Thamyras, Amphion, and merians invaded Asia, Latinus Sylvius then ruling in Italy. And besides the overthrow Now whether Homer or Hefiodus were the of that Famous State of Troy (which fell 102. us reports that Philochorus and Xenophanes other changes in the middle part of the affirm, that Homer preceded Hefiod: and on World, not only by reason of those Northern the contrary, that Inc. Accius the Poet, and Nations: but there fprung up somewhat Ephorus the Historian, make Hefiod of an el- nearly together, fix Kingdoms into greatder time than Homer. Varro leaves it un ness, not before erected. In Italy that of firms himself by an Epigram, written upon a Adads made themselves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and end; Cornelius Nepos reports that they both ed with the Kings of Ifrael in effect: and lived 160. years before Rome built: while | somewhat before these, the State of the 15-(a) This the Silvii reigned in Alba, about (a) 140. raelites having now altered the Form of Goyears after the fall of Troy. (b) Euthymenes vernment, began to flourish under Kings, of finds them both 200. years after Troy taken, which David, in a few years, became master and reads in the time of Acastus the son of Pelias, King of all those neighbouring Nations, who by 240.for it. of Thessay. For my selt, I am not much trou-enterchange of times had subjected the Juin clr. a bled when this Poet fived; neither would deans, corrupted their Religion, and held pud. Clem. I offend the Reader with these opinions, but them under in a most abject and grievous Alex. Strom. 5. only to shew the uncertainty, and disagree- slavery; to wit, the Edumeans, Moabites, ment of Historians, aswel in this particular, Ammonites, Midianites, Ituraans, and the as in all other questions and dispute of time. rest of the Arabians, with the Philistims, Je-For , the curiofity of this mans age is no less busites, Geshurites, Macathites; all which acridiculous, than the inquifition why he be-knowledged David for their Soveraign Lord,



CHAP. XVII. Of DAVID.

9. I.

of Davids estate in the time of Saul.

HE hazzards which David ran | Goliah in the view of both Armies, whereby into while he was yet only de- he became known to saul, and so highly affigned King, and lived as a fected of Jonathan the son of Saul, that he private man, expecting the loved him as his own foul: Infomuch as when Empire, were very many. The saul fought to perswade his son that David first personal act of Fame, was his killing of would assuredly be the ruine of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when Philistim, Prince of Geth: where to obscure he pleaded his cause; fonathan could ne-himself, he was forc'd to counterseit both wearied from the care of David's life, and fured among the Philiftims, he covered himwell doing. It was not long after this fignal felf in the Cave of Adullam: and after conact of David, but that Saul became exceed- veying such of his Kinsfolks as were not fit to ing jealous of him, though he were become follow him, into Moab, he hid himself in the Armour-bearer. Saul being vexed with an di, where he cut off the lap of Sauls garment. evil spirit, was advised to procure some cun- and spared his life: as he did a second time him a place of command among the men of profecute him. War. But the jealous Tyrant soon waxed Of Achis David obtained * Siglag in Sime-* It seems

times left him, and yielded unto that Musick, upon his followers mutined, but God gave which God had ordained to be a mean of him comfort, and affurance to recover all amore good to the Musician than to the King. gain: which he did.

ver be perswaded, never forc'd, nor ever simplicity and distraction. But being ill af- 1 Sem. 22. as his houshold fervant, and his Esquire, or defarts of Ziph, Maon, and the Hils of Engad- 1 Sam, 24. ning Musician to play before him upon the in the defart of Zipb, after his passage with Harp; whereby it was thought that he Nabal and Abigail. After which he repaired 1 Saus, 29 might find ease; which came to pass ac- to Achis of Geth the second time, and was cordingly. He entertained David for this kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred Jamfen, in purpose, and began to favour him, giving with which his Master Saul was known to real

weary of his good affection, and fought to on, pretending to invade Judea: but he eth that kill David, being thereunto moved only bent his forces another way, and strook the verob. through envy of his Vertue. This passion, Amalekites, with other enemies of Israel, let-tained first brake forth in the midst of his raving | ting none live to complain upon him. Achie Siglag till fit, at which time he threw a spear at David supposing that David had drawn bloud of for it is that was then playing on his Harp to do his own Nation, thought himself assured of said in the him : and therefore preparing to invade c. 27. v.6. conferences remembreth one Asclepius a Israel, summoneth David to assist him, who therefore Physician, who practifed the curing of the dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing siglar per-Frenzy, by the like Musick: and tempered thereto. But the rest of the Philistim Prin-unto the thereby those diseases which grew from past- ces knowing his valour, and doubting his King of fion. That Pythagoras did also the like by disposition, liked not his company, and this day, fuch a kind of harmony, Seneca, in his third therefore he withdrew himself to Siglag. book of Anger witnesseth. But the madness At his return he found the Town burnt, his of Saul came from the cause of causes: and two Wives, with the Wives and Children of was thereby incurable, howfoever it some- his people, taken by the Amalekites: Here-

sail having failed in such open attempts, This Army of the Philistims commanded gave unto David the command over 1000. by Achis, encountred Saul at Gilbos, in which Souldiers to confront the Philistims withall. he and his three sons were slain. The newes, For he durst not trust him as before, about with saul's Crown and Bracelets, were his person, fearing his revenge. Now the brought to David at Siglag, in his return better to cover his hatred towards him, he from being victorious over Amaleck, by a 25 dm. 1. promifed him his Daughter Merab to Wife: man of the same Nation, who avowed but having married her to Adriel, he gave (though fallly) that himself at Saul's request to David his younger Daughter Michol, but had flain him. David, because he had accuwith a condition, to present him with an sed himself, made no scruple to cause him to hundred foreskins of the Philistims: hoping be flain at the instant: and the sooner, berather (in respect of the valour of that Natis cause the probabilities gave strong evidence on) that the Philistims would take David's withal. Otherwise it followeth not that evehead, than he their foreskins. This hope ry man ought to be believed of himself to his failing, when as now David's Victories be- own prejudice. For it is held in the law; Con- In F. de gat new fears and jealousies in Saul, he fessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato quast. 1. 1. practised with Jonathan, and afterwards crimine, nist approbatio alia instruit religiowith his own hands attempted his life, but nem cognoscentis. The prisoners confession his purposes were still frustrated. After all must not be taken for an evidence of the crime, this he fought to murther him in his own unless some other proof inform the conscience house, but Michol his Wife delivered him. of the Judge. For a man may confess those So David sought Samuel at Ramah, and being things of himself, that the Judge by exa-15400, 19 pursued by Saul, fled thence unto Nob in mination may know to be impossible. But Benjamin, to Abimeleck, then to Achis the because it is otherwise determined in the

title de custodia reorum l. si confessus, & in membred by Herodotus, 300. being chosen of cap.de panis l. qui sententiam, therefore doth each Nation, of which number three persons the Gloss reconcile these two places in this were only lest unstain. The like tryal by a far fort: Si quis in judicio sponte de seipso consi- less number was performed by the Horatii teatur, & postea maneat in consessione, id est and Curiatii, for the Romans and Latines. The fatis. If any man in judgement do confess of same challenge Goliah the Philistim made. himself, of his own accord, and after doth per- whom David slew:a custom very antient. Edfevere in his confession, it is enough. That ward the third offered the like tryal in his David greatly bewailed Saul, it is not im- own person to the French King; and Francis probable; for death cutteth afunder all com- the French King to Charles the Emperour. petition: and the lamentable end that befel There were twelve chosen of each part in this him being a King, with whom in effect the war of David with the house of Saul, to wit, strength of Ifrael also fell, could not but stir so many of Benjamin, and as many of Juda: up forrow, and move compassion in the heart whose force and valour was so equal, as there of David.

ten, was fo great, that some Towns of the If- my of Juda prest Abner in gross, and brake raelites, even beyond the river of fordan, him. Three hundred and fixty men of Abners were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and left companions were flain, and but twenty of que unto the enemy, who took possession of them da; whereof Asabel the brother of Josh without any relistance made. Wherefore it was one: who when he would needs pursue may feem strange, that a Nation so warlike Abner, and by Abners perswasions could and ambitious as were the Philiftims, did not not be moved to quit him, he was forced to follow their fortune with all diligence, and turn upon him, wounded him to death with it feems, that the civil war immediately were an excellent foot-man, and, as it is breaking out between David and the house written in the Text as light as a wild Rocand of Saul, wherein Juda was divided from as Josephus reporteth, contended not onely the rest of Isreal, gave them hope of an easie with men, but with horses; and hoped to victory over both; and thereby caused them have gotten great same if he could have mato attempt nothing at the present, left by so steered Abner (who, as Afabel perswaded himdoing they should enforce their disogreeing self, had by being overthrown, and flying arather to permit that the one part should true, That the race is not to the swift. confirme the other, by which means both the | That this civil war lasted two years, we rest is victors, and the vanquished, would become find it written in the second of samuel, a prey to the violence of fuch as had beaten the fecond Chapter; though in the beginning them, when their forces were united.

made by Abner for Isboseth.

manded for Saul in the War, fought to grew jealousie between him and Isboseth for advance Isboseth (or Jebostus, according Sauls Concubine: neither did the death of to Josephus) though he had no right to the Isboseth instantly follow; but how long after Kingdom of Ifrael: for Mephiboseth the first the murther of Abner it happened, the same fon of Jonathan lived. Against this Abner doth not certainly appear. and Isboseth, David made a defensive war, till Abner past Jordan, and entred the border of Juda; at which time he fent Joab with fuch forces as he had, to refift Abner: Of the death of Abner flain by Joab, and of Is-Isboseth remaining in Gilead, and David in Hebron. The armies encountred each other near Gibeon, where it feemeth that Abner made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that combate be- endure a companion in Davids Favour,

furvived not any one to challenge the victo-The victory which the Philistims had got- ry. But the quarrel staid not here, for the Arfeek to make the Conquest entire. Most like the stronk of his spear. For though Afahel som is enemies to a necessary reconciliation; but way, lost his courage) yet here it fell out golds.

of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter refteth still in dispute, and some of the Rabbines conceive that Isbo-Of the beginning of Davids reign, and the war feth had then reigned two years, when this was written, the War as yet continuing a longer time. For Abner held for the party of Fter the death of Saul, Abner, who com- Isboseth after this, and till such time as there

> 6. III. boseth by Rechab and Baanah.

A Ener, reconciled to David, was anon samin by Joab murdered; for Joab could not tween the Lacedemonians and the Argives, re- and in the commandment of his forces; by

san 3. viah, be too hard for me. In this fort Da: last time anointed by general consent. wid complained after Abners death; and to make it clear that he hated this fact of Josh, he followed him with this publike imprecation; Let the blood fall on the head of Joah, and on all his fathers house : and let them be subject to ulcers, to the leprosie, to lameness, to the fword, and to poverty, &c. For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murther committed by Joab might cufing the overfight by which he might feem fo against David. to have perished, by affirming that he dyed When he had now possess himself of the venot like a fool, nor a man vanquished, But as ry heart and Center of the Kingdom, and aman falleth before wicked men, so (saith he) received congratulatory Embassadours and confusion. For all under the sun are subject in Hebron where he reigned 7. years, to worldly miseries and misadventures. How- The Philistims hearing that David was now presenting his head to David, received the he called the place Baalperazim.

which he was grown so powerfull, as David same reward that the Amalekite lately did. forbare to call him to account: for thus for pretending to have flain Saul. Isbofeth, bemuch he confesseth of himself; I am this ing dead, all the Elders of Israel repaired to day weak, and these men, the Sons of Zer- David at Hebron, where he was the third and

> 6. IV. Of the flourishing time of Davids Kingdom, the taking of Jerusalem, with two overthrows given to the Philistims, and the conduction of the Ark to the City of David.

W Hen David was now established in the Kingdom, his first enterprise was greatly have indangered Davids estate, Ab- upon the Jebusites, who in derision of his ner being the mouth and trust of all the rest force, and confident in the strength of of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mifthe place (as is thought) manned their chance therefore David openly bewailed, fo walls with the blind and lame of their Cithat all Ifrael perceived him to be innocent ty; which David foon after entred, all of that fact. The place which Abner held, their other forces not with standing. For habeing general of the men of war, was of ving maftered the fort of zion (which was fuch importance, that the Kings themselves afterward the City of David) he became a same si were fain to give them great respect, as hath Lord of Hierusalem, without any great danbeen already shewed more at large. This ger, expelling thence the Jebusites, who had office Joah held in the army of Juda, and held it from the foundation, to the times of thought himself worthy to hold the place en- Moses and Joshua, and after them almost 400. tire if once his Lord might obtain the whole years. There are who expound this place,o-Kingdom. For he was near to David in therwise: Except thou take away the blind and kindred, and had been partaker of all his the lame, thou shalt not come in hither, For adversity; wherefore he did not think it somethink that it was meant by the Idols of meet, that an old enemy should in reward the Jebusites: others, that it had reference to of new benefits, be made his partner. In-the Covenant made long before with Isaac, deed he was by nature fo jealous of his dig-nity and place, that he afterward flew Aage, the other made lame by vyrestling viith masa his own kinsman, and the Kings, up-the Angel, and that therefore till those on the same quarrel, taking it in high disdain (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, David to see him joyned with himself as captain of ought not to molest them. But for my self, the host of Juda; much less could be brook I take it with Josephus, that they armed their a superiour; and such a one as had slain walls with certain impotent people at first, his brother, and been beaten himself, in in scorn of Davids attempt. For they that battel. But how foever Joab did hate or def- had held their City about 400. years against pife Abner, David esteemed highly of him all the children of Israel, Joshua, the Judges, as of a Prince, and a great man in Ifrael, ex- and Saul, did not doubt burto defend it al-

didest thou fall. And certainly it is no error presents from Hiram King of Tyre: he enterof wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him, tained divers other concubines, and married whom a stronger hand destroyed unawares, moe wives, by whom he had ten sons in Jeor whom subtilty in free trust bringeth to rusalem, and by his former wives, he had six

foever Isboseth meant to have dealt with anointed King, as well of Juda as of Ifrael, Abner, yet when he heard of his death, he they thought to try him in the beginning, bedespaired greatly of his estate, and with him fore he was fully warm in his seat. And being all Israel were possess with great fear in so encountred by David at two several times in much as two of Ishofeths own Captains, the Valley of Rephaim, or of the Giants, they 2 San. 5: Rechab and Baanah, murthered Isboseth, and were at both times overthrown. After which

Then

CHAP. XVII

Then David affembled 30000, choice 1/raelites to conduct the Ark of God from the house of Abinadab in Cibea to the City of Da- The overthrow of the Philistims and Moabites! vid; which business was interrupted by the death of Uzzah the fon of Ahinadab, Son after this David overthrew the Phi-whom the Lord flew for prefuming to Sliftims, which made them altogether touch the Ark, though it were with intent to powerless, and unable to make any invasion flay it from taking harm, when it was sha- upon Ifrael in hast. For it is written, 4efices, musick, dances, and all figns of joyful- converts in these words, And David took ness, in which David himself gladly bare a the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Phihim in scorn, That he was uncovered as a fool Amgar was meant the strong City of Gath. in the eys of the maidens his fervants, namely, or Geth, and so the Geneva hath it in the that he forgat his regal dignity both, in ap- marginal note. This City of Gath was the parel and behaviour, and mixed himself a- same which was afterward Dio-Casarea, set mong the base multitude, dancing as fools on the frontier of Palestina, at the entrance do in the ways and ftreets: not that she dis- into Judea and Ephraim. From thence they liked Davids behaviour (as I take it) though | made their incurfions, and thereinto their refhe made it the colour of her derifion; but treat in all their invafions, which being taken rather the aboundant griefe, which this by David and demolished, there was lest no spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of such frontier town of equal strength to the ruines she conceived that the son of Ishai had which Pliny in his first book, and chap. 13. built this his greatness: together with the This exposition is made plain, and confirmed many new wives and concubines imbraced in the first of chro. the 18. fince his possession of Ferusalem, made her break out in those despiteful tearms, for that so greatly afflicted them as the Philiwhich she remained barren to her death.

phet Nathan for the building of the Tem- against them) did not leave one Smith in ple or house of God, but was forbidden it, all their Cities and Villages of that kind, but because he was a man of vvar, and had shed inforc'd them to come down into their terblood. So greatly doth the Lord and King ritory, for all iron work whatfoever they in vain, that he would require the blood of David, were feldom free from paying tribute a man, at the hand of man and beast. The to the Philistims. wars which David had made vvere just, and the bloud therein shed was of the enemies throws: but the war of the Moabites and Aof God, and his Church: yet for this cause rabians came between. In the first of which it was not permitted that his hands should he was indangered by Ishbi-benob, the head lay the foundation of that holy temple, here- of whose spear weighed 300. shekles of brass by it appears how greatly those Princes de- which make nine pound three quarters of ceive themselves, who think by bloud-shed & our poizes: at which time Abishai succoured terror of their wars, to make themselves in David, and slew the Philistim, vvhereupon greatness like to the Almighty, which is a dam- the Counsellours and Captains of David nable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodness, or feek the blessedness promised by our Saviour unto the peace-makers.

Lord to accept a Temple of Davids founding, that hereupon he received both a confirmathat should be established in his feed.

ken. But after three years it was with great cepit franum Amgaris è manu Philiftheo. 25m3 folemnity brought into the City with facri- rum; which place our English Geneva vi, part. Hereupon Michol derided him for listims. The Latin of Junius giveth another dancing before the Ark, and afterward told and a better fence; for by that bridle of her husband to whom the was delivered last- Philistims on that part. The hill whereon Geth Tankila ly by force, and remembring the miserable or Gath stood, the Hebrews call Amma, where casale end of her father and brethren, out of whose of and of the word Gar is made Amgar, of idea.

There was no nation bordering the Jews flims did, who before the time of Saul (to This done, David consulted with the Pro- the end they might not sharpen any weapon of all detest homicide; having threatned, not needed; so as the Israelites till this time of 1548,18

After this he gave them four other over-(lest the light of Israel might by his loss be quenched) vowed that he should not thence forth hazzard himself in any battell. The Now although it was not pleafing to the fecond and third encounter and overthrow of the Philiftims was at Gob, a place neer yet was his religious intent so well accepted, Gesar, and the last at Gath or Geth. And being now better affured of the Philistims by tion of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and the taking of Geth, he invaded Moab, from that happy promise of the everlasting Throne whom notwithstanding in his adversity he fought fuccour, and left his parents with him

in trust. But whether it were the same King The King of Syria, Damascena, and of Da or no, it is not known.

refer the Reader.

§. V I. The war which David made upon the Syrians.

ter his victory than before: feeing that (Ha- chains. But because Roboam made shields of dadezer being taken) he had now left no e- brassin place of these of Hadadezer, at such nemy on his back, either to pursue him, to time as Shicah the Egyptian sack'd the Temple take victuals and supplies from him, or to of Jerujalem, it may be gathered thereby that the passages of the mountains upon him at those of Hadadezer were golden shields. his return.

his border, as afore is faid.

mascus, whereof that region is so called, hea-The Rabbines feign that Moab flew those ring that Hadadezer was overthrown by the kinsfolks of David, which lived under his Ifraelites, fearing his own estate, and the loss protection in Sauls time; but questionless of his own countrey which adjoyned to Sy-David well knew how that Nation had been ria Zoba of Hadadezer, sent for an Army of Aalwaies enemies to Israel, and took all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And as it appeareth, came too late for Hadadezer, he also remembred that in the 23. of Deut. and too soon for themselves: for there pe-God commanded Ifrael, not to feek the peace rished of those supplies 22000. This King of or prosperity of the Moabites; which David Damaseus, Josephus (out of Nicholaus an anwell observed, for he destroyed two parts tient Historian) calleth Adad, who was also of of the people, leaving a third to till the the same name and family as also those other ground. This victory obtained, he led his Adads were: which now began to grow up Army by the border of Ammon towards sy- in greatness, and so continued for ren defria Zobab, the region of Hadadezer the fon of cents, till they were extinguished by the Af-Rehob King thereof. The place is fet down in Syrians, as is shewed heretofore. David having the description of the holy Land: to which I now reduced Damaseus under his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in Edom:having also sackt the adjoyning Cities of Betah, and Berathi, belonging to Hadadezer, of which Cities Ptolomy calleth Betah, Tauba: and Berathi he nameth Barathena, Tohu or 2 Sam, 8, Thoi, whose country of Hamath joyned to A-T is written in the Text : David smote also dadezer (as in the description of the holy Hadadezer, Oc. as he went to recover his Land the Reader may perceive) fent his fon border at the river Euphrates. Now whe- foram to congratulate this success of David: ther the words (as he ment to recover his partly, because he had war with Hadadezer. & border) be referred to David or Hadadezer, partly because he feared David now victoriit is not agreed upon. Junius thinks that the ous. He also presented David with vessels of article (he) hath relation to David, who find- | gold, filver, and bras; all which, together ing Tobu opprest by Hadadezer, overthrew with the golden shields of the Aramites, and the one, and succoured the other. But the the best of all the spoiles of other Nations, ancient and most received opinion, that this David dedicated unto God at his return. recovery hath reference to the Syrian, is Junius translated the words (Clypeas aureas) more probable. For if David had intended by Umbones, as if all the parts of the Targets any such enterprize towards Euphrates, he were not of gold, but the bosses only. The was in far better case to have proceeded af- | Septnagint call them bracelets: Aquila, golden

This done, David fent Embassadours to 2 Sam. 7. Again, seeing David was either to pass Hanum King of the Ammonites, to congrathrough a part of Arabia the defart, or by the tulate his establishment in his fathers Kingplains of Palmyrena, his Army confifting of dom: for David, in the time of his afflictifootmen, for the most, if not all: He had now on under saul, had been relieved by Naboth Horse and Chariots good store to carry | hash, the father of Hanum. But this Amhis provisions through those uncultived pla- monite being ill advised, and over jealous ces, by which he was to have marched before of his estate, used Davids Messengers so barhe could have reached Euphrates, or any part baroufly, and contemptuoufly (by curtaithereof. But we find that David returned to ling their beards, and their garments) as he Gerusalem, after he had twice overthrown thereby drew a War upon himself, which the Syrian Army, not bending his course to- neither his own strength, nor all the ayds wards the river Euphrates, but feeking to e- purchased, could put off or sustain. For stablish his purchases already made. Where- notwithstanding that he had waged three by it may appear, that it was the Syrian, and and thirty thousand Souldiers of the Anot King David, that was going to enlarge malekites, and their confederates; to wit, of the vaffals of Hadadezer twenty thousand.

Bbb 2

3. 14. Iibteb or Theb a country near Gad

280

the North (for which he difbursed a thousand talents) State. Pattor of filver) yet all these great Armies, togewere by Joab and his brother Abifbai easily federacy of Ammon: He sent out Joab the broken and put to ruine: and that without Lievtenant of his Armies to forrage and deany great loss or flaughter at that time. And stroy their territory, and to befiege Rabbab. it is written, that when the Aramites fled, the afterward Philadelphia, which after a while near Gad under the Ammonites also retraited into their Cities, the Israelites mastered and possess. The the one holding themselves within the walls, Kings Crown which weighed a talent of Arnou. Som. 10, the other in their defarts adjoyning, till gold, garnished with precious stones, David Joab was returned to Hierusalem.

fed his Army, affembled his forces again, and City. And though David stayed at Jerusafent all the Companies that he could levy lem, following the war of Vriah his wife, till out of Mesopotamia; who under the com- such time as the City was brought to extremand of Shobach passed Euphrates, and in-mity, and ready to be entred: yet Joab in camped at Helam, on the South fide thereof. honour of David forbare the last assault, and David hearing of this new preparation, af entrance thereof, till his masters arrival. To which Pro- fembled all the ablest men of Ifrael, and the people he used extream rigour (if we tomy calleth Ale marched toward the Syrian Army in Palmy- may to call it being exercised against heamasha near rena, not yet entred into Arabia; to wit, at then Idolaters,) for some of them he tare the toords of Euphys-Helam, a place no less distant from Damascus, with harrows, some he sawed assunder, others towards the North-east, than Jerusalem was he cast into burning kills, in which he baked 2 Sam. 1c. towards the South-west. Now David (speak- tyle and brick. ing humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards Euphrates (which was the farthest off journey that ever he had) because he was now Lord of Damaseus, which lay in the midway. He also possest of Davids troubles in his reign, and of his * See c. 18. himself of * Thadmor or Palmyrena, which Salomon afterward ftrongly fortified; and this City was but one dayes journey from Helam, and the river Euphrates. So had he two sase retraits, the one to Thadmor, and the of our former miseries, and many times of next from thence to Daniascus. In this en- God himself the giver of all goodness; so counter between David and the Sprians, did these changes, in the fortune and state of they lost 40000. horsemen, and 700 chari- this good King, change also the zealous care ots, together with shobach General of their which formerly he had to please God in the Army. The Chronicles call these 40000 precise observation of his Laws and Com-Souldiers, footmen, and fo Junius converts it, mandements: For having now no dangerhave flaughtered 40000. horsemen, except began to be advised by his own humane afthey quitted their horse and sought on soot, sections and vain desires: For he was not So are the chariots taken in this battel, num- onely satisfied to take Vriah's wise from bred at 7000, in the first of Chronicles the him, and touse her by stealth; but he im-

Meanth and of Maachah and Ishtob thirteen thousand poverished, even to the last end of that

fet on his own head, and carried away with Hadadezer hearing that Joab had dismif- him the rest of the riches and spoil of the

s. VII.

forces.

and fo is it very probable. For the Army of ous apparent enemy (against whom he was Ifrael confifting of footmen, could hardly wont to ask counsel from the Lord) he ninth; in which number, as I conceive, all brodered his adultery with Uriah's flaugh-15m. the Souldiers that ferved in them, with the ter, giving order to his trufty fervant Joab to conductors, are included: so as there dyed marshal him in the front or point of those of the Syrians in this war against David, be- Israelites, which gave an assault upon the fore he forc't them to tribute, 100000. foot-fuburbs of Rabba, when there was not as yet men, befides all their horfemen and waggon- any possibility of prevailing. And that which ers, and besides all those that Joab slew, could no less displease God than the rest, he when they fled at the first encounter, was content that many others of his best sertogether with the Ammonites before Rab- vants and fouldiers should perish together bah. Notwithstanding all which, the A- with Oriah, hoping thereby to cover his pardads in following ages gathered strength ticular ill intent against him. After which he again, and afflicted the Kings of Juda began by degrees to fall from the highest of often but the Kings of Ifrael they im- happiness, and his dayes then to come were

filled with joyes and woes interchangeable, ned by the Lord as a punishment of Davids his troden-down forrows began again to fin. foring, and those perils which he had pulled The company which Absalom gathered at 2 Sam, 15 up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an the first were but 200 men: which he car-

after harvest of many cares and discontent- ried with him from Jerusalem to Hebron, prements. And if it had pleafed GOD to tending, though impioufly the performance take the witness of Davids own mouth a- of a vow to God. There when Achitophelregainst him, as David himself did against the paired unto him, and many troops of people Amalekite, which pretended to have flain from all places, he proclaimed himself King Saul he had then appeared as worthy of re- and was by the people (whose hearts God prehension as the other was of the death he had turned from their lawful Prince) acfufficed. For when Nathan the Prophet cepted foreadily, that David doubting to propounded unto him his own errour in the be fet upon on the fudden, durst not trust person of another, to wit, of him that took himself in his own City of Jerusalem, nor in the poor mans sheep that had none else, the any other walled town for fear of surprise: bereaver being Lord of many; He then but incamped in the fields and defarts with rewed it to the living Lord, that fuch a one some 600, of his guard, and few else. The should die the death. And hereof, although Priests he left in Jerusalem with the Ark of it pleased God to pardon David for his life, God, from whom he defired to be advertiwhich remission the Prophet Nathan pro- sed of those things that chanced; to whom nounced; yet he delivered him Gods ju- he directed Hushai his trusty friend, and serflice together with his mercy in the tenour vant, praying him to make himself in all his following; Now therefore the fword shall ne- outward actions and counsels of Absaloms ver depart from thy house, &c. because thou hast party and confederacy, thereby the better taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain to discover unto him the purpoles of Achi-Uriah with the sword of the children of Am- tophel, a revolting Counsellour, whose pramon. Soon after this , David loft the child ctices he greatly doubted. And now when of adultery which he begot on Bersheba. Se- treason was in fashion, Ziba also sought to becondly, his own fon Ammon, being in love tray his mafter Mephibofeth the fon of Jonawith his half fifter Thamar, by the advice of than: And Shimei of the house of saul (the his confin-german the fon of Shimeah Davids fire of whose hatred Davids prosperity had brother, possess there by force: which when smothered, but his adversity illightned) 2 Sam. 16. he had performed, he thrust her from him in holding himself upon the advantage of a a careless and despiteful manner. Two years mountain side, cast stones at David, and most after which foul and incestuous act, Absalom despightfully cursed him to his face: but caused him to be murthered at the feast of David attending no private revenges, forbad his sheep-shearing: not perchance in re- Abishai to pursue him for the present, yet venge of Thamars ravishment alone; but left him among others in the roll of his rehaving it in his heart to usurp the Kingdom, venge, to his fon Salomon. Absalom being now in which, because he could not in any fort be possess of Jerusalem, was advised by Achitoaffured of Ammon, he thought his affairs phel to use his fathers concubines in some greatly advanced by his deftruction. So the fuch publick place, as all Ifrael might affine one brother having ravifhed his own fifter, themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his and then despised her; the other after a long father: whereof being perswaded, they diffembled malice first made his own brother would then resolvedly adhere to Absalom . Sam. 17. drunken, and then flaughtered him, which and his cause, without fear of being given up done, he fled away, and lived under the safe- upon a reconciliation between them. This guard of Talmai King of Geffur, near Da falvage and impious (though crafty counmaseus, who was his grandsather by the mo- sel Achitophel indeed urged for his own rether but a heathen King. Thirdly, when Ab- | spect, as fearing that this rebellion might Jalom by the invention of Joab (but chiefly take end to his destruction, who most of all because of the great affection of David to- other inflamed Absalom against his father. wards his fon) was brought again, first to the And now was it fulfilled that Nathan had di-15cm 14. Kings favour, and then to his presence; he rectly foretold David: I will raise up evill a 2 Scm c. 12. began instantly to practise against David his gainst thee out of thine own house, and will take ". 11. father, feeking by the pretence of common thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to thy neighbour , and he shall the with thy mives

all men, and by detracting from his fathers e- in the fight of the Sun: for thou diddeft it quity, to win unto himself a popular reputa- secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, tion. Here began the great affliction threat- and before the Sun. He also gave advice to

Absalow, that himself with an Army of peared also by the sequel that Joab affected is so. 2 Sam 17, 12000. men might be employed at the in- Adonijah whom he afterward acknowledge. flant for the surprizing of David; which ed, David yet living; and fearing the diffuohad not Husbai Davids faithful servant given advantage offered. counter-advice, and swayed it: perswading Hereof, together with news of the victofalom, and of his own life.

against him, marched away all night, and past him that he had discountenanced his faith-Jordan, possessing himself of Mahanaim in ful servants, who had that day preserved his the Tribe of Gad: the same wherein I/bo- life; inferring that nothing could be more feth himself in the war against David after dangerous to a King, than not onely not to Sauls death feated himself. To which place acknowledge so great a love and constancy there repaired unto him shobi the fon of in his people, who being but few in number, Nabash the Ammonite, whom David loved, did yet resolvedly expose themselves to the same which Josephus calleth shiphar. great perils for his sake: but on the con-And though it be greatly disputed, what this trary, grieve and lament at their good success. For, no doubt, they might all have verthrow: in thankfulness whereof he re. hated his friends; and that he witnessed by lieved David in this his extremity. There this his mourning, that he had not any rephiboseth, and among others Barzillai the Gi- had all perished, and Absalom lived, than in

company. low prepared to fight; Absalow made Ama- That if the King came not out and shewed sa Commander of the Army of Israel, the himself publickly to his men of war, that fame place which Joab held with David; an they would all that very night abandon office next the King himself, like unto that him, and return: concluding with this fearful France. David, perswaded by his company, than all the evil that fell on thee from thy stayed in Mahanaim, and disposed the forces youth hitherto. By these over-bold and arrohe had to Joab, Abishai, and Ittai, giving them gant speeches (though perchance uttered charge in the hearing of all that issued out with a good intent) Joab raised David from of the port of Mahanaim, that they should his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the spare the life of Absalom. But Joab, besides gates of the City among the people, whom that he was very cruel by nature, remem- he affured of his love and affection, especialbred that Absalom had lately disposed of his ly Amasa, who commanded the Army of Abctory being obtained, and news brought him | Lievtenantship; the same which Absalom that Absalom hung by the hair of his head had given him, and which Joab now enjoy-

had willingly been imbraced by Abfalom, fition of Abfalom, he imbraced the prefent

Absalom that it was fitter and more fafe for ry, when knowledge was brought to David. him with all the strength of Israel to pursue he mourned and sorrowed, not onely as a his father, than by such a troop, which Da- man that had lost a son, but as one that had vids valour and those of his attendants out-lived all his worldly joys, and seen evemight either indanger or relift. This delay ry delight of life interred. For he fo hid in Absalom, and advantage of time gained himself from his people, as those which hoby David, was indeed, after God, the loss of ped for honour and reward after so great a the one, and delivery of the other. Whereupon Achitophel rightly fearing (by the ocas if they had committed the greatest offencasion fore-shewed) the success which fol- ces, and had rather deserved death than relowed, disposed of his own estate, and then compence. Whereupon Joab presenting forfook both the party and the care of Ab- himself before David, perswaded him to disfemble his forrow for the prefent, and to David being advertised of this enterprize shew himself to the Army. For first, he told ble opinion makes him a second brother to bought their peace of Absalom at an easie Hamm, whom David for his fathers fake e- rate. Secondly, he urged, that it was genestablished in the Kingdom, after Hanums o- rally believed, that he loved his enemies, and came also to Davids affistance Machir of spect of his Princes, and others his faithful Lodobar, Guardian in former times to Me- fervants, but would more have joyed if they leadite, who willingly fed David and all his the victory by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

In the mean time both the King and Absa- Lastly, he used this prevalent argument, of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in threatning, And that will be morfe unto thee : Sen. 15 government to Amasa, and therefore the vi- salom, to whom he promised the office of on a tree, when he could not perswade the ed. For David doubted, that if Amasa were messenger to return and kill him, he himself not satisfied he might draw from him a great with his own servants dispatcht him. It ap- part of the strength of Israel, now under his commandment.

Jones Gordan homeward, vvhere in his paffage he by whom he and his might, aswell in the preba had fallly accused and betrayed.

CHAP. XVII.

da, bare still a good affection to the issues of to God. diers, whom also Joab accompanied: and | ing formerly slain. Hoast of Ifrael.

This done, the King marched towards judge humanely, to rid himself of sauls line. pardoned shimei, who had lately reviled fent as in the future, be greatly molefted him to his face: but this remission vvas but and indangered; onely he spared Miphiboexternal, as appeared afterward. He also ac- sheth the son of Jonathan, both for the love cepted of Mephibosheth his excuse, whom Zi- he bare to his father, and for his oath and vow to God.

He also intreated Barzillai the Gileadite,

Now whereas it is written in the Text,

15.65. 15 his late liberal hoft, to follow him to Jerufa- The King took the two sons of Rispah, whom 2.54m. 21; lem, that he might reward his service done she bare unto Saul, and the five sons of Michol him; who excusing himself by his age, ap- the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel, pointed his fon Chimham to attend the King. and delivered them to the Gibeonites: Junius At Gilgal on this fide Jordan, all the calls this Michol the fifter of her that was Tribes aftembled, and after some contention Davids wife, she whom Saul married to Phalwhich of them ought to have most interest tiel: but Michol here named, had Adriel in David, the Army brake, and David return- to her husband; the same which is named ed to Jerusalem. But shebathe son of Bichri, Merab in the first of Samuel the eighteenth. a Benjamite, of the faction of the house of who was first promised to David when he Saul; finding some discontent among the slew Goliab in the Valley Raphain : and Ifraelites, withdrew them from David, as because it is written that Micholloved Dafrom a stranger in whom they had no inte- vid, which perchance Merab did not, wherest, and it seemeth that many of the people ther David had any humane respect in the of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but Ju- delivery of her children, it is onely known

their first King. David imployed his recon- Now where the Geneva nameth Michel ciled Captain Amasa, to give him content- for Merab the wife of Adriel: the better tranment, and to witness his trust, as also because flation were out of the Hebrew word here he conceived that Amafa had interest in used having an eclipsis or defect, and signifithose revolts of Israel more than Joab had. eth, as I am informed, one of the same kin-He received commandement from David dred, as in the 19. verse of the same one and to assemble the Army within three dayes, twentieth chapter it is said of Goliah, whose which he foreflowed: but being onward fear was weighty as a Weavers beam, when as on his way, Abilhai, Joabs brother, was fent by the same eclipsis it must be understood after him, with Davids guard and best Soul- by the brother of Goliab; Goliab himself be-

overtaking Amasa near Gibeon, pretend- As by the death of Sauls children God ing to imbrace him, gave him a wound, secured the house of David, leaving no head whereof he fell dead, being no less jealous unto rebellion: fo did he strengthen both of Amasa than he was of Abner, whom he the King and Nation against forreign enemurdered in the fame manner, and out of mies by the valour of many brave Commanthe fame impatient ambition. This done, ders, the like of whom, for number and quahe purfued sheba; and finding him inclosed lity, that people of Ifrael is not known to in Abel, affaulted the City with that fury, have had at any time before or after. Thirthat the Citizens by the perswasions of a ty Captains of thousands there were, all men wife woman there inhabiting, cut off Sheba of mark, and great reputation in war. his head, and flung it to Joab over the walls: Over these vvere fix Collonels, vvhose vawhich done, he retreated his Army to Jeru- lour vvas fo extraordinary, that it might be which done, he retreated his Army to jeru-in, falem, and commanded, as before, all the veil held as miraculous. These Collonels had some difference of place and honour, The next act of David, was the delivery vyhich feemeth to have been given upon of Sauls sons or kinsmen to the Gibeonites, meer consideration of their vertue. For Abiwhom those Citizens hung up in revenge of fai the brother of foab, vvho in the vvar atheir fathers cruelty. David had know- gainst the Ammonites and Aramites was Lievledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine tenant, and commanded half the army, could which had continued on the land three not attain to the honour of the first rank, but years, came by reason of Saul and his house, was fain to rest contented with being printo wit, for the flaughter of the Gibeonites : cipal of the three Collonels of the fecond and therefore he willingly yielded to give order, notwithstanding his nearness of blood them this satisfaction, both because he had unto the King, the flourishing estate of his warrant from God himself, as also, if we may own house; and his well approved services.

Companies belonging to them, may feem to respect of persons of which there perished 70. have been such as were continually retain- thousand. And hereby he hath taught all ed, or at the least kept in readiness for any that live, that it is better to fall into the hands occasion, considering that the numbers of God than of men; whereof he giveth this which were mustered and drawn out, if need divine reason, For his mercies are great. required, into the field, very far exceeded thirty thousand, yea, or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in Saul's time, and been of the last acts of David; Adonijahs faction: hardned with his adversities. Others there were very many, and principal men in their feveral Tribes, that repaired unto him after T Aftly, when he grew weak and feeble. the death of Saul; but these Captains and , and past the acts and knowledge of Wo-Collonels (who with Joab, that was Gene-men, he was yet advised to lie in the arms of ral of all the Kings Forces, make up the a young and well-complexioned Maiden. number of 37.) were the special men of to keep him warm. In this his weak estate War, and reckoned as David's Worthies. of body, when he was in a manner bed-rid. The long reign of David, as it is known to Adonijah his eldeft son (Ammon and Absalom have confumed many of these excellent men being now dead) having drawn unto his of War, so may it probably be ghessed to party that invincible, renowned and seared have wasted the most of those whose deaths Joab, with Abiathar the Priest, began maniwe find no where mentioned. For the fons feftly to prepare for his establishment in the of Zervia, who had been too hard for Da- Kingdom after his Father. For being the vid, were worn away, and only Joab left in eldeft now living of David's fons, and a man the beginning of Salomon, who wanted his of goodly personage, Salomon yet young,

David, it is gathered, that he had reigned Thomas, and others suppose) he presumed to now 33. years or thereabouts, when the policarry the matter without reliftance. Heresterity of Saul was rooted out, so that he'en- of when David had knowledge by Bersabe joyed about seven years of entire quiet and the Mother of Salomon, who did put him in fecurity, wherein it pleased God to remove mind of his faithful promise, that Salomon, all impediments that might have troubled her fon should reign after him (Nathan the the fuccession of salomon in his Fathers Prophet affirming the same thing unto the blished all things in Juda and Israel, and the his presumption) the King calling unto him power: in which he employed Joab, with charge and commission to anoint salomon, with the account and register of all the peo- done, Salomon attended, and strongly guard-3 Sam. 14. of in Juda and the Cities thereof, five hun-ported to Adonijah, he presently abandoned

extremity.

All these Collonels and Captains, with the cruel disease, which hath no compassion or

the revenge upon Joab and Shimei.

brother Abilhai to stand by his side in his last and born of a Mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was o-By the actions forepassed in the time of mitted by Saint Matthew (as Beda, Hugo, Throne. In this time also David having esta- King, and seconding her report of Adonijah borders thereof, he again displeased God by Zadoc the Priest, Nathan the Prophet, and numbring the people, as in oftentation of his Benajah the Captain of his Guard, gave other Captains of his Army, who after nine and to fet him on the Mule whereon himfelf moneths and twenty dayes travel, returned used to ride in his greatest state: which ple, able and fit to bear Arms, and they a- ed by the ordinary and choice men of War, mounted to the number of thirteen hundred the Cherethites, and Pelethites, shewed himthousand, besides Levi and Benjamin, where- self to the people. These tidings being redred thousand, and in Israel eight hundred his affistants, and for the safety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the For this, when by the Prophet Gad he present Salomon pardoned. After this, Da-1 1895 was offered from God the choice of three vid had remaining two especial cares, wherepunishments, whereof he might submit him- of he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; felf to which he pleased; to wit, seven years the one concerning the peace of the Land, Famine; three moneths War, wherein he which might be diffurbed by some Reflould be unprosperous in all attempts, and bellion against salomon; the other combined to the salomon in the salomon is the other combined to the salomon in the salomon is the other combined to the salomon in the salomon is the salomon in the salo be chased by his enemies; or a general pe-cerning the building of the Temple, which fillence to last three dayes: David made he sought by all means to advance, and choice to bow himself under the hand of make the business publick. To bring these God only, and left himself subject to that intentions to good effect, he summoned a Parliament,

Parliament, confilting of all the Princes of from the first affault of Jerusalem to the last Ifrael, the Princes of the several Tribes, all of his Wars, with incomparable valour and the Captains and Officers, with all the migh- fidelity, faving that he faftened himfelf to Aty, and men of power; who did repair un- donijah (his master yet living) and thereby

luntary contribution.

Feast with great sacrifice was made at which of Absalom, contrary to the Kings desire, or his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is deserving great honour and respect. written in the Law of Moses, &c. to the per- He also gave order to Salomon to rid him-King 1. done (faith GOD himself) Thou shalt not And albeit by reason of his oath and pro-

vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath In this Assembly the King stood up, and never left cruelty unrevenged, so was it his fignified his purpose of building the Temple, will that Joab should drink of the same cup, shewing how the Lord had approved the whereof he hath enforced other men to tafte. motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open and suffer the same violence which himself his own title to the Crown, shewing that the had unjustly strooken others withal. Qui ela-Kingdom was by Gods ordinance due to the dio percutit, gladio peribit: for he had bereav-Tribe of Juda (as Jacob in his bleffing pro- cd Abner and Amasa of their lives, having aphetically bequeathed it) and that God gainst the one the pretence only of his brohimself was pleased to make choice of him a- thers slaughter, whom Abner had slain in the mong all his Fathers fons. In like manner he time of War, and could not avoid him: afaid that God himself had appointed salo- gainst the other but a meer jealousie of his mon by name to be his Successour; where- growing great in the favour of David. And upon he earnestly charged both the people though Joab assured himself that Abner and and his fon to conform themselves unto all Amasa being dead, there was none left either that God had commanded, and particular- to equal him, or supplant him, yet God (dely to go forward in this Work of the Lords riding the policies of wicked men) raised up house, which salomon was chosen to build. Benhajah the son of Jehojadah, to pull him Then produced he the pattern of the Work, from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. according to the form which God himself For David giveth this cause to Salomon ahad appointed; and so laying open his own gainst Joab, that he slew the Captains of the King. preparations, he exhorted all others to a vo- Hoast of Israel, and shed bloud of battel in peace; and to this apparent and just cause, it The Kings proposition was so well ap- is not improbable but that David remembred proved by the Princes and people, that the ill affection of Joab towards Salomon, whereas he himself had given three thousand which Joab made manifest by the untimely talents of gold, and feven thousand of filver, fetting up of Adonijah, David vet living. they added unto it seven thousand of gold, Some other offence Joab had committed aand ten thousand of silver, besides brass, iron, gainst David, of which in these words he put and Jewels, heartily rejoycing in the ad- his fon Salomon in mind; Thon knowest also vancement of fo religious a Work. This bu- what Joab the fon of Serviah did to me, &c. 1 King. 2. finess being so well dispatched, a solemn Now whether this were meant by the killing time Salomon was again anointed King, and by the proud words used to him when he received fealty of all the Princes and people mourned in Mahanaim for Absalom; or wheof the Land, and of all the Princes his bre- ther it were the publishing of Davids letter, thren, the fons of King David. Salomon be- unto him for the killing of Vriab, thereby to ing thus established King, his Father David disgrace Salomon as descended of such a mofinding himself even in the hands of death, ther, the Scriptures are silent. True it is, that first exhorted his son to exercise the same those great men of War do oftentimes becourage and strength of mind, which him- have themselves exceeding insolently toself had done in all his attempts: and to the wards their Princes, both in respect of their end that a happy end might follow the be- fervice done, as also because they flatter ginning of all his enterprizes, he uttered themselves with an opinion, that either their these mighty words; Take heed to the charge | masters cannot miss them, or that they dare of the Lord thy God, to walk in his wayes, and not offend them. But this kind of pride hath keep his statutes, and his commandements, and overthrown many a worthy man otherwise

formance of which GOD faltned the succes- self of shimei, who not long before had cast fion, and prosperity of his issues. For this stones at David, and cursed him to his face. want one of thy Posterity to sit upon the Throne mile David spared Shimei all the time him- 1 King 2. felf lived, yet being dust and in the grave, Secondly, he advised him concerning Jo- he slew him by the hand of salomon his son. ab; who out of doubt had served David Hence it seemeth that King Henry the se-

violent hands to be laid upon him.

yeeld unto Salomon any fuch great profit or others, this opinion (faith he) Foce Evangeliassurance as he hoped for. For he found a casalvatoris ipsius resutatur, ubi ait quòd inse young Adad of Idumea, and Resin of Damas- David in spiritu Christum dixerit esse sum cus to vex him: who, as the Scriptures wit- Dominum, quoniam Pfalmus 109. sie incipit. ness, were emboldened to enterprize upon Dixit Dominus Dominu meo, Sede à dextris 1 King 11 Salomon, hearing that David slept with his meis, &c. The voyce of the Gospel refutes Fathers, and that Joab the Captain of the this opinion, where it faith, that David him-Hoaft was dead. Now when David had felf in the spirit called Christ his Lord; bereigned in all forty years, to wit, in Hebron | cause the 109. Psalm begins thus: The Lord 7. years , and in Jerusalem three and thirty, Said unto my Lord , Sit thou at my right hand. he died.

exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and | pattern to all the Kings and Princes that sucgraces, he so far exceeded all other men, as ceeded him. putting his humane frailty apart, he was His Story, and all his particular actions, faid by God himself to be a man according were written by the Prophets, Samuel, Nato his own heart. The Pfalms which he than, and Gad, as it is in the first of chron.29. wrote, witness his piety, and his excellent verf. 19. For the several parts of the books learning: of whom Hierome to Paulinus: of Samuel which intreat chiefly of David, David Simonides noster, Pindarus, & Alca- were, as it seems, written by these three hous , Flaccus , quoque Catullus , & Serenus, ly men. Christum lyra personat, & in dechachordo Psalthan all the reft.

The book of the Pfalms, faith Glycas, was the year 2991. divided, ordered and diffinguished by Ezekias: but whether all the Pfalms were written by David, it is diverfly disputed. For Athanin Athanasius, Cyprian, Lyranus, and others con-Synop.
Hier Epift. ceive divers Authors answering the titles of 134 Lyran the feveral Pfalms, as Mofes, Salomon, and in exp. 1. the reft hereafter named; and that only 73. It is written in the 22. of the first of Psalms were composed by David himself, Chronicles, that he left Salomon for the buildnamely, those which are intituled ipfius Da- ing of the Temple a hundred thousand ta-

venth of England had his pattern, when he singers) Asaph, Ethan-Eziachi, Eman-Eziaira, vius, gave order to Henry the Eighth to execute Idithum, and the three fons of Chore. But S. Stants Pool as foon as himself was buried, having chrysoftome makes David the sole Author of feet made promise to the King of Spain, when he all the Pfalms, and so doth S. Augustine, readelivered Pool unto him, that while he lived forning in this manner: Although (faith he) he would never put him to death, nor fuffer fome there are that ascribe those Pfalms on-14. ly to David, which are over-written infins And yet did not the execution of Joab | David, and the rest intituled instituted in David, to &c. Laftly, his Testimonies are used both For his person, he was of small stature, but | by Christ and the Apostles, and he was as a

Constantine Manaffes hath an opinion, that terio ab inferis suscitat resurgentem; David the Trojans during the time of the siege? In (faith he) our Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, fought for fuccour from David, and that he Annals Horace, Catullus and Serenus, he playeth stayed Neuter in that War. But it feemeth out of Christ on his Harp, and on a ten-stringed Psal- that Manasses did miscast the time 'twixt Da-Guek ter he raiseth him up rising from the dead. And vid and the Trojan War. For it is generally by file being both a King and a Prophet, he fore- received that Troy fell between the times of an last telleth Christ more lightformly and lively Abdon and Sampson Judges of Israel, about list. the Worlds year 2848, and David died in

§. IX. of the treasures of David and Salomon.

Is treasures were exceeding great. For yay, is it is written in the 22. of the first of vid, For the 50. and the 72. with the ten lents of gold, and a thousand thousand tathat follow, are bestowed on Asaph the son lents of silver, and of brass and iron passing of Barachia, eleven other on the fons of Ko. all weight, which is more than any King in rath; and eleven are ascribed to Moses, to the World possest besides himself, and his wit, the 89. and the ten following, and so son, to whom he left it. For it amounteth to they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, three thousand three hundred thirty and though the Vulgar and Septuagint (three three cart-load, and a third of a cart-load of excepted) file them otherwise. The suppo- silver, allowing two thousand weight of silfed nine Authors of these Psalms which Da- ver, or fix thousand pound sterling to every vid wrote not, Sixt. Senensis nameth as fol- cart-load, besides threescore and seventeen loweth; Salomon, N ofes, (whom Aben Ezra, millions of French Crowns, or of our mocentrry to Hierome, maketh one of David's ny twenty three millions and a thousand

pound: a matter, but for the testimony of held, both before and after Davids time. For terpart possess by his enemies.

mony of Eupolemus: and yet certainly David have been perpetual (which opinion of had many other ways to gather riches. Much theirs nevertheless they confess is against land doubtless he gained by conquest from the Hebrew expositions) yet David upon the Canaanites and Philistims, besides those this occasion is not unlikely to have put it in fruitful vallies near Jordan in Trachonitis and practife. And by these means might hee be

the Scriptures, exceeding all beliefe. For we read of Pharaoh, that he spake to Toleph Gen. 47. that any riches were left him, it doth not to appoint some of his brethren, or of their 2 chro. 16. appear, feeing that the Judges had not any fervants, to be rulers over his cattel. We realise, nor any foveraign power to make read of Ozzia, that he loved husbandry, hevics: but when they went to the wars they had much cattel, and plough-men, and drefwere followed by fuch voluntaries as the fers of Vines: likewife we read it in all feveral tribes by turns gave them: feeing alfo Greek Poets, that the wealth of the ancient that Saul who was of a mean parentage, and Kings did specially consist in their Herds perpetually vexed and invaded by the Phi- and Flocks; whereof it were needless to liftims, could not in all likelihood gather cite Augeas and Admetus, or any other for great riches (if any at all)his Territories be- examples, the rule holding true in all. Now ing exceeding narrow, and thereof the bet- concerning David it is not unlikely, but that those captives which were not imploy-Therefore it were not amis to consider ed in husbandry, were many of them used how David within the space of not very ma- by him in all forts of gainful professions, as ny years, might amass up such mighty trea- the ancient Romans in like manner used their

fures. For though parlimony be it felf a flaves. great revenue, yet needs there must have been some other great means. It seems that impositions, which doubtless were great, he made the uttermost profit of all that he and besides the innumerable presents which had, that was profitable. Enfebius in his 9. yearly were brought him, or extraordinabook and last chapter de Praparatione Evan- rily sent him, by Tohu and others) we may gelica, citeth the words of Eupolemus, who add the great spoiles which hee found reporteth that David, among other prepara- in the Cities and Countries which he contions for the Temple, built a Navy in Mela-quered: also the head money which was nis (or, as Villalpandus corrects it, Achanis) a gathered per legem capitationis; By the law city of Arabia, and from thence fent men to of capitation, or head money, every man rich dig for gold in the Hand Urphe, which Orte- or poor paying half a ficle of the Sanctuahus thinks was Ophir, though Eupolemus in ry, which is about as much as fourteen this place of Enfebius (crring perhaps in this pence, and so in all it amounted to a won-circumstance) saith that this sland was in the drous sum in that Kingdom: wherein one red Sea: from whence, faith this Eupolemus, thousand thousand five hundred and seventhey brought gold into Jury, Pineda La. de Re-bus Salomonis, c. 1. thinks that David did this Joah. Now although this law of capitation way also enrich himself, and circth this testi-be thought by some very learned, not to

Bafan, and the best of Spria, and other coun- able to leave those huge treasures to Salotries bordering the Ifraelites. These demains mon. Yet it may seem that of this great belike he kept in his own hands, and with mass of gold and filver left by David, the least his infinite number of captives, which he part was his own in private; and fo will it took in his wars, which were not able to re- appear the less wonderfull that he lest so deem themselves, husbanded those grounds much. Of his own liberality we find, that for his greatest advantage. For it is written hee gave to the building of the Temple I Chro. 17. that Jahonathan was over his treathere thousand talents of gold, and seven fures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, thousand talents of silver: a great sum, but in the towns; that Ezri was over the labour holding a very small proportion to the other. ers that tilled his ground, Simei over the Wherefore we are to confider, that the vineyards, and sabdi over the store of the treasures of the Sanctuary it self were exwine; Baal Hanan over the olive trees, and ceeding great, as needs they must have been Joalh over the store of the oyle: also that he having received continual encrease, withhad herds-men that had charge over his cat- out any loss or diminution ever since the time tel, both in the high lands and in the plains, of Moses and Joshuah. The revenues of the over his Sheep, Camels and Asses. And this Sanctuary (besides all manner of tithes and custom of enriching themselves by husband-oblations, which defrayed the dayly ex-

dry and cattel the ancient Kings every where pences, & maintained the Priests & Levites) Ccc 2

fore mentioned; partly out of the spoils the Lord: the like whereof may be well pre-Numb, 31. gotten in War. For all the booty was di-fumed of the former Judges and Captains of vided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers other Ages. Certain it is, that the Conquest had one, and the people which remained at of David brought into the Land far greater home, had the other half; whereby all the abundance of riches, than any former Vi-Country received benefit of the Victory, ctorics had purchased, those of Joshua peryet so, that the Souldiers had a far greater haps excepted: but these vast summes of an proportion than the rest, as being fewer, hundred thousand Talents of silver, may and therefore receiving more for every fin-feem rather to have been made up, by the gle share.

which the people received, and one in five industry. hundred, of that which was given to the Now concerning the riches of Salomon, it Alens thousand of them for flaves, and the Conturns from the East India, which greatly ingregation had other fixteen thousand; but creased his store. For his ships performed out of the fixteen thousand given to the Ar- that Voyage every three years, and he began my, were exempted two and thirty for the that trade in the two and twentieth year of Lords tribute; Out of the peoples number his reign, and ruled forty years. Besides were taken three hundred and twenty. By this, all Judea and Ifrael were now mastered this means, the leffer that the Army was to his hands; all the Arabians his borderers, which had exposed it self to danger, the the syrians of Zobah, of Damascena, of Paling at home were fain to undergo more than Hittites, who with the Perizites, Hivites, Jeordinary travel in domestical affairs, did linsites, and other races of the Canaanites, receive by so much the greater portion. But were not as yet extinguished though subthe Lordstribute was alwayes certain, yea jected. many times it was increased, either by some Into this flourishing estate was the King-1 China

fered up, as voluntary presents.

were partly raised out of the head mony be- obtained in War, to mainfain the house of addition of his winnings and liberality, to Out of this purchase was deducted the the treasures laid up in many former Ages. Lords tribute, which was one in fifty, of that than to have been the nicer fruits of his own

Souldiers; namely, one hundred and one is more manifest how he gathered them; for 77% thousand part of the whole booty. So in the he received of yearly revenues with his tri- French thouland part of the whole booty. So in the he received of yearly fold, besides the Cu-town spoil of Midian, thirty two thousand Wo-butes 666. Talents of gold, besides the Cu-town spoil of Midian. men being taken, the Army had fixteen flomes of Spices. He had also fix rich Re-14 greater profit had every Souldier, but when myrena, of Innea; all of Idunea, Moab, and with the greater profit had every Souldier, but when it consisted of many hands, they who remain- Ammon, paid him tribute; as likewise did the to ass

special commandement, as when all the gold, dom of Israel reduced by David, who after is. and filver, and other mettals found in Ferico, 40. years reign, and 70. years of life, dyed were confecrated unto God; or by thank- in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and hofulness of the Rulers and people, as when nour, and was buried in the City of David. It after the Victory obtained against the Midi- is written by Josephus that there was hid in anites without the loss of one man, all Jewels, David's Tomb a marvellous quantity of trea-Bracelets, Earerings, and the like, were of- fures, infomuch as Hyreanns (who first of the red up, as voluntary prefents.

Chasmanai, or race of Macchabees, called Joseph himself King) one thousand and three hun-shalled times oppressed, and trodden down by other dred years after, drew thence three thou-Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed sand Talents, to rid himself of Antiochus then or spoiled; for the enemies never gat post-besieging Jerusalem; and afterward Herod fession of the Tabernacle that was in shilo. opening another Cell, had also an exceed-Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that ing mals of gold and silver therein. And it the wealth of the Sanctuary must have been was an antient custome to bury treasure exceeding great; as containing above one with the dead. So the Peruvians and other hundredth part of all the mony and other Americans did the like, which being discogoods found by the Ifraelites in the whole vered by the Spaniards, they inriched them-Land of Canaan; and of all that was purcha- felves by nothing fo much in their first Con-26. v. 27. fed by fo many Victories, as they obtained quest. That Salomon did bury so much treaagainst the bordering Nations. For that this sure in his Fathers grave, it would hardly be treasury was not desrauded of the due por- believed, in regard of the great exactions tion, it is evident; seeing that before the time with which he was fain to burthen the peoof David and his Lievtenant Joab, it is re- ple, notwithstanding all the riches which he corded that Saul and Abner, and before them got otherwise, or which were left unto him: Samuel, had used to dedicate of the spoils were it notwithal considered that his want

ployments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of of the Silvii King of Alba, called Latinus Silvionly the Sepulchres of the Kings of Juda, as ly fifty years. And about his fourteenth year of an honourable place of burial. Yet the Codrus the last King of the Athenians died to of an instantiate place of outland. Let the be the state of the place of the first prince of the figure of the place of th are able to make report credible of the cost their life. bestowed upon them.

of the Philistims, whom David absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with David.

here may be spoken.

ing to Ilider and Josephus, was one of the fons formed of this answer, withdrew himself from of Mifraim, and was furnamed Philistim, as his own Forces, and putting on the habit of a cipalities, namely, Azotus or Afdod, Gaza or was himself forthwith cut in pieces. ther hand, the Canaanites and the Egyptians, held it 38. years.

lech which loved Sara, Abraham's Wife.

was turned into Ariftocratical. For they are were after called Helots. and to whom David neu, and who and similar gave him Siklag to inhabit in Saul's time.

lars in this place.

of mony grew from fuch magnificent im- | There lived at once with David, the third David the Scriptures have no mention, but w, who is faid to have ruled that part of Ita-

The reasons which moved the Athenians to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of loveraignty, but in honour of Codrus only. For when the Gracians of Doris, a region between Phocis, and the mountain of Octa, fought counsel from the Oracle, for their fuecess in the Wars against the Athenians, it was F the Philiftims, whose pride David was answered, that then undoubtedly theyshould the first that absolutely mastered, in prevail and become Lords of that State, when this conclusion of David's time somewhat they could obtain any Victory against the Nation, and yet preferve the Athenian King They descended of Cassoim, who, accord- living. Codrus by some intelligence being in-Elan was furnamed Edom, and Jacob Ifrael, common fouldier, entred the Camp of the There were of them five Cities or petty Prin- | Dorians, and killing the first he encountred,

Aczaph, Ascalon, Geth or Gath, and Accaron, Eupales the 31. King of Assyria, which o-It feemeth that Calloin was the first founder there account but the 30, began to rule that of this Nation, because of his kindred on ei- Empire, about the 13. year of David, and

The first King of these Philistims, which Near the same time began Ixion the sethe Scriptures have named, was that Abime- cond King of the Heraclida, the fon of Eurifthenes in Corinth; and Agis the second of the The fecond Abimelech lived at once with Heraclide in Lacedamon: in honour of which Isaac, to whom Isaac repaired in the time of Agis, his successours were called Agida, for Famine, Abimilech then residing at Gerar, in many years after. He restored the Laconithe border of Idumea; which Abimelech ans to their former liberty: he overcame fancied Isaac his Wife, as his Father had done the Citizens of Helos in Laconia, who had refused to pay him tribute: he condemned After Abimelech the fecond, the Philistims them and theirs to perpetual flavery; where-Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, of it came, that all the Meffenians, whom at till David's time: perhaps the government length they brought into the like bondage,

afterwards named Princes of the Philiftims, In like fort from the Sclavi came the howfoever Achie be named King of Gath, the Word Slave. For when that Nation iffuing same to whom David fled, and who again out of Sarmatia, now called Ruffia, had seized upon the Country of Illyria, and made it their After him we read of another Achis vvho own by conquest their victory pleased them lived vviih salomon, to whom sbime travel- fo highly, that thereupon they called them-led to fetch back his fugitive fervant, vvhat felves by a new name, slavos, which is in their time the feeking of his fervant vvas the lofs language Glorious. But in after times (that of his life. Jeremy the Prophet speaketh of warmer Climate having thawed their Northe Kings of Palastin or Philistim. Amos thern hardiness, and not ripened their Wits) nameth the King of Ascalon: Zacharias, a when they were trodden down, and made King of Gaza. The rest of the Wars of the servants with their neighbours, the Italians Philistims are remembred in the Catalogue which kept many of them in bondage, began of the Judges, of Saul and David, and there- to call all their bondmen slaves, using the fore I shall not need to collect the particu- word as a name of reproach: in which sence it is now current through many Countries.

Other Chronologers make this Agis, the are remembred by Eusebius out of Polemon. fets him in the 13. year of Salomon.

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Ephefus

the third fon of Codrus, affifted by the Iones, built Ephesus in Caria, who after the adjoy- Et Magnetis equis, Minya gens cognita remis. ning of the Ille of Samos to his Territory, was flain by the Carians, whose Country he usurped. He was buried (faith Pausanias) in was built by the Inhabitants of Chalcis in the Ionians (the next Province to Fphefus on ment was given, with condition that the othe feacoast of Asia the less) he enlarged his ther should give name to the City. Of this Dominions upon the Zoles, which joy- luma was Ephores the famous scholar of 1/6neth to Ionia: and that his posterity govern- crates. ed the Cities of Ephefus and Erythra by the Eusebius and Cassioder find the building of name of Balilida in Strabo his own time. Of Carthage at this time, to wit, in the 31. year the expedition of the Iones how they came of David, but much mistaken. For the father police. the expedition of the Iones how they came of Dido was Metinos the fon of Badego, "See the hither out of Peloponnefus, I have "fpoken of Dido was Metinos the fon of Badego, "See the hither out of Peloponnefus, I have "fpoken of Badego," who married Achab King in this tr. already upon occasion of the return of the brother to Jezabel, who married Achab King pof medi Heraclida into Peloponnesus, wherein, with of Israel; and between the death of Favid, the Dores, they expelled the Achai, and in- and the first of Achab, there were wasted ahabited their places in that Land: though bout 45, years. clida 100, years.

built, which had in length 425, foot, and 220, years. Some writers make it probable, that in breadth, fustained with 127 pillars of mar-the #olians, led by Grans, the grand nephew ble, of 70, foot high: whereof 27, were most of Orestes, possess the City and Island of Therenowned by being one of the first that re- mon began the work of the Temple. But it ceived the Christian faith, of which Timothy is a familiar errour in Josephus, to misreckon was Bishop; to whom, and to the Ephesians, times, which in this point he doth so strange-Saint Paul wrote his Epistle so entituled. The ly, as if he knew not how at all to to cast any God the Saviour.

whose Epistles to Salomon, and his to Vaphres, Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

third King of Sparta, and somewhat later a- In the 21. of David, was the City of Magnessa bout the 23. year of David, and say that A- in Asia the less founded, the same which is cheffratus was the fourth King of this race, feated upon the river Meander, where Scibio the same whom Ensebins calls Labotes, and gave the great overthrow to Antiockus. In this Territory are the best horses of the lesser In the tenth year of Achestratus, Androclus Asia bred, whereof Lucan:

About the same time Cuma in Campania one of the gates of Ephefus called Magnetes, Eubea, according to Servius, with whom his armed Statua being fet over him. Strabo Strabo joyneth the Cumeans of Holis, faying Strabo reports that after Androclus had fubdued that to the one of these people the govern-studies.

this of the Iones succeeded that of the Hera- In this time also Acastus lived, the second of the Athenian Princes after Codrus, of the He The City of Ephefus became exceeding fa- which there were thirteen in descent before rolling 58. of 1.7. mous: first for the Temple of Diana therein the State changed into a Magistracy of ten Smaller curioufly graven, and all the rest of choice bes about this time. In the 32. 3ear of David, Ans o marble polisht, the work being first set out Hiram began to reign in Tyre, according to and by Ctesiphon of Gnossos. Secondly, it became Josephus, who saith in his twelfth year Solo-11. other City possess by Androclus in Holis, was accompt. For it is manifest, that Hiram sent also universally spoken of by reason of sy-Messengers, and Cedars unto David, soon afbilla, surnamed Erythraa, who lived 740 years ter his taking of Jerusalem, which was in the before Christ was born. S. Augustine avoweth beginning of David's reign over Israel, when that a Roman Proconful shewed him in an as yet he had reigeed onely seven years in ancient Greek copy certain verses of this Pro- Hebron over the house of Juda. Wherefore phetes, which began (as S. Augustine changed it must neees be that Hiram had reigthem into Latine) in these words: Jesus Chri- ned above 30. years before Salomon; unless . sans stus Dei Filins, Salvator; Jesus Christ son of more credit should be given to those Tyrian records which are cited by Josephus, than to About the time that Joab befieged Rabba the plain words of Scripture contradicting in Moab, Vaphres began to govern in Agypt, them. For, that it was the same Hiram which the same that was father in law to salomon lived both with David and with Salomon, the

CHAP. XVIII. Of SALOMON.

of the establishing of Salomon: of birth-right, and the cause of Adonijah's death, and of Salomons wildom.

Salomon by the appointment of God: Kingdom to Salomon. There may be divers he was also called Jediadia, or Theophilus by further occasions; as either that he would Nathan because the Lord loved him.

congratulating his establishment: a custom about David's last Testament, or any thing between Princes very ancient. Whence we else that might prejudice the title of Saloread that David did in like fort falute Ha. mon. num King of the Ammonites, after his obtai-

ning the Kingdom.

though his reign were peaceable. For foon with the customs of the Jews: yet the Kings after David's death, he caused his brother of the Jews were so absolute, as they did dom of Salomon, this motion of Adonijahs, ceffary to confirm, or that the refusal of the was a demonstration of a new treason. For people had authority to frustrate the elder they which had been Concubines to a King, brothers right to the Kingdom, it no where fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. | Galgal: that is, they acknowledged and esta-And David after that wrong determining to blished him. For that he was King long be-

touch them no more, did not give them to fore, no man can doubt. In like manner elseany other, but shut them up, and they remained widowed until their death. And this it their King, is to be expounded: as where in seems was the depth of Isbosheths quarrel a- the prohibition, that they should not make bine. And some fignification of this custom bim King whom the Lord shall chuse. may feem too in the words of God by Nathan But to proceed with the acts of Salomon: to David; I have given thee thy Masters house, at the same time that he put Adonijah to

fen David to the shame of the nakedness of him: he displaced also the Priest Abiathar,

ALOMON, who was brought up unference to this purpose of Adonijab, to marry der the Prophet Nathan, began to with her that was alwaies present with Daa reign over Juda and Ifrael, in the year vid in his later daies, and who belike knew of the world 2991. He was called all that was past, for the conveying of the learn fuch things by her as might be for the Hiram King of Tyre, after Salomons anoin- advantage of his ambition, or that he would ting, dispatched Embassadors towards him, perswade her to forge some strange tale

As for the right of an elder brother which is Kingra. Adonijah pretended, though generally it The beginning of Salomon was in blood, agreed both with the law of Nations, and Adonijah to be flain by Benaiah the fon of therein, & in all else what they pleased. Some Dem. 21. Jehojada, taking occasion from Adonijah his examples also they had (though not of Kings) 15. desiring by Bersheba, that the young maid which taught them to use this paternal au-txose ag-Abifhag (which lay in David's bosome in his thority in transferring the birth-right to a noscito, dando et later daies, to keep him warm) might be gi- younger fon: namely, of Jacobs disheriting portionem ven to him. Whatsoever he pretended, it was Reuben, and giving the birth-right (which duoram: enough that Adonijah was his elder brother, was twice as much as any portion of the o- $\frac{n_{min}}{e\beta}$ just price and found in the Nand fought the Kingdom contrary to the ther brethren) to Joseph: of whom he made mogenitowill of David, whom God inclined towards two Tribes. And that it was generally ac-rum. Salomon. And yet it is faid that a word is e-knowledged that this power was in David, 1885, 1.75. nough to the wife, and he that fees but the it appeareth by the words of Berfabe and Na- 34. claw may know whether it be a Lion or no: than to David, and of Jonathan to Adonijah. I Kingit. fo it may feem that to the quick-fighted wif- For, as for popular election, that it was ne- & 270 might not after be touched but by a King; appears in the ftories of the fews. It is faid 15 and 16, whence Achitophel wished Abfolom to take his indeed that the people made Saul King at 15 and 14. gainst Abner, for having his fathers Concu- themselves a King, it is said, Thou shalt make Dem. 17.

and thy Masters wives. And in the words of death, he rid himself also of Joab, and three Saul upbraiding Jonathan, that he had cho- years after of Shimei, as David had advised Sam to, his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was some re- who took part with Adonijah against him.

CHAP

1 Kings: but in respect of his office, and that he followed David in all his affiictions, and because give the force of a divine precept to these in the ther he spared his life. And thus being esta- shall build an house for my Name. felves cannot but proceed of felf-love, which to whom I refer the Reader. is the root of all impiety: the defire of pri- For the cutting and fquaring of the Ce-

obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God ful in hewing timber than the Ifraelites, may to give him vvithall that vvhich he defired (as I think) be included. For Hiram caused not. And I have also given thee (faith God) his fervants to bring down the Cedars and that which thou hast not asked both riches and Firres from Libanon to the sea, and thence honour. This gift of Wisdom our Commen- sent them in raffs to Joppe, or the next port but that it comprehended the knowledge the fecond Chapter, it is plain, that all but of the nature of plants and living creatures, the thirty thousand Carpenters, and the othe Scripture testifieth; though no doubt ver-seers, were strangers, and as it seemeth 1 Kings 4, the chief excellency of Salomons wisdom, the vastals of Hiram, and of Vaphres King of yvas in the knowledge of governing his Egypt. In recompense of this Timber and

§. II.
Of Salomons building and glory.

two harlots.

of his materials for the Kings Palace and the Scias me à Deo magno David patris mei reg-Temple of God: for the building whereof num accepisse, cumque mihi pater pracepit temhe had received a double charge, one from plum Dev, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam his father David, and another from God. For ad te scriberem pracepit : Scribo igitur, & peto like as it is written of David, that He called a te ut artifices atque fabros ad adificandum Salomon his fon, and charged him to build a Templum Dei mittere velis.

he had born the Ark of God before his Fa- words, Behold, a fon is born unto thee, &c. He

bliffied in his Kingdom, he took the daughter He began the work of the Temple in the 1 Ningdom of Vaphres King of Egypt to Wife: for fo Eu- beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at febius out of Eupolemus calls him. He offe- which time also he prepared his fleet at Estona red a thousand facrifices at Gibeon, where gabar to trade for gold in the East Indies. God appearing unto him in a dream, bad him that nothing might be wanting to supply ask what he would at his hands: Salomon the charge of fo great a work. For, that the chooserh Wildom, which pleased God. And Cod Temple was in building, while his fleets faid unto him Because thou hast asked this were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For thing, and half not asked for thy self long life, the pillars of the Temple were made of the neither half thou asked riches for the felf, nor Almaggim trees brought from ophir. Of this half asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I most glorious building of all the particulars have done according to thy words: by which (whereof the form and example was given we may inform our felves, what defires are by God himself) many learned men have most pleasing to God, and what not. For written; as Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Bar-19, the coveting after long life in respect of our radas, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pinedas others,

vate riches is an affection of covetousness, dars which served that building, salomon which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is employed 30. thousand Carpenters, to thouas much as to take the fword out of Gods fand every month by course: he also used 80. hand, and to distrust his justice. And in that thousand Masons in the Mountain, and 70. it pleased God to make Salomon know that thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it liked him, that he had not asked the life of it is conceived, he felected out of the Profe-1 (in the his enemies, it could not but put him in mind lites, befides three thousand three hundred of his brothers flaughter, for which he had mafters of his work; fo as he paid and emnot any warrant either from David, or from ployed in all one hundred eighty three thouthe Law of God; but because Salomon defired fand and three hundred men; in which num-Wildom onely, vvhich taught him both to ber the Sidonians, which were far more skilrators stretch to almost all kinds of learning: to Jernfalem. For in the second of Chronicles 1809 14 Kingdom: vvhence as it vvere for an exam- Stone, Salomon gave Hiram twenty thou- 1 Kington King 3,9 ple of his vviidom, the Scripture telleth how fand measures of Wheat, & twenty measures 11. foon he judged the controversie between the of pure Oyl yearly. Enfebius out of Eupalemus in the ninth book of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left us a Copy of Salomons Letter to Suron (which was the same as Haram and Hiram) King of Tyre, in these words:

E then entred into league with Hiram REX Salomon Suroni, Tyri, Sydonis, atque King of Tyre, from whom he had much Phanicia regi, Amico paterno falutem.

TI Ing Salomon to King Suron, of Tyre, Sy-ninth book; neither is it in Josephus in the don, and Phanicia King, and my fathers eighth book and second chapter of the Fens friend, sendeth greeting. You may understand Antiquities: it being a vain title used by that I have received of the great God of my some of the Affirian and Persian Kings, and father David, the Kingdom: and when my fa- used likewise by the Parthians, and many ther commanded me to build a Temple to God Other after them, infomuch as in latet times which created heaven and earth, he command- it grew common, and was usurped by mean ed also that I should write to you: I write there- persons in respect of the great Hermes the fore to you, and befeech you, that you would be first, which was honoured by that name pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to for his noble qualities, as much or more than build the Temple of God.

CHAP. XVIII.

quoniam feribis fabros, ministrosq; ad conden- built Berothon, Gerar, and the Millo or muniad nos redeant.

Cliron of Tyre, Sydon and Phanicia King, was then busied in his magnificent buildyour Letters . I gave God thanks who hath in- entreated his father in law to rid him of stalled you in your fathers kingdom. And be- these neighbours, which Pharaoh performed. der, a Tyrian, born of ad ewish wowan, aman mans successor did sack Jerusalem it self. 15 on admirable in building. Tou will be careful that this fide Jordan, and Balah in Dan: also which may be either Ptolomies Thaadmirable in building. Tou will be careful that Salomon also built Megiddo in Manaffe, on

of mentage or by writing, it is ionic what of salomon, the operans as yet call it. Intermediate, therwise delivered in the Scriptures, than ei- in his book of Hebrew places, calls it Thermone nothes, ther Eupolemus or Josephus set it down, but meth. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by between the one and the other.

and was answered as from Hiram.

mus in Eusebius, in the last chapter of that called Chabul.

for his mightiness.

After the finishing and dedication of the To which the King Suron made this answer. Temple and house of the Lord, Salomon fortified Jerusalem with a treble wall, and re-Suron Tyri, Sydonis, & Phanicia Rex, Salomoni Regis falutem. Lectis literis, gratias Mctropolis of the Canaanites, before Jospha segi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradicit: & time: so did he Gaza of the Philistims: he 1.8.6.1. dum Templum esse tibi mittendos, mist ad te tion of Jerusalem. For Pharaoh(as it seemeth milia hominum octaginta, & Architectum Ty- in favour of Salomon) came up into the edge rium hominem ex matre fudea, virum in re- of Ephraim, and took Gerar, which place the bus architectura mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut | Canaanites yet held, and put them to the necessariis non egeant, & Templo Dei condito, sword, and burnt their City. The place and Territory he gave salomons Wife for a dowry. And it is probable, that because Salomon to King Salomon greeting: When I read ings, and could not attend the war, that he canse you write that Carpenters and Workmen But he thereby taught the Egyptians to visit may be fent to build Goe Temple, I have fent those parts again before they were fent for; you four foor thou land ien, and a Master-buil- and in his fon Rehoboams time sheshack this

the Temple of God is built, that they come home Thadmor, which may be either Ptolomies Thamoron in the defart of Juda, or (as Josephus 30.1. 2. thinks) Palmira in the defart of Syria; which and c. 2. The Copies of these Letters were extant Palmyra, because it stood on the utmost borin Josephus time, as himself affirmeth, and to der of Salomons dominion to the Northeast be seen (saith he) Tam in nostris quam in Ty- of Libanus, and was of Davids conquest riorum annalibus, as well in our own, as in the when he wan Damascus, it may seem that sa-Tyrian annals. But he delivereth them some- lomon therefore bestowed thereon the most what in different terms, as the Reader may cost, and fortified it with the best Art that find in his Antiquities. But were this inter-that age had. Josephus calls this place Thá-Jos. 1. 6. course between Salomon and Hiram either damora, by which name (saith he) given by by message or by writing, it is somewhat o- Salomon, the Syrians as yet call it. Hierom fo, that in substance there is little difference Adrian the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In respect The like Letter in effect salomon is faid of this great charge of building, salomon to have written to Vaphres King of Egypt, raifed tribute through all his Dominions, befides an hundred and twenty talents of But whereas some Commenters upon Sa- gold received from Hirams servants; Salolomon, find that Hiram King of Tyre, and Va- mon offered Hiram twenty towns in or near phres King of Egipt, gave Salomon the title the upper Galilee, but because they stood in of Rex magnus, and cite Enpolemon in Euse- an unfruitful and marish ground, Hiram rebius, I do not find any such addition of mag- sused them, and therefore was the territory

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GHAP. XVIII.

were, it is true that Salomon in the 21 year and that Tharsis in Scripture is divers times fortified those places which Hiram refused, taken for the Ocean, hath been already de-Further, he made a journey into Spria Zobah, clared in the first book. and established his tributes; the first and last Only it remaineth that I should speak war(if in that expedition he were driven to somewhat of Pineda his strange conceits. fight) that he made in person in all his life. who being a Spaniard of Bætica, would sain He then visited the border of all his Domi- have Gades or Calis-malis, in old times calnions, passing from Thadmor to the North led Tartesus, which is the Southwest corner of Palmprena, and so to the Desarts of Idu- of that Province, to be the Tharses from mea, from whence he visited Eziongaber and whence Salomon fetcht his gold; for no o-Eloth the uttermost place of the South of all ther reason, as it seems, but for love of his his Territories, bordering to the Red sea: own Countrey, and because of some affinity which Cities I have described in the Story of of sound between Tharsis and Turtesjus. For

passages about Affrick.

that voyage, and furnished him with Mari- out of their way to Gades, round about all ners and Pilots, the Tyrians being of all o- Africk, that so they saight be long a coming ther the most expert seamen. From this part home. of Arabia which at this time belonged to | For the direct way to Gades (which if Sa-Edom, and was conquered by David, did the lomon and the Ifraelites knew not, the Tyri-Fleet pass to the East-India, which was not ans which went with them could not have far off, namely, to ophir, one of the Illands been ignorant of) was along the Mediterof the Molucca's, a place exceeding rich ran fea, and so (besides many wonderful inin gold: witness the Spaniards, who not-conveniences, and terrible navigation in withstanding all the abundance which they rounding Africa) they should have escaped gather in Peru, do yet plant in those Islands the troublesome land-carriage between Jeof the East at Manilia, and recover a great rusalem and the Red sea, through dry, desart, quantity from thence, and with less labour and the thievish Countreys: and within 30. than they do in any one part of Peru, or new miles of Jerusalem at Joppe, or some other ha-

The return which was made by these and unladen their ships. Ships amounted to four hundred and twenty talents, but in the second of Chronicles the (saith Pineda) because the huge Island of Ateighth, it is written 450. talents: whereof lantis, in largeness greater than all Africk 30. talents went in expence for the charge and Asia, being swallowed up in the Atlanof the Fleet, and wages of men; and 420. ta- tick Ocean, hindred Salomons ships from lents, which makes five and twenty hundred paffing through the straits of Gibraltar: for and twenty thousand Crowns, came clear. this he alledgeth Plato in Timeo. But that And thus must those two places be reconcithis calamity happened about Salomons led. As for the place 1 Reg. 10. 14. which time, or that thereby the straits of Gades speaketh of six hundred sixty and six talents were filled with mud, and made unpassable, of gold; that fum, as I take it, is of other that there could be no coming to Gade by receipts of Salomon, which were yearly, and the Mediterran sea; or that this indragent which came to him, befides those profits from where the sea runneth most violently, and Ophir,

These towns, as it is supposed, lay in Gali- | My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is lee of the Gentiles, Non quod Gentes ibi habi-not Pern in America (as divers have thought) c.s. in tarent: sed quia sub ditione regis Gentilis but a Countrey in the East-Indies; with 10.13. erat. Not that it was possest by the Gentiles (faith some reason why at those times they could have Nauclerus) but because it was under the rule not make more speedy return to Jerusalem monics. of a King that was a Gentile. Howfoever it from the Eaft-Indies, than in three years; 615.

whereas it may feem strange that it should be three years ere they that took ship in the Red fea, should return from the East-Indies to Jerusalem, this hath been in part answered of Salomons sending to ophir, and of some already. And further the intelligent may feeming contradictions about Salomons ri- conceive of fundry lets, in the digging and ches, and of Pineda's conceit of two flrange refining of the metal, and in their other traffick, and in their land-carriages between Jerusalem and the Redsea, and perhapsalso Fre Salomon prepared his Fleet of ships elsewhere: so that we have no need to make for India, with whom Hiram joy ned in Salomons men to go many thousand miles

ven in Salomons own Country, have laden

But this direct course they could not hold most easily scoureth his channel, should be fmall territory which he there possesseth of Juda. confidered) than in Peru.

sall+10 passage round about all Africa, which else- twelve thousand horsemen; that he spent the state of the s heroka nas failing to Tharsis the City of Cilicia, was slower, threescore measures of wheat, one lines for the cast out in the Mediterran sea, and taken up hundred sheep, besides stags and fallow mann, there by a Whale, that this Whale in three Deer, bugles and fowl; four thousand stalls

proceed with our flory of Salomon. Salomon (as feems, from Arabia Felix, and his people should accompany the daughnotices some think, from Ethiopia) and her ters of Idolaters) he took Wives out of rich presents, and Salomons reciprocal mag. Egypt, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Zidon and Heth: nificence, and his refolving of her difficult and when he fell a doting, his Wivesturn-

gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda.

Miracles are not to be multiplied without ne-

at pleasure. Therefore we leave this man in

filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean | the Text. But herein Josephus is greatly miin like manner, where this huge Iland is sup- staken, who calls this Queen of Saba Nicau- Jef. an. 8, posed to have stood; or that salomons les, the successor (saith he out of Herodotus) 1, 3, thins being in the Red sea, should neglect the of those thirty and eight Egyptian Kings golden Mines in the East Indies (which were which succeeded Meneus the Founder of infinitely better and nearer to the Red fea, Memphis; adding, that after this Egyptian. than any in Spain) to feek gold at Cadyz by and the father in law of Salomon, the name the way of compaffing Africa; it is most ri- of Pharaoh was left off in Egypt. For as it is diculous to imagine. For the Spaniard him- elsewhere proved that the Queen was of A-1 King, fell that halfo the rich Peru in the West; rabia, not of Egypt and Elbiopia; fo were 6.23 fortifieth in the East-Indies, and inhabites there other Pharaobs after the father in law 15. fome part thereof, as in Manilia, finding in of Salomon. Yea, above three hundred years Jer. 6.46. those parts no less quantity of gold (the after Salomon, Pharaob Necho flew Josias King v. 2.

It is also written of Salomon, that he kept The same Pineda hath another strange in garrisons sourteen thousand Chariots, and dayes swimming above twelve thousand of horses he had for his Chariots and other English miles along the Mediterran seas, and luses, and for the twelve thousand horsemen so through the straights of Gades, and along of his guard. For, the ten thousand stalls in all the huge feas round about Africa, cast up the first of Kings the fourth, are to be taken Jonas upon the shore of the Red sea, that so but for so many horses, whence in the second i King. 43 he might have perhaps some fix miles the of chronicles the ninth, it is written but four 34. fhorter (though much the worse) way to thousand stalls or teems, and in every teem Ninive. This conceit he grounds onely up- ten horses, as Junius and the Geneva underon the ambiguity of the word suph, which stand it. He was said to be wifer than any oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red sea (as man, yea than were Ethan the Ezrabite, if we should call it mare algojum, the sea full than Heman, Chalcal, or than Darda; to of weeds) for the Red sea. But in Jonas which Junius addeth a fift, to wir, Ezrack. c. 2. 5. it is generally taken in the proper For the Geneva maketh Ethan an Ezrahite by fignification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* Nation. Josephus writes them, Athan, Æ-would have it, who in this place against his man, Chalceus and Donan the sons of Hemon. own rule (which elsewhere he giveth us) He spake three thousand Proverbs, and his supposeth strange miracles without any Songs were one thousand and five, whereof need. For this long voyage of the Whale, fi- either the most part perished in the Captinished in three dayes, is a greater miracle, vity of Babylon, or else because many acts of than the very preferation of Jones in the Salomons were written and kept among the belly of the Whale: and therefore feeing publick Records of Civil causes, and not there is no necessity of this miracle, we send Ecclesiastical, therefore they were not it back unto him, keeping his own rule, which thought necessary to be inserted into Gods in this place he forgets; Miracula non funt Book. multiplicanda. And again, Non funt miracula

9. IV.

cessity, nor delivered without cause, nor feigned of the fall of Salomon, and how long he lived.

his dreams, which (were he not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be to had he no fearcity of women. For the history of the had planty of all other things, thought unworthy the mentioning. But to besides his seven hundred Wives, he kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting The Queen of Saba's coming from far to that God had commanded that none of questions; those are set down at large in ed his heart after other gods, as Afteroth

of the Zidonians, Milcom or Molech of the | gainst the Aramites, wherein he brought all Ammonites and Chemosh of Moab.

Idumea, Rezin of Damascus, and by Jerobe- the next years work, wherein he did cut off am his own fervant, and one of the mafters all means of succour from the Ammonites; of his works, who by the ordinance of God all Syria, Moab, and Iduma being now at his tare from his fon Roboam, ten of the twelve own devotion. By this reckoning it must parts of all the territory he had. Dews dum have been the 20. year of Davids reign, and in peccatores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis about the fiftieth of his life, in which he utitur que ipse non fecit: God punishing sin- sent forth Joab to besiege Rabba, and sinishners, ufeth the fins of others, which he himself ed the war of Ammon: wherein also sell

wrought not. long peace) were few memorable actions by other half he felt great forrow, by the expehim performed, excepting his buildings with ctation, execution, and fad remembrance of other works of magnificence, and that great that heavy judgment laid upon him by God Indian voyage already mentioned. Forty for his foul and bloody offence. vearshe reigned; how many he lived, it is Now very manifest it is, that in the year not written, and must therefore be found after the death of that child which was beonly by conjecture. The most likely way to gotten in adultery, Salomon was born, who ghess at the truth in this case is, by consider must needs therefore have been nineteen ing the actions of David before and after years old or thereabout when he began to Salomons birth, whereby we may best make reign at the decease of his father, as being estimation of the years which they consu- begotten in the 21. year of his fathers reign, med, and consequently learn the true, or who reigned in all forty. most likely year of his nativity. Sevenyears This account hath also good coherence David reigned in Hebron: in his eighth year with the following times of David, as may he took Jerusalem, and warred with the Phi- be collected out of ensuing Actions: for listims, who also troubled him in the year fol- two years passed ere Absalom slew his brother 2 King, 7. lowing. The bringing home of the Ark Ammon; three years ere his father pardonfeems to have been in the tenth year of ed him, and two years more ere he came into David, and his intention to build the Temple in the year enfuing, at which time he had horses and men, and laid the foundation of fufficient leifure, living in rest. After this he his rebellion, which seems to have been one had wars with the Philistims, Moabites, A- years work. So the rebellion it self, with all ramites, and Edomites, which must needs that happened thereupon, as the Commotion have held him five years, confidering the made by Sheba, the death of Amafa, and the Aramites of Damasco raised war against him, rest, may well seem to have been in the 30. 2 Same II, after such time as he had beaten Hadadezer; year of Davids reign. and that in every of these wars, he had the Whether the three years of famine should entire victory. Neither is it likely, that be reckoned apart from the last years of these services occupied any longer time, be- war with the Philistims, or confounded with cause in those dayes and places there were them, it were more hard than needful to no wintering camps in use, but at convenient | conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the ten feafons of the year Kings went forth to war, remaining years of David there was time dispatching all with violence, rather than sufficient, and to spare, both for the three with temporizing; as maintaining their years of famine, for four years of war, and Armies, partly upon the spoil of the enemies for numbring the people, with the peffilence country, partly upon the private provision ensuing; as also for his own last infirmity, which every fouldier made for himself. The and disposing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed 17. year of David, in which he took Mephi- it feems that the war with the Philiftims was besheth the son of Jonathan into his Court, but one years work, and ended in three or appeareth to have passed away in quiet; four fights, of which the two or three former and the year following to have begun the were at Gob or Nob near unto Gezer, and the war with Ammon ; but somewhat late in the last at Gath. This war the Philistims under-

the tributaries of Hadadezer under his own These things God punished by Adad of allegeance, appears manifestly to have been out the matter of Vriahr wife. So one half In the reign of Salomon (as in times of of Davids reign was very prosperous : in the

end of Summer perhaps, it came to tryal of took, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathera battel (for Joab after the victory, return- ed out of the tumults in Ifrael, and perhaps ed immediately to Jerusalem) the causes and emboldened by Davids old age: for he preparations for that war, taking up all the fainted now in the battel, and was after-Summer. Davids personal expedition a- wards hindered by his men from exposing himself unto danger any more. So David had | vanity of humane nature; in the third, he Zervia.

CHAP: XVIII.

with either of these two speeches.

tion. Some indeed have in favour of this lecting help from God by prayer, repaired opinion, conftrued the words of Tolephus, as thither for their recoveries. if they included all the years of Salomon's is a manifest untruth. Wherefore the 40. years | port, than truly. remembred in Absaloms rebellion, may either edness, or perhaps be read (according to stand to examine. Josephus, Theodoret, and the Latine translation) four years; which passed between the return of Absalom to Jerusalem, and his breaking out.

§. V.

Of Salomons Writings.

"Here remain of Salomons Works, the and correcteth manners; in the second, the which he was more liberal to this King, than

fix or feven years of rest, in which time it is singeth as it were the Epithalamion of likely that many of his great men of War Christ and his Church. For the Book intidved (being of his own age) whereby the tuled, The Wildom of Salomon (which firring spirit of Adonijah found little suc- some give unto Salomon, and some make the cour in the broken party of Joab the fon of elder Philo the Author thereof) Hierome and many others of the best learned make At this time it might both truly be faid by us think it was not Salomon that wrote it. 1 Eg .: David to Salomon, Theu art a wife man; and Stylus libri sapientie (saith Hierome) qui libre at 25 FT by salaman to God Lambut a wayng child. Saloman is the salaman to God Lambut a wayng child. Saloman is the salaman to God Lambut a wayng child. Saloman is the salaman to God Lambut a wayng child. by Salomon to God, I ambut a young child; Salomonis inscribitur, Gracam redolet elofor nineteen years of age might well agree quentiam; The Stile of the Book of wildom, which is ascribed to Salomon, savoureth of the Nevertheless there are some that gather Gracian eloquence; and of the same opinion out of Salomons profeshing himself a child, was S. Augustine, and yet he confesseth in the that he was but eleven years old when he nineteenth Book, and twentieth Chapter of began to reign. Of these Rabbi Salomon the City of God, that the Author of that feems the first Author, whom other of great Book hath a direct foretelling of the passion learning and judgment have herein follow- of Christ in these words: Circumveniamus ed: grounding themselves perhaps upon justum, quoniam insuavis est nobis. Oc. Let us \$20.25 that which is said of Absaloms rebellion, that circumvent the righteous, for he is unpleasing it was after forty years, which they under- to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh stood as years of Davids reign. But whereas us for offending against the Law, he makes his Rehoboam the fon of Salomon was 41. years boaft to have the knowledge of God, and he old when he began to reign it would follow calleth himself the son of the Lord, &c. and hereby that his father had begotten him, fo doth the course of all the following words being himself but a child of nine or ten point directly at Christ. The Books of Ecyears old; the difference between their clefiaftes, Proverbs and Cantica Canticorum, ages being no greater, if Salomon (who Rabbi Moses Kimchi ascribeth to Hay the s. Seu. fol. reigned 40. years) were but eleven years Prophet. Suidas and Cedrenus report, that 61. old when his reign began. To avoid this in- Salomon wrote of the remedies of all difeaconvenience, Josephus allows 80. years of fes, and graved the same on the sides of the Reinecc. in reign to Salomon; a report so disagreeing Porch of the Temple, which (they say) Exe-Jul. His. with the Scriptures, that it needs no confuta- chias pulled down, because the people, neg-

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Of Salomons Books of Invocations, and life. But by fuch reckoning he should have Inchantments to cure diseases, and expel ebeen 40. years old at his Fathers death; and vil spirits, Josephus hath written at large, consequently should have been born long though (as I conceive) rather out of his before his Father had won Terusalem; which own invention, or from some uncertain re-

He also speaketh of one Eliazarus, who feem to have reference to the space between by the root in salomon's ring dispossest di-Davids first anointment, and the trouble vers persons of evil spirits in the presence of which God brought upon him for his wick- Vefpafran, and many others, which I will not

Certainly, fo strange an example of humane frailty hath never been read of as this King: who having received Wisdom from God himfelf, in honour of whom, and for his onely fervice, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of Ifrael and Judaa, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wifest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perfwasion of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Proverbs, the Preacher, and the Song of Women, forget and forfake the Lord of all Salomon. In the first he teacheth good life, the world, and the giver of all goodness, of

CHAP. XIX.

to any that ever the world had. Of whom of Hiram and the reign of Bozorius. Stracides writeth in this manner: Salomon Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth reigned in a peaceable time, and was glorious, of Salomon, Sefac or Shifhak (as our English for God made all quiet round about, that he Geneva terms him) began to govern in Egypt. might build a house to his Name, and prepare being the same with him whom Diodorus the Santhuary for ever; How wife wast thou calleth Sosachis; Josephus, Susac; Cedrenus in thy youth, and wast filled with understand- Susessinus; Eusebius in the colume of the ing, as with a floud? Thy mind covered the Egyptian Kings, Smendes; and in that of the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and Hebrews, Sufac. Josephus in the eighth of his dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Antiquities, reproveth it as an errour in He-Iles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c. rodotus, that he ascribeth the Acts of susac but thus he concludeth: Thou didft bow thy to Sefofiris, which perchance Herodotus lorns to Women, and wast overcome by thy bo- might have done by comparison, accounting dy; thou didft stain thine honour, and hast de- sesac another sesoftris, for the great things filed thy posterity, and hast brought wrath upon he did. thy children, and felt forrow for thy folly, Of the great acts and vertues of King cap. 27.

of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

Ear the beginning of Salomons reign, time as Selostris was carried out to take the Agesslans the third of the Heraclidae in air, cast his head continually back upon the Corinth; Labotes in Lacedamon; and foon two foremost wheels next him; which seafter Silvius Alba, the fourth of the Silvii, fostris perceiving, asked him what he found fwaved those Kingdoms: Laosthenes then worthy the admiration in that motion: to governing Affyria, Agastus and Archippus the whom the captive King answered, That in fecond and third Princes after Codrus, ruling those he beheld the instability of all world-

reign, Hiram of Tyre dyed, to whom Balia- became the highest, and the upmost part was firm fucceeded, and reigned feventeen years, as suddenly turned downward, and under Antiochenus against Antolicus finds Bozo- Of this Sesofris, and that he could not be tarius the next after Hiram, if there be not ken for sefac, I have spoken at large in that some Kings omitted between the death part of the Egyptian Kings preceding.

Sefostris, I have spoken already in the story of the Egyptian Princes: onely in this he was reproved, that he caused four of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was difposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, faith Eutropius, at such ly things; for that both the lowest part of In the fix and twentieth of Salomons the wheel was fuddenly carried about, and after Mercators account; who reckons the all: which when Sefoftris had judiciously millionially time of his rule by the age of his fons. Iofe-weighed, he difmissed those Princes, and all the phus gives him sewer years. Theophilus other from the like servitude in the suture.



CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomons Successors until the end of Jehosaphat.

9. I.

of Rehoboam his beginnings; the defection of the ten Tribes, and Jeroboams Idolatry.

lomon. After his arrival the people pre- therefore it could not be faid as of David,

Ekoboam the Son of Salomon by fented a Petition to Rekoboam, to be ea-Nahama an Ammonitess, now sed of those great Tributes laid on them forty years old , succeeded his by his Father. Sic enim firmius ei fore Im-Father Salomon , and was an- perium , si amari mallet quam metui ; so Ant. L. nointed at Sichem, where the Should his Empire (faith Josephus) be more 23. ten Tribes of Ifrael were assembled: who assigned, if he desired rather to be beloved attended a while the return of Jeroboam as than feared: whereof he took three dayes yet in Egypt, fince he fled thither, fearing Sa- to deliberate before his answer; of whom

that he was wifer than all his Teachers. For time Jeroboam the new King fortified Sechem as of himself he knew not how to resolve, on this side, and Pennel on the other side of so had he not the judgement to discern of Jordan; and fearing that the Union and ex-

Counfels; which is the very test of wisdom ercise of one Religion would also joyn the in Princes, and in all men else. But not- peoples hearts again to the House of Dawithstanding that he had consulted with vid, and having in all likelihood also prothose grave and advised men, that served his mised the Egyptians to follow their Idolatry, Father, who perswaded him by all means he set up two Calves of gold for the chilto satisfie the multitude: he was transpor- dren of Ifrael to worship, impiously perswated by his familiars and favourites, not ding them that those were the Gods, or at onely to continue on the backs of his subjects least by these he represented those Gods those burdens which greatly crusht them; which delivered them out of Egypt, and rebut (vaunting falfly of greatness exceeding fusing the service of the Levites, he made his fathers) he threatned in sharp, or ra- Priests fit for such gods. It must need be ther in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and that by banishing the Levites which served more unsupportable loads on them. But as David and Solomon through all Ifrael, Jeroit appeared in the fuccefs, those younger boam greatly enriched himself: as taking into advifers greatly miftook the nature of fe- his hands all those Cities which were given verity, which without the temper of clemen-them by Moses and Joshua, for as it is written, ev is no other than cruelty it self: they alfo were ignorant that it ought to be used for Session, and came to Juda. &c. This irreligious the help, and not for the harm of subjects, policy of Jeroboam (which was the founda-For what is the strength of a King left by tion of an Idolatry that never could be roohis people? and what cords or fetters have ted out, untill Israel for it was rooted out of ever lasted long, but those which have been the Land) was by Prophecy and Miracles twifted and forged by love onely? His wir-less parafites could well judge of the Kings but the affections maintaining it, were fo disposition: and being well learned therein strong, that neither Prophecy nor Miracle though ignorant in all things else, it suf- could make them yeild. Jeroboam could not King 13 ficed and enabled them sufficiently for the be moved now by the Authority of Ahia, places they held. But this answer of Rehobo- who from the Lord had first promised unto am did not a little advance Jeroboams de- him the Kingdom; nor by the withering of figns. For being foretold by the Prophet A- his own hand as he stretched it over the chiah of his future advancement, these the Altar, which also clave afunder according Kings threats (changing the peoples love to the fign, which the man of God had into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his given him by the commandment of God, hopes, For he was no fooner arrived, than clected King of Ifrael: the people cryed out, What portion have we in David? wee an Idolater as before, for he held it the fafeft People at Modaler as before, for he held it the fafeft People as the people of the held it the fafeft People as the portion have we in David? wee have no inheritance in the Son of Ishai. Now course in policy to proceed as he had begun. though themselves, even all the Tribes This impious invention of Jeroboam, who of Israel, had confented to Davids anoint- for fook God, and the Religion of his foreing at Hebron the second time, acknowledge- fathers, by God and his Ministers taught ing that they were his bones and his flesh yet them, was by a modern Historian compared now after the manner of rebels, they for- with the policies of late Ages; observing gat both the bands of nature, and their du-well the practice of his Nation, being an ty to God; and, as all alienate resolved hearts Italian born. sic qui hodie (saith he) politice do, they served themselves for the present, vocantur, & propria commoda prasentesq; utiwith impudent excuses. And now over-late, litates sibi tanquam ultimum sinem constituunt, and after-time, Rehoboam fent Adoram, one causam quam vocant status in capite omnium of the Taxers of the people, a man most ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promovenda, conserhateful to all his Subjects, to pacify them: vanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. whom they instantly beat to death with simjuria proximo irroganda sijustita honestastones. Whereupon the King affrighted, tisques subvertenda si religio ipsa pessiundanda got him from Sichem with all fpeed, and re- & denig omnia jura divina & humana violancovered Jerusalem, where preparing to in- da, nihil intentatum, nil per fas nefasq; relinvade Ifrael, with an hundred and fourscore quendum censent; cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, thousand chosen men, Shimei in the per- nihil ad ipsos, modo id, quod è re sua esse sibi perfon of God commanding to the contrary, all fundent obtineant, ac finullus fit qui talia curet; was stayed for the present. In the mean castigareve possit Deus: So they who are now

called Polititians, propounding to themselves, as come enemies to the Judeans. So as by those their utmost end and scope, their own commodi- two waies (of late years often trodden) to they image enterancy ope, then our to alledge the eafe of flate for forth, as the principal point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for advanting the flate, for the good of the state, for advanting the state of strate, whom yet the cing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they powerful God for his Idolatry in few years of justice and lonesty, if Religion is self must go places, astered his citate, for fook the law of to wrack, yea if all rights of God and man must the living God, and made high Places, and be violated, they mill try all courses, be it right, be Images, and Groves, on every high Hill, and it wrong they will do any thing let all go to ruine under every green Tree. what care they, so long as they may have what And therefore in the fifth year of his reign, 1 chan they would; as who should say, there were no God seefac or shishac before spoken of, being now that would offer to meddle in such matters, or King of Egypt, and with whom, as well added had power to correct them.

try of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground Ama- bers at four hundred thousand. This Army 2 King to 2 in the Priest of Bethel counselled the Pro- was compounded of four Nations: Egyptiphet Amos not to prophelie at Bethel; For ans, Lubanns, Succeans, and Culites. The (faith he) it is the Kings Court. Upon this Lubeans were Lybeans the next bordering ground even Jehn that had maffacred the Region to Egypt, on the Westfide. The Lu-Priests of Baal, in zeal for the Lord, yet beans were of Petrea, and of the defart Awould not in any wife depart from that poli- rabia which afterwards followed Zera against murdered him. So strongly doth the painted the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line vizor of wife proceeding delude even those Northward, about fix hundred Englishmiles that know the foul face of impiety lurking from the best & Maritimate part of Egypt and under it: and behold the wretched ends that therefore I do not think that the Succims or very great examples.

of Rehoboam his impiety; for which he was punished by Sesac: of his end, and Contem-

recover the Provinces lost, strengthened made, in imitation of those which David rethe principal places remaining with all en- covered from Adadezer, in the Syrian war: deavour; for he fortified and victualled fif- these Reboboam supplyed with Targets of teen Cities of Juda and Benjamin: not that brass, which were fit enough to guard a King he feared Jeroboam alone, but the Egyptians, of his quality, whom Syracides calleth, The to whom Jeroboam had not only fastned him-foolishness of the people. felf, but withall invited them to invade Indaa: laying perchance before them the uncountable Riches of David and Salomon, the Jews as their Tributaries: Sefac, as it which might now be easily had, seeing ten seems, rendring up to Rehoboam his places

think that they may do any thing. If they mean after rooted out, with all his. Rehoboam ha-1800 to oppress their neighbour, to overturn all laws ving also, as he thought, by fortifying divers is

of Idumea, as Jeroboam, were familiar, and his Indeed this allegation of raggione del sta- instruments; entred Judga with twelve to, did serve as well to uphold, as at the thousand Chariots, and threescore thousand Michael Amos 7, 13 first it had done to bring in this vile Idola- Horse, besides Foot-men, which Tosephus mm. 86.4. tique fin of Jeroboam the fon of Nebat, which Afa King of Juda. The Succeans according : close made Israel to fin. It was reason of state to Junius his opinion, were of succoth, which : West that perswaded the last French King Hen- signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they is the ry the fourth to change his Religion, yet the were the Troglodita, mentioned often in Pli-Plania Proteflants whom he forfook, obeyed him, ny, Ptolemy, and other Authors. The Tra- (13) but fome of the Papifts whom he followed, glodites inhabited not far from the banks of files. have ever followed it, whereof Jehn, and all Succei were those Troglodite, but rather those ca.41 the Kings of Ifrael had, and were themselves Arabians which Ptolemy calls Arabes Agyptii, Ichthyophagy, which possess that part of Egypt behind the mountains called Alabastrini, and the red Sea, far nearer Egypt and readier to be levied than those removed Savages of the Troglodita.

With this great and powerful Army, Sefac invaded Judea, and (besides many other ftrong Cities) wan Jerusalem it self, of which Hile Jeroboam was occupied in fetting up his new Religion, Rehoboam and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoyle, carrying away (besides other treafures) the golden shields which Salomon had

From this time forward the King of Egypt of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and be- on that condition, So much may be gathered out of the word of God, where premifing three years, and then died : the particulars the deliverance of Juda after their humilia- of his acts were written by Iddo the Prophet tion,he doth notwithstanding leave them as some part of his Fathers were. under the yoke of Egypt, in these words, Nebis servants, that is, the servants of Sefac.

hoboam reigned twelve years, and his loffes tinued the war against Jeroboam all his life rael four years,

rished with that of Nathan, and the rest.

Athens. Abdastrartus, or Abstrartus, in Tyrethe fourth and the fift of the Silvii.

About the 12. of Rehoboam, Abdastrartus usurped the Kingdom twelve years.

Toward his latter times Periciades, or Pyrithiades, began to govern Affyria, the 34. the fon of Balcastartus, recovered the Kingdom of Tyre from the Ufurpers.

of the great battel between Jeroboam and Abia, with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods judgments.

Here we see how it pleased God to punish vertheless they (to wit, the Judeans) shall be the fins of Salomon in his fon Rehoboam? first, by an Idolator and Traytor: and then After this overthrow and dishonour, Re- by the successor of that Egyptian, whose daughter Salomon had married, thereby the received by sefac, notwithstanding, he con- better to assure his estate, which while he served God, was by God affured against all and time. After his death Jeroboam governed If the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when elfour years, Rehoboam lived 58.years, and reigned 17. he forfook him, it was tern afunder by his neanest Vassals. Not that the Father wanhis flory was written at large by Shemejah ted flrength to defend him from the Egyptiand Hiddon the Prophets, but the same pe- an Sesac 3 For the son Abijah was able to leavy four hundred thousand men and with With Rehoboam, Archippus, and Terfip- the same number he overthrew eight hunpus, the third and fourth Archontes or Go- dred thousand Ifraelites, and flew of them five vernours for life after Codrus, governed in hundred thousand; God giving spirit, courage, and invention, when and where it Dorifthus the fift of the Heraclida in Sparta, pleafeth him. And as in those times the cauaccording to Eufebius (others make him the les were exprest, why it pleased God to pufixt and Priminas the fourth in Corinth Over piff both Kings and their people; the fame the Latines reigned silvius Alba Silvius Atys, being both before, and at the inftant delivered by Prophets: fo the same just God, vvho liveth and governeth all things for e-King of Tire was murthered by his Nurfes ver, doth in these our times give victory, fons, or foster-brethren, the elder of which courage, and discourage, raise, and throw down Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present: for King thereof: and not long after Aftartus, which reason, in these and other the afflictions of Ifrael, alwaies the causes are set down, that they might be as prefidents to fucceeding ages. They were punished with famine in David's time for three years, For Saul and his bloody house, &c. And David 15am. 12. towards his latter end fuffered all forts of afflictions, and forrows in effect, for Vriah. Salomon had ten Tribes of twelve torn from his fon for his Idolatry. Rehoboum was Bijah the fon of Rehoboam, inherited spoiled of his Riches and Honour by Sesac A his Fathers Kingdom, and his vices. of Egypt, because the people of Juda made He raifed an Army of four hundred thou- Images, High places, and Groves, oc. and fand, with which he invaded Jeroboam, because they suffered sodomites in the who encountered him with a double num- Land. Jeroboam was punished in himself ber of eight hundred thousand: Both Ar- and his posterity, for the golden Calves mics joyned near to the Mount Ephraim, that he erected. Joram had all his sons slain where Jeroboam was utterly overthrown, by the Philistims, and his very bowelstorn and the strength of Ifrael broken: for there out of his body by an excoriating flix fell of that side five hundred thousand; the for murthering his brethren. Ahab and greatest overthrow that ever was given or Jezabel were slain, the blood of one, the received of those Nations. Abijah being now body of the other eaten with dogs, for math, and Ephron. Soon after which discom- So also hath God punished the same, and fiture, Jeroboam died: who reigned in all 22. the like fins in all after times, and in these years, Abijah, the better to strengthen him- our daies by the same famine, plagues, vvar, lelf, entred into league with Heson, the loss, vexation, death, sickness and calamitims, third of the Adads of Syria, as may be gaties; howsoever the wise men of the World thered out of the 2. of Chron. he reigned but raise these effects no higher than to second

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causes, and such other accidents, which, as not unknown Æthiopians. And if it be obto work every alteration that happeneth.

6. IV. of Ala and his Contemporaries.

I chro 15, down their groves, and taking away their twelve Princes, Se. high places. He also spared not his own mo- Baasha a King of Israel began to reign in ther, who was an Idolatres, but deposing her the third of Aja, and fearing the greatness of Kings do) for the troubles of war in the leato block him up, he fortified Rama, which fure of peace. For not long after he was in- lieth in the way from Jerufalem toward 84vaded by Zerah, who then commanded all the maria. Arabians bordering Judea, and with such a This war began according to the letter 2 chro. 14. For it is written, that there came against the of Asa; therefore could not Baasha beginthis

Camps. have * proved already, and were it but the Zerah, being yet fresh in mind, which book 4. the strong flourishing Regions of Egypt in Juda, and assuch disheartened the enemies. i em c 8. terjacent (who would not suffer a million of Questionless there were some important 2 chro 14 ding on the uttermost South-border of all Asa from adventuring himself with the least

being next their eyes and eares, feem to them jected that these desart countries can hardly veild a million of men fit for the wars. Ianfiver, that it is as like that Arabia Petraa. and the Defart, which compais two parts of the holy Land, should yeild ten hundred thou. fand as that two Tribes of the twelve should arm five hundred and fourfcore thousand O Abijah succeeded Asa, who enjoyed Besides, it answered to the promise of God peace for his first ten years, in which to Abraham, that these Nations should extime he established the Church of God, ceed in number; for God spake it of Ismael, breaking down the alters dedicated to that he would make him fruitful, and multiftrange gods, with their images, cutting ply him exceedingly, that he should beget

from her regency, brake her Idol, stampt it, Asa after his great victory, entertained Benand burn it. He alfo fortified many Ciries, badad King of syria of the race of Adadeser, will and other places, providing (as provident to joyn with him against Afa; and to the end

multitude entred the territory of Asa, as (for of the Scriptures in the 36. year of Asa his any thing that I have read) were never affem- reign: but because in the first of Kings the bled of that Nation, either before or fince: 16. it is faid that Baafha died in the 26. year Judaans, Zerah of Athiopia, with an hoft of, war in the 35. of Afa his reign, but in the 35. ten hundred thousand, and three hundred year of the division of Juda and Israel, for so Chariots, which Asa encountered with an many years it was from the first of Rehobo-Army of five hundred and fourfcore thou- am, who reigned 17. years, to the 16. of Afa. fand levyed out of those two Tribes of Juda It may feem strange, that Asa being able and Benjamin, which obeyed him, and with to bring into the field an Army of five hunwhich he overthrew this fearful multitude, dred and fourfcore thousand good Souldiand had she fooyle both of their Cities and ers, did not cafily drive away Baasha, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of Abia That this Zerah was not an Æthiopian, I against Jeroboam, and of Asa himself against length between Athiopia and Judau, and might well have emboldened the men of strangers to pass through them) it were suf- Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which ficient to make it appear how foolish the o- caused Asa to fight at this time with money. pinion is, that these invaders were Athiopi- It may be that the imployment of somany ans, But in that the Scriptures acknowledge hundred thousands of hands, in the late serthat Gerar was belonging to Zerah, and the vice against Zerah, had caused many mens Cities thereabouts were spoyled by the Ju- private businesses to lye undispatched, where deans, in following their victory, as places be by the people being now intentive to the longing to Zerah, and that all men know that culture of their lands and other trades, might Gerar standeth upon the torrent of Befor, be unwilling to stir against the Ifraelites, which David past over when he surprized the choosing rather to wink at apparent incon-Amalekites or Arabians; this proveth fuf-venience, which the building of Rama would ficiently, that Zerah was leader of the Arabi- bring upon them in after-times. Such backans, and that Gerar was a frontier town stan- wardness of the people might have deterred Judaa, from all parts of Athiopia fix hun-part of his forces, and committing the success dred miles. Also the spoyles which Asa took into the hands of God. Howsoever it were, as the cattel, camels, and flicep, where- he took the treasures remaining in the temof he facrificed five thousand, shew them to ple, with which he waged Benhadad the Sfbe Arabians adjoyning, and not far off, and rian against Baasha, whose employments Benfederacy with Baasha. For the Israelites were end; an honourable testimony of the peohis borderers and next neighbours, whom ples love, by their general mourning and laneither himself (after his invalion) nor his mentation at his death, and (wherein he was had made themselves masters of that King- God himself. dom. So Benhadad being now entred into After the loss of this good son, the ungodly Nepthalim, without refiftance, he spoiled di- father was soon taken away: a miserable vers principal Cities thereof, and inforced creature, so conscious of his vile unthankful-Baalha to quit Rama, and to leave the same to ness to God, that he durst not suffer his own Ala, with all the materials which he had name to be used in consulting with an holv brought thither, to fortifie the same : which Prophet, affured of the ruine hanging over done, Benhadad, who loved neither party, him and his, yea of Gods extream hatred; being loden with the spoiles of Ifrael, and the yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Itreasures of Juda, returned to Damaseus. dols that wrought his considion. So loath he After this, when Hanani the Prophet repre- was to for fake his worldly wildom, when the

the favour and affiftance of God, he not only ted. caused Hanani to be imprisoned, but he be-16/10 16, ter he had been two years continually tor- along (how far is uncertain) with the fecond

reigned 41. years.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reign of Afa.

fifty fix years, even to the 16. of foas.

N the reign of Asa the Kingdom of Israel felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten Tribes unto their former allegeance to the house of David, if the wisdom of God had not otherwife determined. The wickedness of Jero-

hadad readily accepted, and brake off con- Family) it procured unto him a peaceable fuccessors after him ever gave over, till they most happy) the favourable approbation of

hended Asa, in that he now relyed on the world was ready to forsake him, and all bestrength of Syria, and did not rest himself on longing to him, his hateful memory excep-

Nadab the fon of Jeroboam reigned in the gan to burden and oppress his people, and second and third years of Asa, which are recwas therefore strucken with the grievous koned as two years, though indeed his fapaines of the gout in his feet, wherewith af- thers last year of two and twenty did run mented, he gave up the ghost when he had of Asa, whose third year was the first of Baa- 1 King 152 Tha, fo that perhaps this Nadab enjoyed not 25.

There lived with Afa, Agefilaus the fixt of his Kingdom one whole year. He did not the Heraclidae, and Bacis the fift King of the latter his fathers courses, neither did God alfame race in Corinth, of whom his fuccessors ter his sentence. It seems that he little seared were afterward called Bacida. Aftartus, and the judgements denounced against his fa-Assumes were Kings in Tyre. Assumes there shoule: for as a Prince that was secure took revenge on his brother Phelletes, for of his own estate, he armed all Israel against the murther of Ithobalus Priest of the god- the Philistims, and besieged one of their, des Astarta, whom salomon in dotage wor- Towns. There (whether it were so, that the shipped. Atys and Capys ruled the Latines: people were offended with his ill success, Pirithiades and Ophrateus the Affirians : and recalled to mind their grievous loss of Tersippus and Phorbas the Athenians: Chemmis five hundred thousand under Jeroboam, reigned in Egypt; who dying in the 36. year counting it an unlucky family to the Nation; of Asa, left cheops his successiour, that reigned or whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them)slain he was by Baasha, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his ftead. Baasha was no sooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the house of Jeroboam, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the fword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of Gods will to have it fo it is evident by his continuing in the fame form of Idolatry which Jeroboam had begun. Wherefore he received the same sentence from God that had been laid upon Feroboam; which was boam had, in his later daies, the fentence of executed upon him also in the same fort: heavy vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth He began to infest Asa, by fortifying Raof Ahia, the same Prophet which had fore- mah; but was diverted from thence by the told the division of Ifrael, for the sin of Salo- Sprian Benhadad, who did wast his Counmon, and his reign over the ten Tribes. One try, destroying all the Land of Nepthalim: fon Jeroboam had among others, in whom Four and twenty years he reigned, and then only God found fo much piety, as (though it dying, left the Crown to Ela his fon, who enfufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that joyed it, as Nadab the fon of Jeroboam had

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done, two years current, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. He sent an Army against Gibbethon, the same town of A conjecture of the causes hindering the re-uthe Philistims, before which Nadab the fon of Feroboam perished; but he sate at home the whilft, feafting and drinking with his concurrent.

§. VI.

nion of Ifrael with Juda, which might have been effected by these troubles.

Minions, whereby he gave such advantage against himself, as was not neglected. Zimri, Ifrael in those times, may justly wonder an ambitious man, remaining with the King how it came to pass, that either the whole at Tirza, finding his Master so dissolute, Nation, wearied with the calamities already and his behaviour so contemptible, con- suffered under these unfortunate Princes. ceived hope of the like fortune as Baasha had and with the present civil wars, did not refound, by doing as Baasha had done. Where-turn to their ancient Kings, and re-unite fore he did fet upon Ela in his drunkennes, themselves with the mighty Tribes of Juda and flew him. Prefently upon which fact, and Benjamin, or that Zimri and Tibni, with he stiled himself King of Israel: and began their oppressed factions, did not call in Asa, his reign with maffacring all the house of Ba- but rather chose the one to endure a defasha; extending his cruelty not onely to his perate necessity of yeilding, or burning children, and kinsfolk, but unto all his friends himself, the other to languish away as a in Terza. These news were quickly blown man forsaken; than to have recourse unto to the Camp at Gibbethon, where they were a remedy, fo fure, fo ready, and fo honot welcommed according to Zimri his ex- nourable. To fay that GOD was pleapectation. For the Souldiers in stead of sed to have it so, were a true, but an idle proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Trai- answer (for his secret will is the cause of all tor: and being led by Omri, whom they fa-things) unless it could be proved; thathe luted King, they (quitting the fiege of Gib- | had forbidden Asa to deal in that business, bethon) presented themselves before Tirza; as he forbad Rehoboam to force the rebelwhich in thort space they may seem to have lious people to obedience. That the reforced. Zimri wanting strength to defend straint laid by God upon Rehoboam, did only the City, not courage to keep himself from bind his hands from attempting the suppresfalling alive into his enemies hands, did fet fion of that present insurrection, it appears fire on the Palace, confuming it and himself by the War continued between Israel and together to ashes. Seven daies he is said to Juda, so many years following: wherein have reigned: accounting (as is most like- Abia so far prevailed, that he wan a great ly) to the time that Omri was proclaimed in battail, and recovered some Towns belongthe Camp. For Zimri was also an Idolater, ling to the other Tribes, which he annexed Walking in the way of Jeroboam; and there- to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may fore is likely to have had more time where- boldly look into the fecond causes moin to declare himself, than the reign of se-ven daies, and those consumed partly in Tribes, to suffer any thing under new upmurthering the friends of Baasha, partly in starts, rather than to cast their eyes upon feeking to have defended his own life. After that Royal house of David, from which the death of Ela, there arose another King the succession of five Kings in lineal deto oppose the faction of Omri; whereby it scent, had taken away all imputation, that may feem, that Zimri had made his party might formerly have been laid upon the ftrong, as being able to fet up a new head, who doubtless would never have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, fome ftrength, not unlikely to refift and more bold than probable. For Omri was a more bold than probable. vanquish the Army which maintained Omri. not onely an Idolater, but did worse than all 1 King the How long this Tibni, the new competitor of that were before him; which as it might ferve 35 Omri, held out, I do not find; onely it appears that his fide was decayed, and so he King, would not adhere to him, so the course died, leaving no other Successor than his which he professed to take at the very first, of revenging the massacre committed upon the famly and friends of Baasha (Asa his mortal enemy) gives manifest reason, why Zimri, who had wrought that great execution,

mediatly choose Teroboam in his stead, as a any. man likely to afford that liberty unto them,

ced to a more temperate method than Jero- to God it could not. boam ever meant to do. And furely he that The murther of the Prophets is continual-

should more justly than he have expected which are extant of the different courses; the friendship of Juda in that quarrel, held by the Kings of Israel and Juda. in ad-Wherefore in fearthing out the reason of ministration of justice, will find it most prothis backwardness in the ten Tribes (which bable, that upon this ground it was that the was fuch, that they may feem to have never | ten Tribes continued so averse from the line thought upon the matter) to submit them- of David; as to think all adversity more toselves to their true Princes; it were not a- lerable, than the weighty Scepter of that mils to examine the causes moving the peo- house. For the death of foab and Shimei was ple to revenge the death of Ela, an idle indeed by them deferved; yet in that they drunkard rather than of Nadab the fon of suffered it without form of judgment, they Jeroboam, who followed the Wars in person, suffered like unto men innocent. The death as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is of Adonijah was both without judgment, and apparent, that the very first desection of the without any crime objected, other than the ten Tribes, was (if we look upon humane Kings jealousie: out of which by the same reason)occasioned by desire of breaking that rule of arbitrary justice (under which it may heavy yoke of bondage wherewith salomon be supposed that many were cast away) he had galled their necks. Their defire was to would have flain Jeroboam (if he could have have a King that should not oppress them; caught him) before he had yet committed not to have no King at all. And therefore any offence; as appears by his confident rewhen the arrogant folly of Reholoam had turn out of Egypt, like one that was known caused them to renounce him, they did im- to have endured wrong, having not offered

The like and much more barbarous exefor which he had contended in their behalf, cution, to wit, without law, Jehoram did up-Neither were they (as it feems) herein alto- on his brethren, and upon fundry of his gether deceived. For his affectation of po-greatest men; as also Joash did so put to pularity appears in his building of decayed death Zachariah the fon of fehojada, who had Towers, and in the institution of his new de- made him King, even in the court of the house a chro.24 vised Idolatry; where he told the people, of the Lord: and Manasses did shed innocent 21. that it was too much for them to travel fo far | blond exceeding much, till he replenished Jeruas to Jerusalem. But whether it were so, that salem from corner to corner: and this was his moderation, being voluntary, began to imputed to him as another fault; besides his a King ate cease, towards the latter end of his reign, fin, wherewith he made Juda to fin. Contrari- 16. and in the reign of his fon, when long time wife, among the Kings of Ifrael we find no of possession had confirmed his title, which monument of such arbitrary proceeding, unat the first was only good by courtese of the less perhaps the words of Jehoram the son of people: or whether the people (as often Ahab (which were but words) may be taken happens in such cases) were more offended for an instance, when he said, God do so to me, 310 by some prerogatives of a King, that he still and more also, if the head of Elisha the son of retained in his own hands, than pleased with Shaphat shall stand on him this day: whereby his remission of other burdens, it is clearly it is not plain whether he meant to kill him apparent, that the whole Army of all Israel without more ado, or to have him condemjoyned with Baasha, taking in good part the ned as a false Prophet, that had made them death of Nadab, and eradication of ferobo- hold out against the Aramites, till they were fain to eat their own children; which he Now the reign of Baalha himself, was (for chought a sufficient argument to prove, that ought that remaineth in writing of it) eve- it was not Gods purpose to deliver them. ry way unfortunate; his labour and coft at The death of Naboth sheweth rather the li-Rama was cast away; the other side of his berry which the Israelites enjoyed, than any Kingdom harried by the Syrians; neither peremptory execution of the Kings will. For did he win that one Town of Gibbelhon Naboth did not fear to stand upon his own from the Philistims, but left that business to right, though Ahab were even sick for anger; his fon, who likewise appears an unprofita- neither was he for that cause put to death, as ble fluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, upon commandement, but made away by that the favour of the people toward the conspiracy, the matter being handled after a house of Baasha grew from his good form of judicial form, which might give satisfaction Civil Government, which happily he redu- to the people, ignorant of the device, though

shall take pains to look into those examples ly ascribed to Jezabel, an impudent Woman,

CHAP. XIX.

and not unto the King her husband. Neither their quarrel. And certainly (howfoeverall is it certain, that there was no Law made that the Law cale treason, be interpreted, as whereby their lives were taken from them; tending finally to the Kings destruction) in but certain it is, that the people being Ido- those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar. laters, were both pleased with their death, which have here most prevailed, the sury of and laboured in the execution. So that the the multitude hath quenched it felf with the doings of the Kings of Juda (fuch as are regibloud of some great Officers; no such rea ftred)prove them to use a more absolute ma-bellions, howsoever wicked and barbarous ner of command, than the Kings of the ten otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their Tribes. Neither do their fufferings witness natural Soveraign, but rather forbearing the the contrary. For of those which reigned o- advantages gotten upon his Royal person; ver Juda, from the division of the Kingdom, which if any man impute unto gross ignoto the captivity of the ten Tribes, three rance, another may more charitably, and I were flain by the people, and two were de-think, more truely, ascribe to a reverent afnied a burial amongst their Ancestors. Yea, fection. Wherefore that Fable of Briarens. the death of Ahazia and his brethren, flain who, being loofened by Pallas, did with his by Jehu, with the destruction of all that 100 hands give affishance to Jupiter, when Royal feed of Athalia, did not (for ought all the rest of the gods conspired against that we can read) fiir up in the people any him, is very fitly expounded by Sir Francis fuch thirst of revenge, as might by the sud-Bacon, as signifying that Monarchies need denness and uniformity testifie the affection not to fear any curbing of their absoluteness to be general, and proceeding from a loving by mighty subjects, as long as by wiscdom remembrance of their Princes: unless we they keep the hearts of the people, who will should think that the death of Athalia, after be fure to come in on their side. Though feven years reign, were occasioned rather by indeed the Story might very well have born the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by the present sense of her tyrannical abusing Homer, who tels us that Pallas was one of the the government, whereon the had feifed. On conspiracy, and that Thetis alone did marre the other fide, such of the Kings of Israel as all their practice, by loofening Eriareus. For perished by treason (which were seven of a good Form of Government sufficeth by it the twenty) were all flain by conspiracy of self to retain the people, not only without the great men, who aspired by treason to the affistance of a laborious Wit, but even a-Crown: the people being fo far from em- gainft all devices of the greatest and shrewdbruing their hands in the bloud of their So- est Politicians: every Sheriffe and Constaveraigns, that (after Nadab) they did never ble, being fooner able to arme the multitude, forbear to revenge the death of their Kings, in the Kings behalf, than any over-weening when it lay in their power; nor approve Rebel, how mighty foever, can against him. the good fuccess of treason, unless fear compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, ing feldome found in Juda, makes it very being throughly revenged upon other two, likely, that the rule it self of government namely the death of Ela and Zacharia, upon there was fuch, as neither gave occasion of Zimri and Shallum, who traiteroufly got and contentment unto the subjects, nor of constusurped, for a little while, their places; on- dence in their good affection to the Kings. ly three of the seven remain, whose ends Upon which reasons it may seem that the how the people took, it may be doubtful. multitude was kept usually disarmed. For o-* King to him that did it, because they were exceeding- only authority of a Queen-mother have de-

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This declaration of the peoples love, be-Though indeed it is precifely faid of the therwise it would have been almost impossiflaughter committed on Ahab's children by ble, that Athalia the fifter of Ahab, a stranger Jehu, that the people durst not fight with to the Royal bloud of Juda, should by the ly affraid: and the same sear might be in stroyed all the seed of David, and usurped them at the death of Peka, whose History the Kingdome very near 7. years, without (as others of that time) is curforily passed finding any resistance. Yea when Jehojada over. The like may be pronounced, and the high Priest had agreed with the Captains more absolutely, of the Kings of England, and principal men of the Land to set up Jothat never any of them perished by fury of ash their lawful King, whereunto the whole the people, but by treason of such as did Nation were generally well affected, he succeed them; neither was there any mo- was fain to give to these Captains and their tive urging so forcibly the death of King Ed- men, the spears and the shields that were King ward and King Richard when they were in Davids, and were in the house of the Lord. prison, as fear lest the people should stir in But we need not enter into such particulais. holding the Crown by a more uncertain many, he feared (to wit) the multitude, it tenure.

CHAP. XIX.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, heavy yoke.

eighth King over the ten Tribes.

6. VII.

of Jehosaphat and his contemporaries.

TEhofaphat, who fucceeded Afa, was a Prince religious and happy, he destroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicahad tilver, from the other sheep and goats to marry Athalia, this Achab's Daughter. to the number of fifteen thousand and four fourfcore thousand, and Amassa of two hunthese in Benjamin, of those that bare shields, which we call Targetiers, and of Archers under Eliada, two hundred thousand, and under the commandement of Jehozabad a hundred and fourfcore thousand: which numwaited upon the King, befides his Garrisons.

That Juda and Benjamin, a Territory not muster eleven hundred and fixty thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the num-

Questionless, the Tribes which thought obe- they amounted to three hundred thousand. dience to their Princes to be a part of their Surely, whereas it is written that when news duty toward God, would endure much was brought to Jehosaphat that Mosh and more with patience, than they which had Ammon were entred his Territory to the Kings of their own choice or admission, West of Jordan, and that their numbers were is not likely that he would have feared even the Army of Xerxes, if he could have brought why the ten Tribes did never feek to return into the field 11. hundred and 60, thousand to their ancient Lords: but after the destru- fighting men, leaving all his strong Cities ction of their fix first Kings, which died in manned. I am therefore of opinion (referthe reign of Asa, admitted a seventh of a new ring my self to better judgment) that these Family, rather than they would confubject numbers specified in the second of Chronicles themselves with those of Juda and Benja- the 17. distributed to several Leaders, were min. under a more honourable, but more not all at one time, but that the 300, thoufand under Adnah, and the 200, and four-So Asa having seen the death of 7. Kings score thousand under Jehohanam, were afterof Ifrael, died himself after one and forty ward commanded and mustered by Amasiah, years reign, leaving Jehosaphat his fon to Eliad, and Jehosabad: for the gross and total deal with Ahab the fon of Omri, who was the is not in that place fet down, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Again, as the aids which Jehofaphat brought to Ahab did not flew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, fo the Moabites and Ammonites which he feared, could never make the one half of those numbers, which he that commanded least among 'Jehosaphat's Leaders had under him.

This mighty Prince, notwithstanding his ted to Idolatry, and fent Teachers to all greatness, yet he joyned in friendship with places and people wanting instruction; he Ahab King of Israel, who had married that recovered the tribute due unto him by the wicked Woman Jezabel. Him Jehosaphat Arabians and Philistims: from the one he visited at Samaria, and caused his son Jorans

Ahab perswaded Jehosaphat to affist him hundred. The numbers of men of War were in the War against the Syrians, who held more than admirable; for it is written that the City of Ramoth Gilead from him, and Adnah had the command of three hundred called together four hundred of his Prothousand, Jehohanam of two hundred and phets, or Baalites, to fore-tel the success: who promifed him Victory. But Jehosaphat dred thousand; also that he had, besides believed nothing at all in those diviners, but refolved first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of Ifrael. Hereupon Achab made answer that he had one called Michaiah, but he hated that Prophet, because he alwayes fore-told of evil. bred together make eleven hundred and and never of any good towards him. Yet fixty thousand, all which are said to have Michaiah was sent for to the King; but by the way the messenger prayed him to confent with the rest of the Prophets and to promuch exceeding the County of Kent, should mife Victory unto them, as they did. But Michaiah spake the truth, and repeated his Vision to both the Kings, which was, that ber far greater than it was found upon any God asked who shall perswade Ahab, that he other view. Joab in David's time found may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? to five hundred thousand: Rehoboam found whom a spirit that stood before the Lord but an hundred and fourfcore thousand: A- answered, that he would enter into his Probia four hundred and eight thousand: Asa phets, and be in them a false spirit to defive hundred and fourfcore thousand: Ama- lude. For as it is said by Christ: Non enim zia inrolled all that could bear arms, and vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris ve-

CHAP.XX.

but the Spirit of your Father speaks in you: him his ships perished, and were broken in Prophets of Baal, or Satan, incourage Achab prize was overthrown. to his destruction. And as P. Martyr upon this place well observeth, these evil spirits there of Ochazios, against the Mabites, with are ministers of Gods vengeance, and are which Kings of Juda and Ifrael, the Edomites used as the hangmen and tormentors, which joyn their Forces, not forgetting, it seems, Princes fometime imploy, For as it pleafeth that the Moabites, affifted by the Ammonites. God by his good Angels, to fave and deliver had not long before destroyed their Army. from destruction, of which the Scriptures | The Moabites, subjects to David and Salohave many examples: to on the contrary, it | mon, forfaking the Kings of Juda, gave themis by the evil that he punisheth and destroy- selves for vassals to Jeroboam, and so they eth; both which are faid to perform the continued to his successors till the death of As Will of their Creator, licet non eodem animo. chab:but jehofaphar, notwit tanding the Ido-Ecclesiasticus remembreth a second fort of latry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth he malignant natures, but they are every- was drawn into this War, both to be evenged where visible. There are spirits, saith he, of the Moabites for their desection from uda created for vengeance, which in their rigour to Ifrael as also because they had lately joynlay on fure strokes. In the time of destructi- ed themselves with the Syrians against Josaon they shew forth their power, and accom- phat, and thirdly, to punish their double replish the wrath of him that made them.

Now Michaias having by this his revelation greatly displeased the King, and the Pro- Idumaa, thereby the better to assure that Naphets, whose spirit he discovered, was stroken tion; for we find that both Moab, Ammon and by Zidkiah one of Baal's Prophets, and by Edom were all in the field together at Engad-Achab himself committed to prison : where di against Jehosaphat : But whether they had he appointed him to be referved and fed then declared themselves against Jehosaphat, with bread of affiiction till he returned in it is not certain; for in the 2, of Chron. 11. peace. But Michaiah, not fearing to reply, verf. 8. it is written, that in the time of Jehoanswered, If thou return in peace the Lord ram the son of Jehosaphat, Edom rebelled: and hath not hoken by me. Nevertheless Achab therefore it feemeth to me that the Edomites, went on in that War, and was wounded to when they were flain by Moab and Ammon, death. Jebosaphar returned to Jerusalem, not finding themselves satisfied in such conwhere he was reprehended by Jebu the Proditions as they required, offered to return

2 Chro 18. one that hated God. joyned with the Moabites, Ammonites and I- in the 2. of Chron. the 20. and as plain c. 21. dumeans to invade Judea: who pass Jordan v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had and encamp at Engaddi; and when Jehofa- made them a King, till Jehofaphat's death. phat gathered his Army, the Prophet Jaha- Now in the passage of these Kings towards ziel fore-told him of the Victory, which Moab, whether it were by the extraordinary should be obtained without any bloud-shed heat of the year, or whether the Idumeans of his part: and so when Jehosaphat approach- having a purpose to rebel, misled the Army and Moabites, disagreeing with the Idume. them for want of Water; true it is, that they 2 Chro. 20. on the Idumeans, and brake them utterly: their Parthian expeditions; and had in all

firi lognitur in volis. It is not you that speak, shad : but as Eleizer the Prophet fore-told fo in a contrary kind did the devil in the the port of Ezion Gaber, and so that enter- 10his

bellion who first forsook juda, and now Ifrael, Both Kings resolved to pass by the way of

phet for affifting an idolatrous Prince; and from them, and to joyn themselves with the Army of Juda. For that they were numbred After this the Aramites or Damascens, among the enemies of Jekosaphat, it is plain ed, this Assembly of Nations, the Ammonites of Juda and Ifrael, with intent to inseeble ans, and quarrelling for some causes among suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than themselves, those of Ammon and Moab set up- the Armies of Crassus and M. Antonius did in which done, they also invaded each other; likelihood utterly perished, had not Elisha in which broil Jehosaphat arriving, took the taught them to cut trenches whereinto the spoil of them all without any loss of his part, water sprang, by which not only Jehosaphat as it was fore-told and promifed by God. and his Army, but Jehoram King of Ifrael an Notwithstanding this Victory, Jehosaphat, Idolater was relieved: the great mercy and forgeting that he was formerly reprehended goodness of God having ever been prone to for affilting an idolatrous King, did not with- fave the evil for the good, whereas he never flanding joyn with Ochazias, the fon of A- destroyed the good for the evil. The miferable iffue of this War, and how chab, in preparing a Fleet to fend to Ophir,

hoping of the like return which Salomon Moal burnt his son, or the son of the King

of Edom, for facrifice, on the rampire of his Affgria, Capetus, and Tiberinus Kings of the own City, I have already written in the life Albans in Italy; of the latter the river Tiof Jehoram among the Kings of Ifrael. Jehosa- ber (tormerly Albila) took name. phut reigned 25. years and died; he was bu- In Jehosaphats time also ruled Mecades or

ried in the valley of Jehosaphat, and a part of Mezades in Athens: Agelas or Agesilans in Co-16ha.10. the Pyramis fet over his grave is yet to be rinth; and Archilans of the same race of the mile ter leen, faith Brochard. His acts are written at Heraclida the feventh in Lacedamon. Bade-There lived with Jehosaphat, Ophratenes in Jehoram the Ifraclites. Sorus ruled the Tyrians; Achab, Ochazias and

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CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram the son of Jehosaphat, and Ahazia.

That Jehoram was made King Sundry times.

years old, being eight years a King: others, with whom they did begin and end. but of these eight years, which Jeho- It were perhaps a thing less needful than nings, which are given in Scripture to the any of his progenitors, or having once (in two Jehorams Kings of Israel and Juda, and the 17. of his reign) vouchfased unto him to Ahazia the eldest son of Ahab. For Ahazia that honor, to resume it to himself, or at least is said to have begun his reign, in the seven- wise to defer the confirmation of it, until four teenth year of Jehosaphat. Jehoram the bro- or five years were passed. Yet forasmuch as that is, in the next year after that Jeboram of whereby we may more clearly discover the 1 King 3 Juda was defigned King by his father 3 it be- causes of much extraordinary business ensuing (as we find elsewhere) the eighteenth year ing, I hold it not amiss to make such conjeof Jehosaphat himself, who went with the If ture, as the circumstances of the story briefly raelites against Moab, Hereby it appears that handled in the Scriptures may seem to apthe full power and execution of the royal prove. office was retained still by Jehosaphat, who We are therefore to consider, that this governed absolutely by himself not commu-King Jehosaphat was the first of Rehoboams nicating the rule with his son. But in the fifth issue that ever entred into any streight league 1808, 8, year of Jehoram King of Ifrael, which was the with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that two and twentieth of Jehosaphat, the old reigned in Juda before him, had with much King took unto him, as partner in the go- labour and long war, tired themselves in vernment, this his eldest son, who was at that vain, making small profit of the greatest adtime 32. years old, his father being 57. Now vantages that could be wished. Wherefore forasmuch as Jehosaphat reigned 25. years, it Jehosaphat thought it the wisest way, to make is evident that his fon did not reign alone a league offentive and defensive between till the eighth of Joram King of Ifrael. The Ifrael and Juda, whereby each might enjoy like regard is to be had in accounting the their own in quiet.

times of other Kings of Juda and If ael, who This confederacy made by a religious King, chross,

Eboram the son of Jehosaphat King of consounded with the years of their successors Juda began to reign at thirty two years or foregoers, and must therefore be found by of age, and lived until he was forty comparing their times with the years of those

ram is faid to have reigned, four are to be curious, to enquire into the reasons moving reckoned in the life of his father, who going Jehofaphat either to assume unto him his son to the Syrian vear with Ahab, left this Jeho- as partner in the Kingdom, whilft he was ram King in his stead, as Ahab did his son A- lable himself to command both in peace and hazia. This appears by the several begin- in war, the like having never been done by ther of Ahazia succeeded him in the 2. year to enter into the examination of these pas-

did not alwaies reign precifely folong as the with one that did hate the Lord, could not bare letter of the Text may seem at first to long prosper, as not filling from the true root affirm: but their years were sometimes comand fountain of all wisdom: yet as a piece of search seems. pleat, sometimes onely current, sometimes sound policy, doubtless it wanted not fair pretences

Снар. ХХ.

by likely to arife, with mutual fortification mean and unworthy personsin comparison of of both those Kingdoms, against the uncircumcifed Nations their ancient enemies, ten upon the daughter and fifter of two great This apparent benefit, being so inestimable a kings, not upon base women, and meer subjects, that it might not easily be lost, but jects. The Court of Abab, and his samous vicontinue as hereditary from father to fon, it ctories obtained against the Sgrian Benhadad was thought a very good course to have it were matter sufficient to make an insolent confirmed by some fure bond of affinity, and man think highly of himself, as being allied thereupon was Athalia the daughter of Omri, fo honourably, who could otherwise have and fifter of Ahab King of Ifrael, given in found in his heart well enough, to despite all marriage to Jehoram, who was fon and heir his brethren, as being the eldest, and heir apapparent to the King of Juda. This Lady parent to the Crown, whereof already he was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so had, in a manner, the possession. much of Queen Jezabel her brothers wife, How foon his vices brake out, or how that fhe durft undertake, and could through- long he dissembled them and his idolatrous ly perform a great deal more in Jerusalem, religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like than the other knew how to compass in Sa- enough it is, that some smoke, out of the maria. She was indeed a fire-brand ordai- hidden fire, did very soon make his fathers ned by God to confume a great part of the eyes to water; who thereupon caused the noblest houses in Juda, and perhaps of those young man to know himself better, by makmen or their children, whose worldly wis- ing him fall back into rank among his dom, regardless of Gods pleasure, had younger brethren. And surely the doings of brought her in-

the syrian war at Ramoth Gilead, wherein the milgovernment of his ungodly son. For Juda and Ifrael did adventure equally, but the good King was fain to make his progress the profit of the victory should have redoun- round about the Land, reclaiming the ded wholly to Ahab: as godly Princes very people unto the service of God, and appointcannot be well affected to his fervants. Be- tained by Asa, and by himself, had not suffered fore their fetting forth, Ahab defigned, as alteration, and the course of Justice been per-King, his fon Abaziab; not so much perhaps werted, by the power of such as had bornatin regard of the uncertain events of war thority. But the necessity that then was offection none of his predecessors had ever done formation, appears by the charge which the the like, upon the like occasions) nor as fear- King did give to the Judges; and by his coming the threatnings of the prophet Michaia mission given to one of the Priests in spi-(for he despised them) as inviting Jehosaphat ritual causes, and to the Steward of his by his own example, to take the same course, house in temporal matters, to be generall wherein he prevailed.

often, in making his fon Jehoram King.

led by his wife, especially for his forfaking reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and the religion of his godly Ancestors, and fol- Expositors of the holy Text agree. So he conlowing the abominable superstitions of the tinued in private estate, until the two and house of Achab.

pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the tion to former dignity are not fet down, yet whole course of her actions witnesseth at we may not think, that motives thereto, large. Much vain matter she was able to pro- appearing substantial, were wanting. Jeho.

pretences of much common good there- that his brethren and kindred were bur

Tehosaphat about the same time, argue no smal The first fruits of this great league, was distemper of the whole country, through feldom thrive by matching with Idolaters, ing Judges throughout all the strong Cities of but rather serve the turns of those false Juda City by City. This had been a needless a through the friends, who being ill affected to God himself bour, if the religion taught & strongly main-

This was not till after the death of Ahazia the fon of Abab; but how long after it is uncertain For Jehoram the brother of Ahazia Probable conjectures of the motives inducing began his reign (as hath been already nothe old king Jehosaphat to change his purpose ted) in the eighteenth of Jehosaphat, which was then accounted the second of Jehoram, Jehosaphat's son, though afterward this Jeho-Any arguments do very ftrongly prove ram of Juda had another first and second Jehoram to have been wholly over-ru- year, even in his fathers time, before he twentieth of his fathers reign, at which time, That she was a woman of intollerable though the occasions inducing his restituduce, whereby to make her husband think ram of Ifrael held the same correspondency

with Jekosaphat that his father had done; and they were all taken and slain, and with them that the young Prince of Juda was again or when the Tyrant fought their lives, or had the daily negotiations between the two durft fay the contrary? Kings of Juda and Israel, and the affinity be- After this Jehoram took upon him, as between them contracted in the person of Je- ing now Lord alone to make invasions in horam, might offer some good occasions there. Religion, wherein he vvas not contented, as unto. Neither isit certain how the behaviour other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and of the younger fons, in their elder brothers fafe conduct unto Superstition and Idolatry differace, might cause their father to put him nor to provoke and encourage the people in possession for fear of tumult after his to that fin, whereto it is wonderful that death, or the deep diffimulation of Jehoram they were so much addicted, having such himself might win the good opinion both of knowledge of God, and of his detelling that his Father and Brethen; it being a thing above all other fins; but he used compulusual in mischievous fell natures, to be as ab- sion, and was (if not the very first) the first iect and servile in time of adversity, as inso- that is registred, to have set up Irreligion by lent and bloody upon advantage. This is force. manifest, that being repossessed of his former Whilst he was thus busied at home, in doestate, he demeaned himself in such wise to- ing what he listed, the Edomites his Tributaward his brethren, as caused their father to ries rebelled against him abroad; and haenable them, not only with store of silver and ving hitherto since David's time, been govergold, and of precious things, (which kind of ned by a Vice-Roy, did now make unto liberality other Kings doubtless had used themselves a King. Against these Jehoram in unto their younger fons) but with the cu- person made an expedition, taking along flody of flrong Cities in Juda, to affure them, with him his Princes, and all his Chariots; if it might have been, by unwonted means, with which he obtained victory in the field, against unwonted perils.

§. III.

The doings of Jehoram when he reigned alone and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.

If they came in upon the summons of a King decrepit age of Ifrael, and reigned as Kings, their brother, then had he them without even in Jerusalem it felf. any more adoe; if they flood upon their The freedom of the Edomites, though pure guard, then were they Traytors, and so un- chased somewhat dearly, encouraged Libable to hold out against him, who besides na, a great City within juda, which in the his own power, was able to bring the forces time of Jospua had a peculiar King, to rebel of the Ifraelitish Kingdom against them; so against jehorum, and set it sels in liberty. that the apparent likelihood of their final Libra ftood in the confines of Benjamin and

made use of it. He drew the Judeans into the for company many great men of the Land. war of Mah, at which time it might well be, such belike as either had taken their part, dained King by his father, as in the Syrian been appointed Rulers of the Country, expedition he had been. Or if we ought ra- when Jekoram was depoted from his governther to think, that the preparations for the ment; in which office they, without forbeaenterprize against Moab did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of Jehosa doing of many things derogatory to their phat, in which year that Nation rebelled a- young Master; which if he would now call gainst Ifrael unto his two and twentieth; yet treason, saying that he was then King, who

compelling the Rebels to fly into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom he should have subdued, and kept his fervants. Now began the prophecy of Isaac to take effect, wherein he foretold, that Efan in process of time should break the yoke of Jacob. For after this the Edo-Dut all this providence availed nothing; mites could never be reclaimed by any of Bior an higher providence had otherwife the Kings of Juda, but held their own fo determined of the sequel. When once the well, that when, after many civil and forrein good old man, their Father, was dead, the wars, the Jews by fundry Nations had been younger fons of Jehosaphat found ftrong Ci- brought low; Antipater the Edomite, with ties, a weak defence, against the power of Herod his son, and others of that race followhim unto whom the Citizens were obedient ing them, became Lords of the Jews, in the

Overthrow, sufficed to make all forfake them of Dan, far from the affistance of any borders in the very beginning. Howsoever it was, ing enemies to Inda, and therefore so unlike-

ly it was to have maintained it felf in liber- But it feems that of those great numbers ty, that it may feem ftrange how it could e- which his father could have levied, there scape from utter destruction, or at the least were not many which 'Jehoram could well from some terrible vengeance, most likely trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an to have been taken, by their powerful, cruel, eafier loss, to let one Town goe, then to put and throughly incenfed Lord. The Ifrae- weapons into their hands, who were more lite held such good intelligence at that time likely to follow the example of Libna, than with Juda, that he would not have accepted to punish it. So desperate is the condition of the Town, had it offered it felf unto him: Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happiness neither do we read that it fought how to to be feared than to be loved, are fain themcast it self into a new subjection, but conti- selves to stand in fear of those, by whom they nued a free state. The rebellion of it against might have been dreadful unto others. Jehoram, was, Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers; which I take to have not only been the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, and of the inhabitants to do as they did: for it was a Town of the Levites; who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religidriven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not onely any impression of Gods displeasure in it all that were unwilling. As for the use of threatned both his people, his children, his the Temple at Jerusalem (which, being de- wives, and his own body. Hereby likewiseit ten revolted Tribes by any of the Religious durft not reprove him to his face, as they had Kings, who rather invited the *Ifraelites* thidone many of his predecessors, both good ther, and gave them kind entertainment: un- and evil Kings; but were fain to denounce der Idolaters they must have been without Gods judgements against him by letters,keeit, whether they lived free, or in subjection. ping themselves close and far from him. This Yet it feems that private reasons were not Epistle is said to have been sent unto him membred, wherein Jehosaphat reformed his phat. Wherefore it may be that Elias left this (according to the trust reposed in them) neg- | heaven to St. Giles. lect in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, & make threatning Epistle, the accomplishment of the

his death.

THese afflictions not sufficing to make fome allowance to countenance it by the the mind of the wicked Prince; a Prophecy King, but compulfive authority to force unto in writing was delivered to him, which vout men, they might fear to lofe by this re-bellion) it was never denied to those of the Gods servants; in as much as the Prophets wanting, which might move them rather to from Elias the Prophet. But Elias was tran- 1 close do than suffer that which was unwarranta-slated, and Elizeus prophesied in his stead is ble. For in the general visitation before re- before this time, even in the daies of Jehofa - 1849.11. kingdom, the good old King appointing new prophecy in writing behind him, or that (as Governours, and giving them especial some conjecture) the errour of one letter in charge to do justice without respect of per-writing, was the occasion that we read Elias fons, used these words; The Levites shall be for Elizeus. Indeed any thing may rather be officers before you; Be of good courage, and do believed than the Tradition held by some it, and the Lord shall be with the good, By these of the Jewish Rabbins, that Elias from heaven phrases, it seems, that he encouraged them did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like against the more powerful, than just procee- to the sable of our Ladies letters, devised by dings of his fon; whom if the Levites did | Erasmus, or of the Verse that was sent from

But whofoever was the Authour of this them now to feel, as many Princes of the prophecy was as terrible as the fentence. land had done, his heavy indignation. How For the Philistims and Arabians brake into it happened that Libna was not hereupon Judaa, and took the Kingshouse, wherein destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that they found all, or many of his children, and we can read) so much as besieged or mole- wives, all which they slew, or carried away, sted, may justly seem very strange. And the with great part of his goods. These Philimore strange it is in regard of the mighty stims had not presumed since the time of Da-Armies which Jehosaphat was able to raise, vid, to make any offensive warre till now; being sufficient to have over-whelmed any one Town, and buried it under the earth, had lost the best of their Towns, mainwhich they might well in one moneth have taining themselves in the rest of their small cast into it with shovels, by ordinary approal territories, by defensive arms, to which they

were constrained at Gibbethon by the Ifrae- | was so large and populous: and therefore horsemen, and ill appointed; their Country were able safely to conveigh away. affording no other furniture, than fuch as The flaughter committed by Jehn on the might make them fitter to rob and spoil in two and forty brethren of Ahazia, or (as they the open fields, than to offend ftrong Cities, are called eliewhere) so many of his brothers such as were thick fet in Juda. True it is, that sons, and the cruel massacre wherein all the in ages long after following, they conquered Royal feed perified (only Joss excepted) all the South parts of the world then known, under the tyranny of Athalia, following in a very short space of time, destroying within two years after this invasion of the fome, and building other some very stately Philistims and Arabians, make it seem proba-Cities. But it must be considered, that this ble, that the sons of Jeboran were not all was when they had learned of the Romans claim at once, but that rather the first murthe Art of War; and that the provisions ther began in his own time, and was seconwhich they found, together with the Arts ded by many other heavy blows, wherewith which they learned, in one subdued Pro- his house was incessantly striken, until it was vince, did make them able and skilful in pur- in a manner quite hewed down. fuing their conquest, and going on into Regions far removed from them. At this day ha- was extended against the body of this wieving lost in effect all that they had gotten, ked King, smiting him with a grievous dis-such of them as live in *Arabia* it self are good case in his bowels, which lest him not until horsemen, but ill appointed; very danger- his guts fell out, and his wretched soul deous to passengers, but unable to deal with parted from his miserable carkass. The good Souldiers, as riding stark naked, and people of the Land, as they had small cause rather trusting in the swiftness of their horses of comfort in his life, so had they not the spoiled Judea in the time of Jehoram. For Juda, though his own son succeeded him fart, wanting manual Arts whereby to supply same spirits that had been his Fathers evil the naturals with furniture: neither are their Angels. Athalia had other matters to trouther adherents of the Philistims. Out of this a dead husband. She was thinking how we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quar- to provide for the future, to maintain her ter of the numbers found in the least muster own greatness, to retain her favourites in of Juda and Benjamin under Jehosaphat their authority, and to place about her nough to have driven away far greater for- she thought it unseasonable to make much ces than these enemies are likely to have a-decabout a thing of nothing, and offend brought into the field, had not the people the peoples eyes, with a flately funeral of been unable to deal with them, for lack of a man by them detefted: but rather chose weapons, which were now kept from them to let the blame of things passed be laid upby their Princes jealousie, as in Saul's time on the dead, than to procure an ill opinion by the policy of the Philiftims.

which these invaders took, was not his Palace vvicked Instigators, having made greedy in Jerusalem, but rather some other house of use of bad imployments, to charge, not only his abroad in the Country, where his wives with his own vices, but with their faults aland children at that time lay for their recre- to, the man vyhose evil inclinations their siniation: because we read not that they did ster counsels have made worse, vvhen once fack the City, or spoil the Temple, which he is gone, and can profit them no longer. would have invited them as a more commo- The death of Jehoram fell out indeed in a budious booty, had they got possession thereof. sie time; when his friend and cousin the Isra-Yet perhaps they took Jerusalem it self by elite, who had the same name, was entangled furprize, the people being disarmed, and the in a dissicult War against the Aramite; and Kings guard too weak to keep them out; yet therefore could have no better leafure to

lites. The Arabians were likely to have been having done what spoil they could, withthen, as they are now, a naked people, all drew themselves with such purchase as they

After these calamities, the hand of God than in any other means of refiftance, where good manners to pretend forrow for his they are well opposed. And such, or little death; wherefore he was denied a place of better, may they feem to have been, that burial among his Ancestors the Kings of their Country was alwayes barren and de- in the Kingdom, who was guided by the bands named as chief in that action, but ra- ble her head, than the pompous interring of (wherein were inrolled three hundred and son fuch Counfellours of the boule of Ahab : 16/100/16 eighty thousand fighting men) had been e- as vvere tittelt for her turn. Wherefore 44 + of her felf and hers, which it now did con-It may feem that the house of the King cern her to avoid. Such is the quality of had not the courage to hold it, because it help Athalia, in setting of things according

CHAP: XIX.

through the same hinderance) to help her which they wan, but not without blows: for husband, when he was diffrested by the Phi- the Aramites sought so well, that the King of listims; Yea, rather he needed and craved Ifrael was fain to adventure his own perion. the affiftance of the men of Juda, for the ta- which escaped not unwounded. king in of Ramoth Gilead, where they had not feed fo well the last time, that they strengly, in expectation of some attempt should willingly run thither again, unless likely to be made by Hazael King of Aram: they were very fairly intreated.

thought good to handle the more particu- with more quiet he might attend the curing larly purfuing the examination of all occur- of his wounds; and Ahazia returned to Terences, as far as the circumstances remembred rusalem. It seems that he was but newly come in holy Scripture would guide me by their home (for he reigned in all feantly one year, directions) to the end that it might more whereof the former expedition, with the plainly appear, how the corrupted affections preparations for it, had taken up a great of men, impugning the revealed will of God, [part] when he did make a new journey, as it accomplish nevertheless his hidden purpose, were for good manners sake to visit the King and without miraculous means, confound of Ifrael, who lay fore of his wounds. Belike themselves in the seeming-wife devices of Athalia was browing some new plots, which their ownfolly: as likewise to the end that his presence would have hindered, and all men might learn to submit their judge- therefore sought every occasion to thrust ments to the ordinance of God, rather than him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain to think, that they may fafely dispense with piece of work so to leave his kingdom, hahis commandements, and follow the prudent ving no other business than by way of comconceits which worldly wifdom dictateth plement to go fee one whom he had feen veunto them. For in fuch kind of unhappy fub- fterday. Certain it is that the Lord had refoltilties, it is manifest that Athalia was able to ved at this time to put in execution that heafurnish both her Husband and her Son; but vy judgement, which he had laid by the the issue of them partly hath appeared al- mouth of Elias the Prophet upon the house ready, and partly will appear, in that which of Ahab. And hereupon at this time had he immediatly followeth.

the King of Israel.

in the twelfth year of Jehoram the fon of der and examine. Abab King of Ifracl, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficulty than importance to know it: yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof How Ahazia perished with the house of Ahab: I fee no more probable conclusion than that of Torniellus, alledging the Edition of the Septuagint at Rome, Anno Domini 1588. which faith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom; and the An- lead, a Disciple of Elizeus the Prophet came notations thereupon, which cite other Co- in among the Captains that were fitting topies, that do give him two years more. Like gether; who calling out among them Jehn, chough he is to have been young: for he was a principal man, took him apart, and anointgoverned by his Mother, and her Ministers, ed him King over Ifrael, rehearing unto him who gave him counfel, by which he perished. the Prophecy of Elias against the house of In matter of Religion he altered none of his Ahab, and letting him understand that it was fathers courses. In matter of State he like- the pleasure of God to make him executiowife upheld the league made with the house ner of that sentence. The fashion of the Mefof Abab. He was much busied in doing little, senger was such as bred in the Captains a deand that with ill success He accompanied his sire to know the errand, which Jehn thought

to her own mind, than he had (perhaps Coufin the Ifraelite against Ramoth Gilead

The Town being won, was manned ey were very fairly intreated. | which done, Jehoram King of Islaed with-The acts of this wicked man I have drew himself to the City of Jezrael, where disposed not onely the concurrence of all othe hings, which in mans eyes might feem to have been accidental, but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended of the reign of Ahazia, and his business with nothing less than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these Athalia doubtless was one; whose mischievous purposes it will Chazias, or Akazia, the son of Jehoram shortly be needful, for explanation of some and Athalia, began his reign over Juda, difficulties arifing, that we diligently confi-

and how that Family was destroyed by Jehu.

"He whole Army of Ifrael, with all the He whole Army of Israel, with all the principal Captains, lying in Ramoth Gimeet to let them know, as doubting vvhe-tidings were brought in, that the watchman perform it.

put himself in possession of it, but used the all were well, was retained by him, who infirst heat of their affections, vvho joyned tended to give the King as little warning as with him, in fetting on foot the butiness might be. The feeming negligence of this vyhich nearly concerned him, and vvas not fellow in not returning vvith an answer, to be fore flowed, being no more his own might argue the matter to be of small importhan Gods.

ten, or no otherwise remembred, than as an held him till death did seize upon him. unlikely tale by them that beheld the majeand forty Princes of his blood expected.

tents, first against the Aramites, and then a- when she least expected it. But she, full of ingainst Moab, Edom, and other rebels and ene- dignation and proud thoughts, made her felf mies: or else were triumphing in joy of that ready in all hafte, and painted her face, howhich was already atchieved, and the ping with her stately and imperious looks to Queen-mother dreffing her felf in the bra- daunt the Traitor, or at least to utter some vest manner to come down amongst them; Apophthegme that should express her brave

ther they had over-heard all the talk or no. had from a Tower discovered a company When he had acquainted them vvirh the coming. These news were not very troublevyhole matter, they made no delay, but some for the Army that lay in Ramoth Gileforthwith proclaimed him King. For the ad, to be ready against all attempts of the Prophecy of Elias vvas vvell known among Aramites, was likely enough to be discharthem, neither durst any one oppose himself ged upon some notice taken that the enemy against him, that was by God ordained to would not, or could not stir. Onely the King fent out an Horfe-man to know what the Jehu, vvho had upon the sudden this great matter was, and to bring him word. The mefhonour thrown upon him, vvas not flow to fenger coming to Jehu, and asking whether tance: yet the King to be fatisfied fent out The first care was that no news of the re- another that should bring him word how volt might be carried to Jezreel, vvhereby all vvent; and he vvas likewise detained by the King might have had vvarning either to Jehu. These dumb shews bred some suspicion fight or flee: this being foreseen, he marched in Jehoram, vvhom the Watchman certified fwiftly away, to take the Court vvhile it vvas of all that happened. And now the company yet secure. King Jehoram vvas now so vvell drew so near, that they might, though not recovered of his Wounds, that he could en- perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of dure to ride abroad, for which cause it Jehn himself by the furious manner of his feems that there was much feafting, and joy marching. Wherefore the King that was made, especially by Queen Jezabel, who kept | loth to discover any vveakness, caused his her state so well, that the brethren of Abazia | Chariot to be made ready, and issued forth coming thither at this time, did make it as with Abazia King of Juda in his company, well their errand to falute the Queen, as to whose presence added majesty to his train, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee, Certain it is, that fince the rebellion of had been more needful. This could not be Moab against Ifrael, the house of Ahab did done so hastily, but that Jehn was come even never so much flourish as at this time. Seventy to the towns end, and there they met each Princes of the bloud Royal there were that other in the field of Naboth. Jehoram began lived in Samaria; Jehoram the fon of Queen to falute Jehn with terms of peace, but re-Jezabel had won Ramoth Gilead, which his ceiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him, Father had attempted in vain, with loss of so that crying out upon the treason to his his life; and he won it by valiant fight, where | fellow King, he turned away to have fled. in he received wounds, of which the danger But Jehn foon overtook him with an arrow, was now past, but the honour likely to con- wherewith he struck him dead, and threw tinue. The amity was so great between Ifrael his carkass into that field, which, purchased and Juda, that it might suffice to daunt all with the bloud of the rightful owner, was to their common enemies, leaving no hope of be watered with the bloud of the unjust fuccess to any rebellious enterprizer: so that possession. Neither did Ahazia escape so well, now the prophecy of Elias might be forgot- but that he was arrested by a Wound, which

The Kings Palace was joyning to the flical face of the Court, wherein fo great a wall, by the gate of the City, where Jezabel triend as the King of Juda was entertained, might foon be advertised of this calamity, if fhe did not with her own eyes behold it. In the middest of this security, whilest Now it was high time for her to call to God these great Estates were (perhaps) either for mercy, whose judgment, pronounced aconsulting about prosecution of their in- gainst her long before, had overtaken her,

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1 Chean

22, 4.

might make him odious for ever. Little did in the eyes of men; of men that confidered the think upon the hungry dogs that were not the judgments of God that had been deordained to devour her, whose paunches the nounced against her. (tibium, with which she besmeared her eyes, So perished this accursed woman by the would more offend, than the scolding lan-rude hands of her own servants, at the comguage wherewith the armed her tongue mandment of her greatest enemy, that was could trouble the ears of him that had her yesterday her subject, but now her Lord; and in his power. As Jehn drew near, the opened the perished miserably, strugling in vain with her window, and looking out upon him, be-base grooms, who contumeliously did hale gan to put him in mind of Zimri, that had not | and thrust her, whilest her insulting enemy long enjoyed the fruits of his treason, and sate on horse-back, adding indignity to her murther of the King his Mafter. This was in grief by fcornful beholding the shameful meer humane valuation froutly spoken, but manner of her fall, and trampling her body was indeed a part of miferable folly; as are under foot. Her dead carkass that was less all things, howfoever laudable, if they have without the Walls, vvas devoured by dogs, an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her own and her very memory vvas odious. Thus the Eunuchs that flood by and heard her, were vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatry, not affected so much as with any compassion murther, and oppression, with slow, but sure of her fortune; much less was her enemy payment, and full interest. daunted with her proud spirit. When jehn Ahazia King of Juda fleeing a-pace from faw that she did use the little remainder of Jehn, was overtaken by the way where he her life in feeking to vex him, he made her lurked; and receiving his deadly Wound presently to understand her own estate, by in the Kingdom of Samaria, was suffered to deeds and not by words. He only called to get him gone (which he did in all hafte) and her fervants to know which of them would feek his burial in his own Kingdom: and this be on his fide, and foon found them ready to favour he obtained for his Grand-fathers offer their fervice before the very face of fake, not for his Fathers nor his own, He died their proud Lady. Hereupon he commanded at Megiddo, and was thence carried to Jernthem to cast her down head-long: which im- | falem, where he was enterred with his Ancemediately they performed, without all re- ftors, having reigned about one year. gard of her greatness and estate, wherein she

foirit, and brand him with such a reproach as had a few hours before shined so gloriously



CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia; and whose son he was that succeeded her.

5. I.

Of Athalia's usurping the Kingdom, and what pretences she might forge.

Athalia upon the death of her they faw or heard. fon have given occasion to divers opinions Yet ambition, how violent soever it be, is concerning the Pedigree of Joas, who reign-feldom or never fo shameless as to resule the ed shortly after. For Athalia being thus dif-commodity of goodly pretences offering poiled of her for under whose name she had themselves; but rather scrapes together all ruled at her pleasure, did forthwith lay hold that will any way serve to colour her proupon all the Princes of the blood, and flew ceedings. Wherefore it were not abfurd for them, that so she might occupy the Royal us to think, that Athalia, when she saw the Throne her felf, and reign as Queen, rather Princes of the Royal bloud, all of them in a than live a Subject. She had before-hand put manner, flain by her husband, and afterwards into great place, and made Counsellors unto his own children destroyed by the Philistims, her fon, such as were fittest for her purpose, began even then to play her own game, reand ready at all times to execute her will: ducing by artificial practice, into fair likeli-

Fter the death of Abazia, it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great faid that his house was not able execution done by Jehoram, upon the Printo retain the Kingdom: which ces, and many of the Nobility, had made the Note, and the proceedings of people tame, and fearful to ftir, whatfoever

bands bad fortune had prefented her. Not vyomen was young and unable to relift. We could not retain it.

as gaped after a change, was to make her heir follow examples that please them, will negthe last and youngest of his house, whom it lest the reasons of those examples, if they most concerned, as being the QueenMother, please them not, and rest contented with the to uphold the first and eldest.

Title; yet could she afterwards feign some sed afterwards, in declaring the title of Joash. her affairs before hand. For though the tain that the had thereunto no right at all, had no reason to suspect or fear the sudden but only got it by treachery, murder, and death of her son, yet it was the wisest vvay open violence, and so she held it six whole to provide betimes against all that might years, and a part of the seventh, in good happen, whilest her husbands iffue by other feeming security.

without great shew of reason, either by her plainly find that the Brethren or Nephews own mouth, or by some trusty creature of hers of Abazia, to the number of two and forty might she give him to understand, how need- vvere sent to the Court of Ifrael, only to saful it were to take the best order whilst as yet lute the children of the King, and the chilhe might, for fear of the worst that might dren of the Queen, The Hender occasion happen. If the iffue of David, which now re- of vyhich long journey, confidered togemained only in his family should by any acci- ther with the quality of these persons (bedent fail (as wofull experience had already ing in effect all the stock of Jehoram that thewed what might after come to pais) the could be grown to any strength) makes it people of Juda were not unlikely to choose a very suspicious, that their entertainment King of some new stock, a popular seditions in jezabels house would onely have been man peradventure, one that to countenance more formall, but little differing in subhis own unworthiness, would not care what stance, from that which they found at the afrersions he laid upon that Royal house, hand of Jehn. He that looks into the courwhich was fallen down. And who could affure fes held both before and after by these two him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing Queens, will find cause enough to think what might be gotten thereby, did not alread no less. Of such as have aspired unto Lorddy contrive the destruction of him, and all his ships not belonging to them, and thrust feed? Wherefore it were the wifest way to out the right Heirs by pretence of Testadefign by his authority, not only his successfor, ments, that had no other validity than the but also the reversioner, and so to provide, sword of such as claimed by them could give, that the Crown might never be subject to any Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford riffing, but remain in the disposition of them plentiful examples: and the rule of Salothat loved him best, if the worst that might mon is true: Is there any thing whereof one be feared comming to pass, his own posterity may say, Behold, this is new? It hath been al- Ecules 10 ready in the old time that was before us. That Such perswasions being urged, and car- a King might shed his brothers blood, was neltly followed, by the importunate follicita- proved by Salomon upon Adonia; that he tion of her that governed his affections, were might alien the Crown from his natural able to make the jealous Tyrant think, that Heirs, David had given proof; but these had the onely way to frustrate all devices of such, good ground of their doings. They which practice, as more willing by shewing what If Athalia took no such course as this in her they may doe, than acknowledging why Sahusbands time, yet might she do it in her sons. lomon slew his brother that had begun one . com. 1. For Ahazia (befides that he was wholly ruled rebellion, and was entring into another. Je-134 by his mother) vvas not likely to take much horam flew all his brethren, which were better care for the security of his half-brethren, or than he: David purchased the Kingdom, and their children; as accounting his Fathers o- might the more freely dispose of it, yet he difther wives, in respect of his own-born-Mo- posed of it as the Lord appointed: if Jehrther, little better than Concubines, and their ram, who had lost much and gotten nothing, children basely begotten. But if this mischie- thought that he might alien the remainder vous woman forgat her self so far in her wick- at his pleasure ; or if Ahazia sought to cut off ed policy, that the lost all opportunity which the succession of his brethren, or of their the weakness of her husband and son did af-issue; either of these was to be answered ford, of procuring unto her self some seeming with the words which Jehojada the Priest ufuch matter, as boldly the might: being fure Echold, the Kings fon must reign; as the Lord that none would ask to see her evidence, bath said of the son of David. Wherefore for fear of being fent to learn the certainty though I hold it very probable, that Athalia of her son or husband in another World. did pretend some title, whatsoever it might But I rather think that she took order for be, to the Crown of Juda; yet it is most cer-

that she kept a strong guard about her, it is hoods, those possibilities wherewith her hus-

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could not molest Athalia.

to difturb her; which in reason he was it, than could at any time after be found in likely to defire, being an enemy to her whole the means of holding it. House. But he was occupied at the first in This ingratitude of Jehn drew terrible venestablishing himself, rooting out the poste- geance of God upon Israel, whereof Hazael rity of Abab, and reforming somewhat in King of Damascus was the executioner. The Religion: afterwards in wars against the cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may find Aramites, wherein he was fo far overcharg- in the Prophecy of Elizeus, who fore-toldit. ed, that hardly he could retain his own, faying: Their strong Cities shalt thou set on wings much less attempt upon others. Of the line fire; and their young men shalt thou slay with u. of Abab there were seventy living in Sama-, the sword, and shalt dash their Infants against ria, out of which number Jehn by letter ad- the flones, and rend in pieces their women with vised the Citizens to set up some one as child. So did not only the wickedness of A-King, and to prepare themselves to fight in hab cause the ruine of his whole house, but his defence. Hereby might they gather how the obstinate Idolatry of the people bring a confident he was; which they well under-lamentable mifery upon all the Land. For stood to proceed from greater power about the fury of Hazaels victory was not quenchhim, than they could gather to refift him. ed with the destruction of a few towns, nor Wherefore they took example by the two wearied with one invalion; but he smote Kings whom he had flain, and being excee- them in all the coast of Israel, and wastedall dingly afraid of him, they offered him their the Country beyond the River of Jordan. : Kingson fervice; wherein they fo readily shewed Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seems 31 themselves obedient, that in less than one that the people repented not of their Idodaies warning, they fent him the heads of all latry; (For in those daies the Lord began to those Princes, as they were enjoyned by a loath Ifrael;) but rather it is likely, that they fecond letter from him. After this he surpri- bemoaned the noble house of Ahab, under means he drew them all together into one ly fought for the conquest of syria, where monuments of that impiety.

ferveshe would needs help to piece out Gods reposed all their confidence. providence with his own circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedy gamester, vyho by stealing a needless Card to assure himself of vvinning a stake, forfeits his whole test. He had questionless displeased many, by that which he did against Baal; and many more he should offend by taking from them

was that Idolatry of Jeroboam. Yet all these. how many foever they were, had never How Jehu fent his time in Ifrael, fo that he once thought upon making him King, if God. whom (to retain them) he now forfook. had not given him the Crown, when more IN all this time Jehn did never goe about difficulties appeared in the way of getting

zed all the Priefts of Baal by a fubrilty, feig-ning a great facrifice to their god, by which whom they were now a prey, & had brave-Temple, vwhere he flew them: and in the they had enlarged their border, by winning fame zeal to God utterly demolished all the Ramoth Gilead, and compelled Benhadad to restore the Cities which his Father had won: Concerning the Idolatry devised by Je- whereas now they were fain to make woful roboam, no King of Ifrael had ever greater shifts, living under a Lord that had better reason than Jehn to destroy it. For he needed fortune and courage in murdering his master not to fear lest the people should be allured that had put him in trust, than in defending unto the house of David; it vvas (in appea- his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it rance) quite rooted up, and the Crown of commonly falls out, that they who can find juda in the possession of a cruel Tyranness: all manner of difficulties in serving him, to he had received his kingdom by the unex- whom nothing is difficult, are, in flead of the pected grace of God; and further in regard case & the pleasure to themselves propounof his zeal expressed in destroying Baal out ded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with of Israel, he was promised not with standing the troubles which they sought to avoid; his following the fin of Jeroboam, that the and therein by God, whom they first forsook, kingdom should remain in his Family to the forsaken, and left unto the wretched labours fourth Generation. But all this vould not of their own blind wisdom, wherein they had

6. III. of Athaliah's Government.

"Hese calamities falling upon Ifrael,kept Athalia sase on that side, giving her leithe use of superstition, so long practifed as sure to look to things at home: as having

little to do abroad, unless it were so that she | her to be such as she was. By her care fosts held some correspondency with Hazael, pre- the young Prince that reigned soon after, tending therein to imitate her Husbands was conveighed out of the nursery, when 4-Grand-father King Asa, who had done the like. And some probability that she did so, may be gathered out of that which is recor- as fecretly he was brought up. How it came ded of her doings. For we find, that this to pass that this young child was not hunted school wicked Athalia and her children brake up the out, when his body was miffing; nor any likely to want some fair pretext of necessity and so be the less conformable to their preof the State so requiring: in which case o- sent government. So Joss was delivered out thers before her had made bold with that of that flaughter, he and his nurse being holy place, and her next succession was fain gone no man could tell whither, and might to do the like, being thereunto forced by be thought peradventure to be cast away. Hazael, who perhaps was delighted with the as having no other guard than a poor Wotafte of that which was formerly thence ex- man that gave him fuck, who foolifhly tracted for his fake.

For the poverty of that facred Tribe of Levi the thanks due to their joyful tidings, must needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being utterly loft, the oblations and other perquifites, by which they lived, being now very few and fmall; and the store, laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by shameful robbery. Yet God, and the daily facrifice keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no less than in those dayes wherein their entertainment was far better.

§. IV. Of the preservation of Joas.

Ebojada then occupied the high Priesthood, an honourable, wife, and religious man. To his carefulness it may be afcribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender fort up-held in those unhappy daughter of King Jehoram, and fifter to Ahather, though her access to the Court argue called his son, but was the next of his kindmight more easily procure her welcome to in the inheritance of his Father. And hereher own Fathers house, than the education unto the murder committed by Athalia;

thalia destroyed all the Kings children, and was carried fecretly into the Temple, where koule of God, and all things that were dedicate great reckoning (for ought that we find) for the honse of the Lord did they bestow upon made of his escape, I will not stand to exam-Baalim. Such a facriledge, though it pro- ine: for it was not good in policy, that the ceeded from a desire to set out her own Ido- people should hear say, that one of the childlatry, with such pomp as might make it the ren had avoyded that cruel blow; it might more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not have made them hearken after innovations. doubting that she her self should have been Under this impious government of Athalia, slain, was fled away with him into some dethe devotion of the Priests and Levites was folate place, where it was like enough that very notable, and served (no doubt) very she and he should perish. In such cases flattemuch to retain the people in the Religion rers, or men desirous of reward, easily coin taught by God himself, howsoever the such tales, and rather swear them to be true Queens proceedings advanced the contrary. in their own knowledge, than they will lose

§. V. Whose Son Joas was.

they up-held in all this mifery the service of Whether Joas may be thought likely to have been the Son of Ahazia.

Ow concerning this Joafh, whose fon he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath caused much controversie among Writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the fon of Ahazia, feem plain 2 King 11 enough. How any figure of the Hebrem through language might give title of Son unto him, in regard that he was his Successiour, I neither by my felf can find, nor can by any help of Authors learn how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been. times. His Wife was Jehoshabeth, who was or not, the natural son of Abaziah. For whereas it is faid, that the house of Ahazia 2 chro. 22, zia, a godly Lady and vertuous, whose piety was not able to retain the Kingdome; some makes it feem that Athalia was not her Mo- do inferre that this Joash was not properly the contrary: but her discreet carriage red, and therefore succeeded him, as son under such a Mother could have permitted doth very well agree. For she perceiving that

the Kingdom was to fall into their hands, in Gregory Nazianzen (as I find him cited by whom the had no interest, might easily find Peter Martyr) and after him Erasmus, and cause to sear, that the tyranny exercised by Faber Stapulensis, have likewise held the same her husband at her infligation upon fo many of Josfb, deriving him from Nathan. But Nanoble Houses, would now be revenged upon than and those other brethren of Salomon by her self. The ruine of her Idolatrous Religion the same Mother, are thought, upongood might in this case terrifie both her and her likelihoods to have been the children of V-Minions; the fentence of the Law rewarding right the Hittite: and fo are they accounted that offence with death; and the Tragedy by fundry of the Fathers, and by Lyra, and of Texabel teaching her what might happen Abulensis, who follow the Hebrew Expositors to another Queen. All this had little con- of that place in the first of Chronicles. The cerned her if her own grand-child had been words of Salomon calling himself the only heir to the Crown; for the that had power begotten of his mother, do approve this exenough to make her felf Queen, could with polition: for vve read of no more than two more ease, and lesse envy, have taken upon soms which Bathsua or Bathsheba did bear unher the office of a Protector, by which au- to David, whereof the one begotten in adulthority the might have done her pleafure, tery, died an Infant, and Salomon only ofher and been the more both obeyed by others, children by the King did live. So that the and secure of her own estate, as not wanting rest must needs have been the children of an heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that | Vriah, and are thought to have been Davids the should be so unnatural, as to destroy the only by adoption. Wherefore if Joss had not Child of her own Son, of whose life she might been the son of Ahazia, then must that pedihave made greater use than she could of his gree have been false, wherein S. Matthew derideath: whereas indeed, the love of Grand- veth him lineally from Salomon: yea, then had mothers to their Nephews, is little less than not our bleffed Saviour iffued from the loins the Mothers to their Children.

feem incredible, that all natural affection on, and form of law, as any other might have should be cast aside, when as neither necessis, been. As for the authority of Philo, which ty urgeth, nor any commodity thereby got- hath drawn many late Writers into the opiten requireth it, yea, when all humane poli- nion that Foalh was not of the posterity of cy doth teach one the same, which nature Salomon, it is enough to say, that this was without reason would have perswaded.

||. II. That loss did not descend from Nathan.

in that which is related, than to shew how it might have otherwise been) the pedigree of this Joalh is, by them which think him not the fon of Abazia, fet down in fuch fort, that it may very justly be suspected. thought upon, me thinks it were not amiss They fay, that he descended from Nathan to open at once, and peruse together two the fon of David, and not from Salomon: to places of Scripture, whereof the one telling which purpose they bring a History (I know | the wickedness of Jehoram the son of Jeho 19. whence) of two Families of the race of Da- faphat King of Juda, for which he and his wid, faying, that the line of Salomon held the children perished, rehearseth it as one of Kingdom with this condition, that if at any Gods mercies towards the house of David, time it failed, the Family of Nathan should that according to his promise he would give fucceed it. Concerning this Nathan the fon him a light, and to his children for ever: the of David, there are that would have him to other doth fay, that for the offences of the be Nathan the Prophet, who, as they think, fame Jehoram, there was not a son left him, was by David adopted. And of this opinion fave Jehoahas the youngest of his sons. Now was Origen, as also S. Augustine sometime was, if it were in regard of Gods promise to Dabut afterward he revoked it, as was meet; vid, that after those massacres of Jehoram for this Nathan is reckoned among the sons upon all his brethren, and of the Philistims retion. 3. of David, by Bathsua the daughter of Ammes, and Arabians upon the children of Jehoram, and therefore could not be the Prophet. one of the feed of David escaped; why may

of David, according to the flesh, but had on-This argument is very ftrong. For it may ly been of his line by courtefie of the Nati-Frier Annius his Philo: for no other edition of Philo, hath any fuch matter; but Annius can make Authors to fpeak what he lift.

|| III. || || Ut (as it is more easie to find a difficulty | That Joas may probably be thought to have been the fon of Jehoram.

> IN fo doubtful a case, if it seem lawful to hold an opinion that no man hathyet

Jehoram and all his children, onely Jehoahas der of this point. his youngest son was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirm to be the same with Joas, which is called the fon of Ahazia, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which Upon what reasons Athalia might seek to dedoth argue that it could no otherwise have been. For it was the youngest son of Jehoram in whom the race was preserved; which &F therefore we shall follow that vyhich is could not in any likelihood be Ahazia, seeing commonly received, and interpret the that he was twenty years old at the least (as text according to the letter, it may be said, is already noted) when he began to reign, that Athalia vvas not only blinded by the and confequently, was born in the eigh- passions of ambition and zeal to her Idolateenth or twentieth year of his Fathers age. trous vvorship of Baalim, but pursued the ac-Now I know not whether of the two is more complishment of some unnatural defires, in

it not be thought that he was faid to have teen years old, or that having (ashe had) escaped, in whom the line of David was pre- many wives and children, he should upon the terved? for had all the race of Salomon been studden, at his eighteenth year, become unrooted up in these woful Tragedies, and the struitful, and beget no more in twenty years progeny of Nathan fucceeded in place there- following: each of which must have bin true, of ; like enough it is that some remembrance if this were true that Ahazia was the same more particular would have been extant, of Jehoahas which was his youngest fon. But an event so memorable. That the race of Na- this inconvenience is taken away, and those than was not extinguished, it is indeed appa- other doubts arising from the causless cruelrent by the Genealogie of our Lord, as it is ty of Athalia, in feeling the life of Joss are recounted by S. Luke: but the prefervation eafily cleared, if Joas and Jehoahas were one. of the house of David, mentioned in the Neither doth his age withstand this opinion; Books of Kings and Chronicles, was perform- For he was feven years old when he began to 2 Chron. 13. ed in the perion of Jehoahas, in whom the reign; which if we understand of years com-1. Royal branch of Salomon, the natural, and pleat, he might have been a year old at the not only legal iffue remaining of David, was death of Jehoram, being begotten somewhat kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought after the beginning of his fickness. Neither that this Joals, who followed Athalia in the is it more abfurd to fay that he was the na-Kingdom, was the youngest son of Jehoram, tural son of Jehoram, though called the son whose life Athalia, as a step-dame, was not of Ahazia, than it were to say, as great Aulikely to purfue. For it were not eafily un-thors have done, this difficulty notwithftandderstood, why the preservation of Davids ing, that he was of the posterity of Nathan. line, by Godselpecial mercy, in regard of One thing indeed I know not how to anhis promife made, should pertain rather to wer; which had it concurred with the rest, that time, when befides Abazia himself, there in which have ferved as the foundation of this were two and forty of his brethren, or (as opinion. The name of Jeboahas, that foundation another place they are called) fons of his eth much more near to Joss, than to Abaziah, brethren remaining alive, which afterwards in an English car, doth in the Hebrew (as I were all flain by Jebu; than have reference am informed by fome, skilful in that lantothe lamentable destruction and little less guage) through the diversity of certain letthan extirpation of that progeny, wherein ters, differ much from that which it most reone onely did escape. Certainly that inhu sembleth in our Western manner of writing, mane murther which Jehoram committed and little from the other. Now, although upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth it be fo that Ahazia himself be also called in the History) revenged upon his own chil- Azaria, and must have had three names, if dren; then was not this vengeance of God he were the same with Jehoahas; in which 2 chron 24 accomplished by the Philistims and Arabi- manner Joas might also have had several 5. ans, but being only begun by them, was after- names; yet, because I find no other warrant wards profecuted by Jehn, and finally took hereof than a bare possibility, I will not effect by the hands of that same wicked wo- presume to build an opinion upon the weak man, at whose instigation he had committed foundation of mine own conjecture, but fuch barbarous outrage. And from this exe- leave all to the confideration of fuch as have cution of Gods heavy judgment laid upon more ability to judge, and leifure to confi-

firoy loas, if he were her own Grandchild.

unlikely, either that Jehoram should have seeking the destruction of her grand-child; begotten many children before he was eigh- and the rest of the bloud Royal. For whe-

imitated the liberty of Jezabel her fifter in indeedGod abhorred the performance as velaw, whose Whoredoms were upbraided by hemently, as they thought him to be highly Jehn to her fon; or whether she had child-offended with the omission. Hereat wee may ren by some former husband, before she was the less vvonder, if we consider the answer o married unto Jehoram (which is not unlike- made by the Jewes in Egypt unto Jeremy the ly, in regard of her age, who was daughter Prophet reprehending their Idolatry. For of Omri, and fifter to Ahab) certain it is that how foever the veritten Law of God veas fhe had fons of her own, and those old e- known unto the people, and his punishments nough to be employed, as they were, in rob- laid upon them for contempt thereof vvere bing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be very terrible, and even then but newly exewondred at, that to fettle the Crown upon cuted; yet vvere they so obstinately bent unher own children, she did seek to cut off, by to their Wils, that they would not by any wicked policy, all other claims. As for joss, means be drawn to acknowledge the true if the were his Grand-mother, yet the might cause of their affliction, But they told the mistrust the interest which his mother would Prophet roundly, that they would worship have in him, lest when he came to years, it the Queen of heaven, as they and their Famight draw him from her devotion. And thers, their Kings and their Princes had used in the reign of her fon; for the made him them, fince they left off that fervice of the fpend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparent end, than that she might rule man, in looking into the counsel of God, at home; and he living abroad be estranged which to find out, there is no better norofrom his Wife, and entertain some new fan- ther guide than his own written Will not cies, wherein Jezabel had cunning enough perverted by vain additions. to be his Tutoress. But when the sword of Jeku had rudely cut in sunder all these sime Juda hath herein a singular prerogative a devices, then was Athalia fain to go round- bove all that have been written by the most ly to work, and do as she did, whereby she sufficient of meerly humane Authors: it setthought to make all fure. otherwise, if (as I teth down expresly the true, and first causes could rather think) she were only stepdame of all that happened; not in imputing the to Joas, we need not feek into the reasons death of Ahab to his over-frowardness in moving her to take away his life; her own battel; the ruine of his Family, to the secuhatred was cause enough to dispatch him a- rity of Jehoram in Jezreel; not the Victories mong the first.

of ujing conjecture in Histories.

ther it were so that Athalia (as proud and cribe the ill success of great undertakings to cruel Women are not alwayes chaft) had the neglect of some impious Rites, vvhereof hereof (besides that Women do commonly to do: For then (said they) had we plenty of better love their daughters Husbands, than victuals, and were well, and felt no evil: ad-In. 41. their ions Wives) there is some appearance ding, that all manner of miseries were befal in 17,18.

of Hazael, to the great commotions raised in Israel by the comming of Jehn; but referring all unto the Will of God, I mean, to his revealed Will, from which that his hidden A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty purposes do not vary, this Story, by many great examples, gives most notable proof. True it is, that the concurrence of fecond Hus much concerning the person of causes with their effects, is in these Books Joas, from vyhom, as from a new root, nothing largely described; nor perhaps exthe tree of David was propagated into many actly in any of those Histories that are in branches. In handling of which matter, the these points most copious. For it was well more I consider the nature of this History, noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir Phiand the diversity between it and others, the lip sidny, that Historians do borrow of Solinian less me thinks I need to suspect mine our Post of the lip sidny. less me thinks I need to suspect mine own presumption, as deserving blame, for curio-but somewhat of their substance. Information in the suspection of their substance. fity in matter of doubt, or boldness in liberty tions are often false, records not always true, of conjecture. For all Histories do give us in- and notorious actions commonly insufficiformation of humane counsels and events, as ent to discover the passions which do set far forth as the knowledge and faith of them first on foot. Wherefore they are fain the Writers can afford; but of Gods Will, by (I speak of the best, and in that which is alwhich all things are ordered, they speak only at random, and many times fally. This cumstance of Claudius his journey against the company of the company of the cumstance of Claudius his journey against the cumstance of the cu we often find in profane Writers, vvho af- Afdrubol in Italy, fitting all to another buffwhich have governed their affections, or fearch out. the instruments by which they wrought; Therefore it was a good answer that six-

or obliquity in proceeding.

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to give assurance, howsoever it may give ia- for his Holiness, whom he rather took for a ristaction. For the heart of man is unlearch- direct honest man, than any cunning Politiable: and Princes, howfoever their intents tian, to attain unto the Papacy; in compafbe seldom hidden from some of those many sing of which, all the subtilty (said he) of eyes which pry both into them, and into such the most crafty brains, find work enough: as live about them; yet fometimes either and therefore the more I think upon the by their own close temper, or by some sub- Art of the Conclave, and your unaptness til mifts, they conceal the truth from all re- thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope ports. Yea, many times the affections sixtus to satisfie the plain dealing Frier, ftry of an Historian, having so many things wouldest wonder at nothing. to weary it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, orbitant Engines, by which the course of it forbeareth to make further fearch; affairs is moved, the Pope faid true. For though it often fall out, where fundry oc- the wifest of men are not without their casions work to the same end, that one small vanities, which requiring and finding mumatter in a weak mind is more effectual, tual toleration, work more closely, and than many that feem far greater, So comes earnestly, than right reason either needs or it many times to pass, that great fires, which can. But if we lift up our thoughts to consume whole houses or towns, begin with that supreme Governour, of whose Empire a few straws, that are wasted or not feen; all that is true, which by the Poet was said when the flame is discovered, having fasten- of Jupiter. ed upon some Wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionless it is, that the War commenced by Darius, and purfued by Xerxes against the Greeks, proceeded from desire of the Persians to inlarge their Empire: howfoever the enterprize of the Athenians upon sardes, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrel; yet Herodotus telleth us, that the wanton defire of Queen Atossa, to have the Grecian dames her bond-women, did first move Darius to prepare for this War before he had received any injury, and when he did not yet so much defire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

Herodotus be more justly reprehended by feth to his own honour; He neither deceifome, or defended by others, for alledging veth nor can be deceived, but continuing the vain appetite, and fecret speech of the one and the same for ever, doth constantly Queen in bed with her Husband, as the governall creatures by that Law, which he cause of those great evils following; this I hath prescribed, and will never alter. The may boldly affirm (having, I think, in every vanities of men beguile their vain contriestate some sufficient witness) that matters vers, and the prosperity of the wicked, is the

ness, or any practice of that kind, is neither ing upon substantial reasons, have issued in-Historical, nor Poetical) to search into the deed from such petty trilles, as no Historian particular humour of Princes, and of those would either think upon, or could well

from whence they do collect the most like tus Quintus the Pope, made to a certain ly motives or impediments of every busi- Frier, coming to visit him in his Popedom, as ness; and so figuring as near to the life as having long before in his meaner estate, been they can imagine, the matter in hand, they his familiar friend. This poor Frier, being judiciously consider the defects in counsel, emboldened by the Pope to use his old liberty of speech, adventured to tell him, that Yet all this for the most part, is not enough he very much wondred how it was possible themselves lye dead, and buried in oblivion, dealt with him again as plainly, saying, Hadst when the preparations which they begat, thou lived abroad as I have done, and feen are converted to another use. The indu- by what folly this world is governed, thou

Surely, if this be referred unto those ex-

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat Ventosum, & urbes, regnaque tristia, Divosque mortalesque turmas, Imperio regit unus equo.

Who rules the duller Earth, the Windfwoln ftreams,

The civil Cities, and th' infernal Realms, Who th' Host of Heaven, and the mortal Band,

Alone doth govern by his just command,

Then shall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; I will not here stand to argue whether he foreseeth all things, and all things dispoof much consequence; founded in all seem- way leading to their destruction: yea, this

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broad and headlong passage to hell is not so strate and make good in humane reason. delightful as it feems at the first entrance, those things which authority alone, with but hath growing init, befides the poyfons out further circumstance, ought to have which infect the foul, many cruel thorns confirmed in every mans belief. And this deeply wounding the body; all which if may fuffice in defence of the liberty which any few escape, they have onely this misera- I have used in conjectures, and may hereble advantage of others, that their descent after use when occasion shall require, as was the more fwift and expedite. But the neither unlawful, nor mif-befeeming an Hifervice of God is the path guiding us to per- storian. fect happiness, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeilding fuch abundance of joy to the confcience, as doth eafily countervail all afflictions what foevers though indeed those brambles that sometimes tear the skin of such as walk in this blesled way. do commonly lay hold upon them at fuch time as they fie down to take their eafe, and longer worn the Crown of Juda, make them wish themselves at their journeys and had found neither any forreign eneend, in the presence of their Lord whom my, nor domestical adversary to disturb they faithfully ferve, in whose presence is the her possession, suddenly the period of her fulness of joy, and at whose right hand are plea- glory, and reward of her wickedness meet-

fures for ever. all History, to teach by example of times For the growth of the young Prince bepast, such Wisdom as may guide our desires gan to be such, as permitted him no longer and actions, we should not marvel though to be concealed, and it had been very the Chronicles of the Kings of Juda and Isra- unfitting that his education should be simel, being written by men inspired with the ple, to make him seem the child of some Spirit of God, instruct us chiefly, in that poor man (as for his safety it was requiwhich is most requisite for us to know; as litte) when his capacity required to have the means to attain unto true felicity, both been indued with the fromack and qualities here, and hereafter, propounding examples meet for a King. All this Jehojada the Priest which illustrate this infallible rule, The fear confidered, and withall, the great increase of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Had of impiety, which taking deep root in the the expedition of Xerxes (as it was fore- Court, was likely to spread it self overall told by Daniel) been written by some Pro- the Country, if care were not used to weed phet after the captivity: we may well be it up very speedily. Wherefore he associalieve that the counsel of God therein, and ted unto himself five of the Captains, in the executioners of his righteous Will, whose fidelity he had best assurance; and thould have occupied either the whole or having taken an oath of them, and shewed the principal room in that narration. Yet them the Kings fon, he made a Covehad not the purpose of Darius, the defire nant with them, to advance him to the Kingof his Wife, and the business at Sardes, with dom. These drew in others of the principal other occurrents been the less true, though men, to countenance the action, procuring at they might have been omitted, as the less the first onely that they should repair to jematerial: but these things it had been law- rusalem, where they were surther acquainted ful for any man to gather out of prophane with the whole matter. There needed not Histories, or out of circumstances other- many perswasions to win them to the busiwife appearing, wherein he should not have ness: the promise of the Lord unto the house done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long of David, was enough to affure them that ashe had forborn to derogate from the first the action was both lawful, and likely to causes, by ascribing to the second more than succeed as they desired.

that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot ped, that with open force they should bring believe that any man of judgment will tax their purpose to good iffue; neither were me, as either fabulous or prefumptuous, the Captains, and other affociates of Jehojada For he doth not feign, that rehearseth pro- able by close working, to draw together so babilities as bare conjectures; neither doth many trusty and serviceable hands as would

6. VII.

The conspiracy against Athalia.

ing together, took her away without any Wherefore it being the end and scope of warning, by a violent and shameful death.

But in compassing their intent, some diffi-Such, or little different, is the business culties appeared: For it was not to be hohe deprave the Text, that feeketh to illu- fuffice to manage the bufinefs. To help in this case, the Priest gave order to such of the Le- hereof the unaccustomed number of Levites as had finished their courses in waiting vites, and of other devout men, about the on the Divine service at the Temple, and town, might give some presumption. were now relieved by others that succeeded Many things argue that she little thought

of inevitable mischief.

and ordering all as the occasion might hap- defence: pen to require. It may be, that she thought it some especial solemnity used in the Divine fervice, which caused this much adoe; and

in their turns, that they should not depart upon her own Tragedy; although Tosephus until they knew his further pleasure. So by would make it seem otherwise. For we find admitting the new comers, and not dischar- in the Text, She came to the people into the a Chron. ging the old, he had, without any noise, made house of the Lord (which was near to her Pa-23,12. upfuch a number, as would be able to deal lace) and that when the looked and faw the ! King! with the Queens ordinary Guard, and that King stand by his pillar, as the manner was 11.7. was enough: for if the Tyranness did not with the Princes, or great men of the Land prevail against them at the first brunt, the fa- by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming your of the People was like to shew it self him, she rent her cloaths, and cryed Treason, on their fide, who made head against her. Treason. Hereby it appears that she was qui-These Levites were placed in the inner crip going, without any missrust or fear, to Court of the Temple; about the person of take her place; which when she found octhe King, who as yet was kept close; the fol- cupied by another, then she began to afflice lowers of the Captains, and other adherents, her felf, as one cast away, and cried out in were bestowed in the outer Courts: As for vain upon the Treason, whereby she shaw that Weapons, the Temple it felf had store e- she must perish. But that she came with a nough; King David had left an Armory to guard of armed men to the Temple, (as for the place, which was now employed in de- Jephus reporteth) and that her company being bearen back, she entred alone, and com-All things being in a readiness, and the day manded the people to kill the young Tyrant, come, wherein this high design was to be put I find no where in Scripture, neither do I in execution; Jehojada delivered unto the hold it credible. For had she truly known Captains, Armour for them and their adhe- how things went, she would furely have garents, appointed a guard unto the Kings per- thered her friends about her, and used those fon, produced him openly, and gave unto him forces in defence of her Crown, by which she the Crown; using all ceremonies accustom- gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if ed in such solemnities, with great applause of it were granted, that she, like a new Semirathe people. Of these doings, the Queen was mis, did march in the head of her troop, yet the last that heard any word. Which is not it had been meer madness in her, to enter fo strange as it may seem: for insolent natures, the place alone, when her affistants were by dealing outraciously with such as bring themill tidings, do commonly lose the bene-themill tidings, do commonly lose the bene-themiliants are the bene-themiliants and the bene-themiliants are t fit of hearing what is to be feared, whileft prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheyet it may be prevented, and have no infor- less take upon her to command the death of mation of danger, till their own eyes, amazed the new King, calling a child of feven years with the suddenness, behold it in the shape old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his de-All ferufalem was full of the rumour, and fence may we not think that the was mad in entertained it with the very good liking the most extreme degree? Certain it is that Some carried home the news, others ran forth the counsel of God would have taken effect, to see, and the common joy was so great, that in her destruction, had she used the most without apprehension of peril, under the likely means to disappoint it: yet we need windows of the Court, were the people run- not fo cut her throat with any moral imposning and praifing the King. Athalia hearing fibilities. It is enough to fay, that the godly and beholding the extraordinary concourse, zeal of Jehojada found more easie success, and noise of folks in the streets, making to-through her indiscretion, than otherwise wards the Temple, with much unufual passi- could have been expected; so that at his on in their looks, did presently conceive, that appointment, the was without more adoe; fomewhat worthy of her care was happened; carried out of the Temple and slain, yea for though, what it might be, she did not appre- that no bloud, save her own, was shed in hend. Howfoever it were, the meant to use that quarrel; her small train that she brought her own wisdom in looking into the matter, along with her, not daring to stand in her

and Jezabel.

ed the rathness of her Nephew Jehoram the friend) pretended her revenge, as any part Ifraelite, who did foolifhly cast himself into of his quarrel to Juda. Concerning children. the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, all belonging to Jezabel perished in few knowing what the matter meant: yet the behind her, it is uncertain; the had sons liher felf, by the like bait, was taken in the like ving after the was Queen, of whom, or of trap, and having lived such a life as Jezabel any other, that they were slain with her, we had done, was rewarded with a fuitable do not find. death. These two Queens were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughration, in regard of much that may depend ter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of upon it. For if the children of Athalia had them ruled her Husband; was an Idolatress been in Jernsalem when their Mother fell, and a Murdress. The onely difference ap- their death would furely have followed hers pearing in their condition, is, that Jezabel is as nearly, and been registred, as well as the more noted as incontinent of body, Athalia death of Mattan the Priest of Baal. That Law their time in fatisfying her own affections; ungracious Imps, whom the clause following the one using tyranny, as the exercise of her would have cut off, which commands, that haughty mind; the other painting her face, every man should die for his own fin. Seeing for the ornament of her unchaste body. In therefore that they had been profesiors and the manner of their death little difference advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worthere was, or in those things which may seem ship of Baal, yea had robbed the Temple in this world to pertain unto the dead when of the Lord, and enriched the house of Baal they are gone. Each of them was taken on with the spoil of it; likely it is, that they the sudden by Conspirators, and each of should not have escaped with life, if Jehojathem exclaiming upon the Treason, recei- da the Priest could have gotten them into had lived under her subjection; in executi- requiring their death, so the security of the on whereof, Jezabel was trampled under the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, robber. The service of Baal erested by these desolate. two Queens, was destroyed as soon as they

were gone, and their Chaplains, the Priefts of that Religion, flain, Herein also it came to pass, alike, as touching them both when they The death of Athalia, with a comparison of her were dead; the Kings who slew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the fame hand of Hazael the Syrian; in which Oft like it is, that Aihalia had many point Athalia had the greater honour, if the times, with great indignation, bewail-sprian (who feems to have been her good

as ambitious: So that each of them furviving by which God forbad that the children should but 14 her Husband about eight years, did spend die for the fathers, could not have saved these 16. ved sentence from the mouth of one that his hands. As there was lawful cause enough feet of her enemies horses; Athalia slain at craved as much, and that very earnestly. her own horse-gate; the death of Athalia For these had been esteemed as heirs of having (though not much) the more leifure their mothers Crown, and being reckoned to vex her proud heart; that of Jezabel the as her affiltants in that particular business of more indignity, and shame of body. Touch- robbing the Temple, may be thought to ing their burial, Jezabel was devoured by have carried a great sway in other matters, Dogs, as the Lord had threatned by the Pro- as Princes, and fellows with their Mother phet Elias; what became of Athalia we do in the Kingdom. Therefore it is evident, not find. Like enough it is, that the was buri- that either they were now dead, or (perhaps ed, as having not perfecuted and flain the following Hazael in his Warsagainst Jehn) Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to absent from Jerusalem; whereby Jehojada exercise their function; yet of her burial might, with the more confidence, adventure there is no monument, for the was a Church- to take Armes against their Mother, that was

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Of Joas and Amafia, with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.

of Joas his doings, whileft Jehojada the Priest lived.

and begat Sons and Daughters, repairing the heavy debt. Family of David which was almost worn out. For after the death of Jehojada, when the ons, was enriched with veffels of gold and proof of his being now King indeed, that he filver; and with all other Utenfils. The fa- regarded no longer the fowre admonitions crifices likewife were offered, as under god- of devout Priests. Hereby it appears, that his ly Kingsthey had been, and the service of former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein God was magnificently celebrated.

§. II.

The Death of Jehojada, and Apostasie of Joas.

But this endured no longer than the life The causes and times of the Syrians invading of Jehojada the Priest: who having li Juda in the dayes of Joas of Jehojada the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirty years, dyed before his Country could have spared him. He

Y the death of Athalia, the whole well deserved, having preserved the race of Country of Juda was filled with them, and restored the true Religion, which great joy and quietness; wherein the late Princes of that house, by attempting Foas, a child of feven years old, or to eradicate, failed but a little of rooting up there-about, began his reign, themselves, and all their issue. Yet this howhich continued almost forty years. During nourable Funeral seems to have been given his minority, he lived under the protection to him, at the motion of the people; it beof that honourable man Jehojada the Priest, ing faid, They buried him in the City of David. who did as faithfully govern the Kingdom, as As for the King himfelf, who did owe to him he had before carefully preserved the Kings no less than his Crown and life he is not like. life, and reftored him unto the Throne of his ly to have been Author of it, leeing that he ancestors. When he came to mans estate, he was as easily comforted after his death, as if took by appointment of Jehojada two Wives, he had thereby been discharged of some

The first Act that he took in hand, when he Princes of Juda began to flatter their King, began to rule without a Protector, was the he foon forgat, not only the benefits receireparation of the Temple. It was a needful ved by this worthy man his old Counfellor, piece of work, in regard of the decay where- but also the good precepts which he had rein that holy place was fallen, through the ceived from him, yea and God himself, the wickedness of ungodly Tyrants; and requi- Author of all goodness. These Princes drew fite it was that he should uphold the Tem- him to the worship of Idols, wherewith Jeple, whom the Temple had upheld. This bu- horam and Athalia had so infected the Counfines he followed with so earnest a zeal, that try, in sisteen or sixteen years, that thirty not only the Levites were more flack than years, or thereabout, of the reign of Jons, he, but even Jehojada was fain to be quick- wherein the true Religion was exercised, ned by his admonition. Money was gather- were not able to clear it from that milchief, ed for the charges of the work; partly out The King himself, when once he was entred of the tax imposed by Moses, partly out of into these courses, ran on head-long, as one the liberality of the people; who gave so that thought it a token of his liberty, to defreely, that the Temple, besides all reparati- spise the service of God; and a manifest like an Actor upon the stage, he had striven to express much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

§. III.

DUt God, from whom he was broken was buried among the Kings of Juda; as he Dloofe; gave him over into the hands of

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zael King of Aram, having taken Gath, a gotten goods are wont. Town of the Philistims, addressed himself to- This enterprise of Hazaels, is, by some. wards Jerusalem, whither the little distance confounded with that war of the Aramites of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did upon Juda, mentioned in the fecond book invite him. He had an Army heartned by of Chronicles. But the reasons alledged by many victories, to hope for more; and for them that hold the contrary opinion, doe ground of the war (if his ambition cared for forcibly prove, that it was not all one war, pretences) it was enough that the Kings of For the former was compounded without Juda had affifted the Ifraelites, in their enter- blood-shed or fight; in the latter, Joas tried prises upon Aram, at Ramoth Gilead. Yet I the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put think he did not want some further instigation to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and tion. For if the Kingdom of Juda had mole- hardly escaped with life. In the one Hazael fted the Aramites in the time of his prede- himself was present; in the other, he was not ceffour, this was throughly recompensed, by named: but contrarywife, the King of Aram forbearing to fuccour Ifrael, and leaving the then reigning (who may feem to have ten Tribes in their extream misery, to the been the son of Hazael) vis said to have been fury of Hazael himself. Neither is it likely, at Damaseus. The first Army came to conthat Hazael should have gone about to awake quer, and was so great, that it terrified the a fleeping Dog, and ftir up against himself a King of Juda; The second was a small company powerful enemy, before he had assured the of men, which did animate Joas (in vain, for times) conquest of Israel, that lay between Jerusa- God was against him) to deal with them, as lem and his own Kingdom, if some opportu- having a very great Army. nity had not performed fuch easie and good fuccess, as might rather advance, than any invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook way disturbe his suture proceedings against him, till he had first forsaken God. There the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it proba- are indeed fome, very learned, who think ble, that the fons of Athalia, mentioned be- that this expedition of Hazael was in the time fore, were with him in this action, promi- of Jekojada the Priest, because that story fing (as men expelled their Countries ufu- is joyned to the restauration of the Temple, ally doe) to draw many partakers of their This had been probable, if the death of feown to his side; and not to remain, as Joas hojada had been afterwards mentioned in did, a neutral in the war between him and that place of the second book of Kings, or Ifrael, but to joyn all their forces with his, if the Apoltafie of Joas, or any other matter as they had cause, for the rooting out of implying so much, had followed in the rela-Jehn his posterity, who like a bloody Fraition. For it is not indeed to be doubted, tor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred that the Lerd of all may dispose of all things, of the Queens, their mother, even the whole according to his own will and pleasure; neihouse of Abab, to which he was a subject. If ther was he more unjust in the afflictions of this were so, Hazael had the more apparent Job that righteous man, or the death of Jothis were to, Hazael had the more apparent reason to invade the Kingdom of Juda. How-for we find, that Joss was afraid of him, and therefore took all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasure of the substitution of the Temperature of the substitution of the treasure of the mention of the mentions of the mentions of the mentions. the house of the Lord, or in his own house, ple, and the magnificent service of God with which present he redeemed his peace; therewithall, which are joyned together, his hand for nothing, than to hazzard the death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as assurance of this for the possibility of not some very learnedly collect) in the fixt, or much more. So Hazael departed with a rich thirty seventh year of this Joas his reign, the booty of unhappy treasure, which belong- King falling away from the God of his Faing to the living God, remained a small thers, became a foul Idolater. while in the policifion of this mighty, yet | And indeed we commonly observe; that corruptible man, but fent him quickly to the crosses which it hath pleased God somethe grave. For in the thirty feventh year of times to lay upon his fervants without any Joss, which was the fifteenth of Jehoahaz, he cause notorious in the eyes of men, have almade this purchase; but in the same or very waies tended unto the bettering of their

men, that would not easily be shaken off, Ha- treasures prospered no otherwise, than ill-

Now, concerning the time of this former the syrian (questionless) thinking it a better were used in the house of the Lord continually com bargain, to get so much readily paid into all the daies of Jehojada; soon after whose u.

next year he died, leaving all that he had good in which respect, even the sufferings of unto his for Benhadad, with whom these the blessed Martyrs (the death of his saints

The state being precious in the fight of the Lord) are to as one durft tell him the plain truth, how fuch a villanous pattern unto others, as few the Kings commandment, by which he fufshould endure to imitate.

§. IV. How Zacharia was murthered by Joas.

CUndry Prophets having laboured in vain How Joas was shamefully beaten by the Amoto reclaime the people from their superstition, Zacharia the son of Jehojada the Prieft, was ftirred up at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickedmark, and not very good condition. The do more by them, than they themselves did truth is, that the mellage of a Prophet fent | hope for. from God, should be heard with reverence, to become an absolute Commander, suppo- might have his own will. But his timorous

their great advantage. But with evil and re- great soever that mans deservings were, that hellious men, God keepeth a more even and did fo, yea though Gods commandment reftrict account; permitting usually their faults quired it. So they conspired against this holy to get the start of their punishment; and ci- Prophet, and stoned him to death at the ther delaying his vengeance (as with the A- Kings appointment; but whether by any form morites) till their wickedness be full; or not of open Law, as was practised upon Naboth; working their amendment by his correction, or whether furprifing him by any close treabut suffering them to run on in their wicked chery, I do neither read, nor can conjecture. courses, to their greater misery. So hath he. The dignity of his person, considered togedealt with many; and so it appears that he ther with their treacherous conspiracy, makes dealt with Joas. For this unhappy man did it probable, that they durst not call him into not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but publick judgement, though that the manner grew fo forgetful of God and all goodness, of his death, being such as was commonly, and as if he had stroven to exceed the wicked- by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors. ness of all that went before him, and to leave may argue the contrary. Most likely it is that or none of the most barbarous Tyrants fered, took place in stead of Law: which exercise of meer power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange amongst the Kings of Fuda.

> §. V. rites, and of his death.

ness, and make them understand the punish whose bosom he had been fostered, as of it ment due unto it, whereof they frood in dan- self alone it sufficed to make the wretched ger. This Zacharia was a man fo much ho- Tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and noured and fon to a man so exceedingly be- his memory detested in all ages; so had it loved in his life time, and reverenced, that the well described curse of the blessed Marif Joss had reputed him (as Ahab did Elias) tyr, to accompany it unto the Throne of God, his open enemy, yet ought he in common and to call for vengeance from thence, which honesty to have cloaked his ill affection, and fell down swiftly, and heavily upon the head have used at least some part of the respect of that ungrateful monster. It was the last that was due to fuch a person: On the other year of his reign; the end of his time comfide, the fingular affection which he and his ming then upon him, when he thought himfather had born unto the King, and the un- felf beginning to live how he lifted without recountable benefits which they had done controulment. When that year was expired unto him, from his first infancy, were such as the Aramites came into the Country, rather should have placed Zacharia in the most as may seem to get pillage, than to perform 2 chro.24. hearty and affured love of Joas, yea though any great action; for they came with a small 34. he had been otherwise a man of very small company of men: but God had intended to

That Joas naturally was a coward, his how simple soever he appeares that brings it. | bloudy malice against his best friend, is, in my But this King Joas, having already scorned judgement proof sufficient: though otherthe admonitions and protestations of such wise his base composition with Hazael, when Prophets as first were sent, did now deal with he might have levied (as his son after him Zacharia, like as the wicked husbandmen, in did muffer) three hundred thousand chothat parable of our Saviour, dealt with the fen men for the war, doth well enough heir of the Vineyard; who faid, This is the linew his temper. Yet now he would needs be heir, come let us kill bim, that the inheritance valiant, and make his people know, how may be ours. By killing Zacharia he thought stout of disposition their King was, when he fing belike that he was no free Price, as long heart was not well cloaked. For to encounvery great Army, to that wife men might Aramites found in their following wars afirongly appointed, against so weak ene- strength, was unable to drive out a small at him in fecret; confidering what adoe Ifrael, having so been trodden down by Hahe made about that, which in all apparent zael, that onely fifty Horsemen, ten Charireason was (as they say) a thing of nothing, ots, and ten thousand footmen vvere left, pre-But God, before whom the wifdom of this vailed against his Son, and recovered all world is foolifhness, did laugh not only at this from the victorious Aramites. But examples vain-glorious King, but at them that thought hereof are every-where found, and therefore their King secure, by reason of the multitude I will not insist upon this; though indeed we that he drew along with him.

whether it were by some folly of the Leaders | ports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of or by fome amazement happening among the the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers' fouldiers, or by whatfoever means it plea- upon earth. fed God to work, fo it was, that that great Army of Inda received a notable overthrow, and saw that they were not able, being so and all the Princes were destroyed: the Prin- | few, to take any possession of the Country, ces of Juda, at whose persuasion the King they departed out of Juda loaden with spoil, had become a Rebell to the King of Kings. | vwhich they fent to Damascus, themselves be-As for Joas himself (as Abulensis and others like falling upon the ten Tribes, vvhereitis expound the frory) he was forely beaten and to be thought that they sped not half so well. hurt by them, being (as they think) taken The King of Juda being in ill case, vvas kil-

him an excellive ranfome.

frengthen this conjecture: for the Text (in | names, being strangers, are expressed) think the old translation) saith, they exercised up- to have been bondmen. Whether it were on Jous ignominious judgments; and that contempt of his fortune, or fear, left (as departing from him, they difmiffed him in Tyrants use) he should revenge disafter great languor. All which argues, that they upon them, imputing it to their fault, or them had him in their hands, and handled him ill- vvhatfoever elfe it vvere that animated them is favoredly. Now at that time Joas the son of to murder their King; the Scripture tels us Jehoahaz reigned over Ifrael, and Benhadad plainly, that, For the blond of the children of the son of Hazael over the Syrians, in Da-massims: the one a valiant undertaking Prince, pears to have been used as the pretence of raised up by God to restore the State of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when his miserable Country, the other inferiour it vvas done. For Amazia, the son and sucevery way to his father, of whose purcha- cessor of Joas, durst not punish them, till his fes he loft a great part, for want of skill to Kingdom vvas established: but contrariwise keep it. The difference in condition found his body was judged unworthy of burial between these two Princes, promising noother event than such as afterward follow-appears, that the death of Zacharia caused ed , might have given to the King of j_{μ} the treason, verought against the King, to da good cause to be bold, and pluck up his sind more approbation, than was requisted fpirits, which Hazael had beaten down, if among the people, though afterwards it was God had not been against him. But his fear- recompenced by his son, upon the Traytors, ful heart being likely to quake upon any ap- | which well deferved death. prehension of danger, was able to put the Syrian King in hope that by terrifying him with fome thew of yvar at his doores, it vvere eafie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good fuccess hereof, already related, and the (per-

ter with a few bands of Rovers, he took a haps as unfulpected) ill fuccess, which the well perceive, that he knew what he did, gainst the King of Israel, sheweth plainly the making thew as if he would fight for his weakness of all earthly might, resilting the Country, and expose himself to danger of power of the Almighty. For by his Orwar, when as indeed all was meer oftentation dinance, both the Kingdom of Juda, after and no peril to be feared; he going forth fo more than forty years time of gathering mies. Thus might wife men think, and laugh company of Enemies; and the Kingdom of should not, if vve be Gods children, think it When the Aramites and King Joas met, more tedious to hear long and frequent re-

When the Aramites had vvhat they lifted, and shamefully tormented, to wring out of led on his bed vvhen he came home, by the fons of an Ammonites, and of a Moabites, And furely, all circumftances do greatly vvhom some (because onely their Mothers of the Princes living in the time of Joas: of the time when Carthage was built : and of

Here lived with Jons, Mezades, and Diconetus in Athens : Eudemus and Aristomedes in Corinth: about which time Agripwere Kings of the Albans in Italy. Ocrazapes, commonly called Anacyndaraxes, the thirty feventh King succeeded unto Ophratanes, began his reign over the Affirians, about the eighteenth year of Joas, which lasted forty two years. In the fixteenth of Joas, Cepkrenes, the fourth from sefac, succeeded unto Cheops in the Kingdom of Egypt, and held it fifty Vos magis Historicis lectores credite de me

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In this time of Joas, was likewise the reign of Piemalion in Tyre, and the foundation of Carthage by Dido; the building of which City is, by divers authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be 70. years younger than Rome, others above 400. years elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their affertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow: Josephus, who had read As Maro feign d, incessuous and foul. the Annals of Tyre, counting one hundred Aneas never with his Trojan hoaft forty and three years and eight moneths Beheld my face, or landed on this coast. from the building of Salomons Temple, in the But flying proud Iarbas villanie, twelfth year of Hyram King of Tyre, to the Not mov d by furious love or jealousie. founding of Carthage by Dido, in the feventh I did with weapon chafte, to fave my fame, of Pigmalion. The particulars of this ac- Make way for death untimely, ere it came. compt (which is not rare in Josephus) are very | This was my end; but first I built a Town, perplexed, and serve not very well to make Reveng'd my husbands death, liv'd with recleer the totall fum. But whether it were so that Josephus did omit, or else that he did Why did it thou stir up Virgil envious Muse. mif-write some number of the years, which Falsely my name and honour to abuse? he reckoned in Fractions, as they were di- Readers, believe Historians; not those vided among the Kings of Tyre, from Hyram Which to the world Joves thefts and vice to Pigmalion, we may well enough believe, that the Tyrian writers, out of whole books Poets are lyars, and for Verses sake, he gives us the whole sum, had good means Will make the Gods of humane crimes parto know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other than four years current, after the building of Sa- Hiltories: but in particular we find little of lomons Temple, being the eleventh year of the Carthaginian affairs before that war, ex-Joas, was a hundred forty and three years cepting those few things that are recorded before the birth of Rome; and after the de- of their attempts of the Isle of sicil. We will struction of Troy, two hundred eighty and therefore defer the relation of matters connine: a time so long after the death of *Eneas*, cerning that mighty City, until such time as that we might truly conclude all to be fabu- they shall encounter with the State of Rome, lous which Virgil hath written of Dido, as by which it was finally destroyed; and pro-Ausonius noteth, who doth honour her Statua secute in the mean while the History that is with this Epigram:

Lla ego sum Dido vultu quam conspicis Auson.ep. Affimulata modis pulchraque mivificis. Talis eram, fed non Maro quam mili finxit, erat mens,

Vita nec incestis lata cupidinibus: (Namque nec Aneas vidit me Troius unquam, Nec Lybiam advenit, classibus Iliacis. pa Sylvius, and after him Sylvius Alladius, Sed furius fugiens, atque arma procacis Iarbas, Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam; Pectore transfixo castos quod pertulit enses) Non furor, aut laso crudus amore dolor.

Sic cecidisse juvat : vixi sine vulnere fame, Ulta virum positis mænibus oppetii. Invida cur in me stimulasti Musa Maronem, Fingeret ut nostra damna pudicitia? Quam qui furta Deum concubitula; canunti

Falsidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum, Humanisque deos assimulant vitiis.

Which in effect is this:

Am that Dido which thou here doft fee. Cunningly fram'd in beauteous Imag'rie; Like this I was, but had not such a soul, nown.

expose.

take.

From the time of Dido unto the first Puthe memory of three or four generations nick war, that Carthage grew and flourished might easily reach, This hundred forty and in wealth and conquests, we find in many now in hand.

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King of Ifrael, and Elisha the Prophet.

Mazia, the fon of Joash, being twenty twelve or thirteen years. five years old when his Father died, took possession of the Kingdom of Juda, the commodity of a long peace, so Joas the 12 wherein he laboured so to demean himself, raelite grew as fast in power, by following the as his new beginning reign might be least war hotly against the Aramites. He was a vaoffensive. The Law of Moses he professed to liant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater. observe; which howsoever it had been se- as his Predecessors had been, worshipping the cretly despised since the time of Jehoram, by Calves of Jeroboam. For this sin had God 60 many great persons of the Land, yet had it plagued the house of Jehor, that the ten tribes by provision of good Princes, yea, and of wanted little of being utterly consumed by bad ones (in their best times) imitating the Hazael and Benhadad, in the time of Jehn and good, but especially by the care of holy his son Jehoahaz. But as Gods benefits to Jeha, Priests, taken such deep root in the peoples sufficed not to withdraw him from this polihearts, that no King might hope to be very tick Idolatry, so were the miseries, rewarding plausible, who did not conform himself un- that impiety, unable to reclaim Jehoahaz from to it. And at that present time, the slaugh- the same impious course : yet the mercy of ter which the Aramites had made of all the God beholding the trouble of Ifrael, did Princes, who had withdrawn the late King condescend unto the prayers of this ungodly from the service of God, being seconded by Prince, even then when he and his misethe death of the King himfelf, even whilft rable fubjects, were obstinate in following that execrable murther, committed by the their own abominable ways. Therefore in King upon Zacharia, was yet fresh in memo-temporal matters the ten Tribes recory, did ferve as a notable example of Gods vered apace; but the favour of God which justice against Idolaters, both to animate had been infinitely more worth, Ido not the better fort of the people in holding the find, nor believe that they fought: that to fuch an evil end. He therefore, having is not with Ifrael, neither with all the house learned of his father the art of diffimulati- of Ephraim. on, did not onely forbear to punish the Trai- Whether it were fo, that the great Protors that had flain King Joas, but gave way phet Elisha, who lived in those times, did foreto the time, and suffered the dead body to tell the prosperity of the Ifraelites under the be interred, as that of Jehoram formerly had reign of Joas; or whether Johoahaz, weabeen in the City of David, yet not among | ried and broken with long adverfity, thought the Sepulchres of the Kings of Juda. Ne- it the wifest way, to discharge himself in vertheless, after this, when (belike) the noise part of the heavy cares attending those unof the people having wearied it felf into happy Syrian Wars, by laying the burthen ded as the handy-work of God) had nei- the son of Jehoahaz began to reign over Israel ther any mighty partakers in their fact, nor in Samaria; which was in the 15. year of his flrong maintainers of their persons, but sathers reign, and some two or three years refred fecure, as having done well, feeing before his death. it was not ill taken : the King, who perceived his government well established, called them from the beginning of his Rule, did so well into question, at such a time, as the heat of husband that poor stock that he received mens affections being well allayed, it was from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Horseeasie to distinguish between their treasons men, and ten thousand Foot, that he might and Gods judgments, which, by their trea- feem likely to prove a thriver. Amongst fons, had taken plaufible effect. So they were other circumstances, the words which he fered to live: which could not but give con- spake unto him thus, O my father, my father, tentment to the people, seeing that their King the Chariots of Israel, and the hor smen of the

revenging fon. This being done, and his own life better fecured, by fuch exemplary juffice. The beginning of Amazia his reign : of Joas against the like attempts, Amazia carried himself outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about

As Amazia gathered strength in Juda by Religion of their fathers, and to discourage they had it not, I find in the words of the think Amazia from following the way, which led Prophet, faying plainly to Amazia, the Lord !-

filence, it was found that the Conspirators upon his hopeful son; we find that in the , good (howfoever their deed done, was applau- thirty feventh year of Joas, King of Juda, Joas 10.

It appears that this young Prince, even put to death without any tumult, and their spake to Elisha the Prophet, argue no leis. children (as the Law did require) were fuf- For Joas visiting the Prophet, who lay fick, 14 did the office of a just Prince, rather than of a fame: by which manner of speech he did

acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy cruel Aramites) did not love, because they

after terrible to Samaria.

6. VIII.

of Amazia his war against Edom ; His Aposta cy and overthrow by loas.

he happy fuccess which Joas had found undertaking some expedition, wherein him and gains enough, had he not lost himself. felf might purchase the like honour. His King-Jehoram, had about fifty years been unre- ped them, and burned incense unto them. claimed, partly by reason of the troubles For this when he was rebuked by a Pro-19.6.10. ty thousand.

man had stood his kingdome in more stead vvere Idolaters. The Israelites therefore dethan all the Horses and Chariots could doe. parted in great anger, taking in ill part this This prophet who succeeded unto Elias, dismission, as an high disgrace, vehich to reabout the first year of Joram the son of Abab venge, they fell upon a piece of Juda in their King of Ifrael died (as some have probably return, and shewed their malice in the collected) about the third or fourth year of flaughter of three thousand men, and some this Jons, the Nephew of Jehn. To shew how spoil, which they carried away. But Amazia the spirit of Elias was doubled, or did rest with his own forces, knowing that God upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is would be affiftant to their journey, entred recorded of him, that he did not onely raise couragiously into the Edomites Country; oa dead child unto life, as Elias had done, but ver whom obtaining victory, he flew ten when he himselse was dead, it pleased God thousand and took other ten thousand prisothat his dead bones should restore life unto a ners, all which he threw from an high rock; carcass, which touched them in the grave. In holding them, it seems, rather as Traytors, fine, he bestowed as a legacie, three victories than as just enemies. This victory did not upon King Joas, who thereby did fet Israel feem to reduce Edom under the subjection in a faire way of recovering all that the Ara- of the Crown of Juda, vvhich might be the mites had usurped, and weakning the kings cause of that severity, which was used to of Damaleo in such fort, that they were never the prisoners; the Edomites that had escaped, refusing to buy the lives of their friends and kinsmen at so dear a rate, as the loss of their own liberty. Some towns in Mount Seir, Amazia took, as appears by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they vvere the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another year the better have purfued the in his war against the Aramites, was conquest of the vyhole countrey. Howsoever fuch as might kindle in Amazia a defire of it were, he got both honour by the journey,

Among other spoyls of the Edomites, vvere dom could furnish three hundred thousand carryed away their gods; which being vanserviceable men for the Wars, and his trea- quished and taken prisoners, did deserve fures were sufficient for the payment of these, vvell to be led in triumph. But they contrariand the hire of many more. Cause of war he vvise, I know not by vvhat strange vvitchhad very just against the Edomites, who hav-craft, so besotted this unworthy King Amazia ing rebelled in the time of his grand-father that he fet them up to be his gods, and worship- 1 Chro.15.

happening in Juda, partly through the floth phet feut from God, he gave a churlish and and timerousness of his father Joas. Yet, foral- threatning answer; asking the Prophet, who much as the men of Juda had in many years made him a Counseller, and bidding him been without all exercise of War (excepting hold his peace for fear of the worst. If either that unhappy fight wherein they were bea- the coftly stuffe, whereof these Idols were ten by a few bands of the Aramites) he held made, or the curious workmanship and beauwith fouldiers waged out of Ifrael, whence cers, had ravished the Kings fancie; mehe hired for an hundred talents of lilver, an thinks, he should have rather turned them with fuch unreasonable devotion towards cost Amazia had hired out of Ifrael, he vvas the Edomites had held them, were able to

it a point of wishom to increase his forces, ty, with which they were adorned by Artisfi-

com, hundred thousand valiant men, as the Scripto matter of profit, or kept them as houseture telleth us, though Josephus diminisheth hold ornaments and things of pleasure, than had the number, laying that they were but twen thereby have suffered himself to be blinded, This great Army, which with so much them. If the superstitious account wherein

fain to difmis before he had imployed it, be- work much upon his imagination; much ing threatned by a Prophet vvith ill fuc- more should the bad service which they had cels, if he ffrengthened himself with the done to their old Clients, have moved him help of those men, vvhom God (though in thereupon to laugh, both at the Edomites,

mercy he gave them victory against the and them. Wherefore it seems to me, that

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moved him to talk fo roughly to the Pro- shewed himself a better man of war than any phet reprehending him. He had already o- King of Juda, fince the time of Jekoluphat, beyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and and could be well contented, that his people fent away fuch auxiliarie forces as he had should think him little inferiour to David; of 1chro.15, gathered out of Ifrael, which done, it is faid, which honour he faw no reason why the prothat he was encouraged, and led forth his pee- phets should rob him, who had made him ple, thinking belike, that God would now loofe an hundred talents, and done him no rather affift him by miracle, than let him fail-pleasure; he having prevailed by plain force of obtaining all his hearts defire. But with and good conduct, without any miracle at better reason he should have limited his deall. That he was distempered with such vain fires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was thoughts as these (besides the witness of his thoughts are the was distempered with such as the w that Esau having broken the yoak of Jacob impiety following) Josephus doth testific from his neck, according as Isaac had fore-saying, That he despiled God, and that betold, should no more become his servant. If ling pust up with his good success, of which therefore Amazia did hope to reconquer all nevertheless he would not acknowledge the countrey of Edam, he failed of his expec- God to be the Authour, he commanded Jose tation; yet so, that he brought home both King of Ifrael to become his subject, and to contended with him.

ill endure to ascribe unto God the honour of on the injury done to him by the Israelites, those actions, in which it hath pleased him to whom he dismissed in the Journey against use their own industrie, courage, or fore- Mount Seir. And likely it is, that the sense of fight. Therefore it is commonly feen, that a late wrong had more power to stirre him they, who entring into battell, are carefull up, than the remembrance of anold title, to pray for aide from heauen, with due ac- forgotten long fince, and by himfelfe negknowledgment of his power, who is the giver lected thirteen, or fourteen years. Neverof victory; when the field is won, doe vaunt theleffe it might so be, that when he was of there own ex-ploits; one telling how he thus provoked, he thought it not enough to got such a ground of advantage; another, require new wrongs, but would also callold how he gave check to such a battalion; a matters into question; that so the Kings of Ifthird, how he feized on the enemies Canon; rael might, at the least, learn to keep their every one striving to magnifie himself, whil- subjects from offending Juda, for fear of enpresent in the action. To ascribe to fortune defired onely recompence for the injury he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply with him. But the answer which Joan returnture of fuch thanksgiving, that it may well of less Nobility than vertue. be called the height of magnanimity; no It is by sophocles reported of Ajax, that in Affa which the spirit of man advanceth it self did bid him to be valiant, and get victory with confidence of acceptation, unto the by Gods affiltance, he made answer, That by love of God. In which sense it is a brave Gods affistance a coward could get victospeech that Evander in Virgil useth to Ane-ry, but he would get it alone without such as, none but a Christian being capable of the help: after which proud speech, though he admonition.

dignum

Finge Dee.

the same affections carried him from God , | With this Philosophy Amazia (as appears by unto the service of Idols, which asterwards his carriage)troubled not his head; he had profit and honour, which might have well let the ten Tribes acknowledge him their Soveraign, as they had done his Ancestours But there is a foolish and a wretched King David and Salomon. Some think that pride, wherewith men being transported, can his quarrel to Joas was rather grounded upest all forget God, as one that had not been dangering their own Crowns. Had Amazia the effects of another mans vertue, is, I con-done to him, it is not improbable that he fesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, should have had some reasonable answer that as he which findeth better successe, than from Joas, who was not desirous to fight bound to acknowledge God the Authour of ed, likening himself to a Cedar, and Amazia his happinesse; so he whose meer wisdome in respect of him to no better than a thissle, and labour hath brought things to a prospe-shewes that the challenge was made in insorous iffue, is doubly bound to fliew himself | lent terms, stuft perhaps with such proud thankful both for the victory, and for those comparison of Nobility, as might be made vertues by which the victory was gotten. (according to that which Josephus hath writ-And indeed to far from weaknesse is the nation) between a King of ancient race and one

vertue being so truely heroical, as that by when going to the warre of Troy, his father Lan. did many valiant acts, he had small thanks, Aude bospes contemnere opes, & te quoque and finally, killing himself in a madness, whereinto he fell upon disgrace received,

was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. man had so despised, did (as Josephus reports ured in the like) having devoured in their zia, he dismissed the poor creature that was greedy hopes, the spoile of Ifrael, fully per- glad of his life, and returned to Samaria. Iwading themselves to get as much, and at as casse a rate, as in the journey of Edom; were fo far disappointed of their expectation that well they might suspect all new assu- A discourse of the reasons bindering Joas from rance of good luck, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their King that had fromack enough to challenge? the patrimony of Salomon, thought like another David to winne it by the fword. The iffue of which fool-hardiness might

That Amazia did utter fuch words, I do it) ftrike fuch terrour and amazement into Jof ant, not find, but having once entertained the the men of Juda, that without one blow givelences thoughts, which are parents of fuch words, en, they fled all away, leaving their King to he was rewarded with fuccess accordingly. shift for himself; which he did so ill, that The very first counsell wherein this war his enemy had soon caught him, and made was concluded, ferves to prove that he was him change his glorious humour into most a wife Prince indeed at Jerusalem, among abject baseness. That the Army which his Paralites, but a fool when he had to deal fled, fulfained any other loss than of honour. with his equals abroad. For it was not I neither find in the Scriptures nor in Joseall one, to fight with the Edomites, a weak phas, it being likely that the foon beginning people, trusting more in the seat of their of their flight, which made it the more sname-Countrey, than the valour of their Soul- full, made it also the more safe. But of the diers; and to encounter with Joas, who from mischief that followed this overthrow, it was fo poor beginnings had raised himself to Gods will that Amazia himself should sufuch strength, that he was able to lend his stain the whole disgrace. For Jour carried friend a hundred thousand men, and had him directly to Jerusalem, where he bad him all his Nation exercised, and trained up in a procure that the gates may be opened to let long victorious war. But as Amazia dif-him in and his Army; threatning him othercovered much want of judgment, in under- wife with prefent death. So much amazed taking such a match; so in profecuting the was the miserable captive, with these dreadbusiness, when it was set on foot, he behaved ful words, that he durst do no other than himself as a man of little experience, who perswade the Citizens, to yeild themselves to having once onely tryed his fortune, and the mercy of the Conquerour. The Town, found it to be good, thought that in War which afterwards being in weaker state held there was nothing else to do, than fend out two years against Nebuchadnezzar, vvas a defiance, fight, and win. Joss on the utterly difmaied, when the King that should contrary fide, having been accustomed to have given his life to fave it, used all his deal with a stronger enemy than the King force of command and intreaty to betray it. of Juda, used that celerity, which peradven So the gates of Jerufalem vvere opened to ture had often stood him in good stead a Joss, vvith vvhich honour (greater than any gainst the Aramite. He did not sit waiting King of Israel had ever obtained) he could till the enemies brake in & wasted his Coun- not rest contented, but the more to despise trey, but presented himself with an Army in Amazia and his people, he caused 400. cubits Juda, ready to bid battel to Amazia, and fave him the labour of a long journey. This the City in his Chariot through that breach, could not but greatly discourage those of carrying the King before him as in triumph. Juda, who (besides the impression of sear This done, he sack'd the Temple; and the which an invalion beats into people, not in- Kings Palace, and fo taking hostages of Ama-

> 9. IX. uniting Juda to the Crown of Brael, when he had won Jerusalem, and held Amazia prifoner. The end of Joas his reign.

TTTE may justly marvel how it came to pals, that Joas, being thus in easily have been fore-feen in humane rea- possession of Jernsalem, having the King in his fon; comparing together, either the two hands, his enemies forces broken, and his own Kings, or the quality of their Armies, or the entire, could be so content to depart quietfirst and ominous beginning of the War. ly with a little spoil, when he might have But meer humane wisdom, howsoever seized upon the whole Kingdom. The reign it might foresee much, could not have prog- of Athalia had given him cause to hope that nosticated all the mischief that fell upon A the issue of David might be dispossessed of mazia. For as foon as the two Armies came that Crown; his own nobility, being the in fight, God, whose help this wretched son and grand-child of Kings, together with

nough to make the people of Juda think and lay his ravenous hands upon the confehighly of him, who might also have preferred crated vessels, calling the family of obed Ehis form of government before that of their dom (whose children had hereditary charge of own Kings, especially at such a time, when a the treasure) to a strict account, as if they t const long fuccession of wicked Princes had smo- had been officers of his own exchequer; 150 thered the thanks which were due to the me- they confidered him rather as an execrable mory of a few good ones. The commodity Church-robber, than as a noble Prince. that would have ensued upon the union of all an Ifraelite, and their brother, though of a the twelve Tribes under one Prince, is so ap- nother Tribe. Thus following that course, parent, that I need not to infift on it. That a- which the most vertuous King of our age ny message from God forbade the Israelite (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely (as afterwards in the victory which Peka the avoyded; by stealing a few Apples, he lost fon of Romelia got upon Ahaz) to turn his pre- the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The fent advantageto the best use, we do not read, people detested him, and after the respite All this makes it the more difficult to refolve of a few days, might, by comparing themthe question, why a Prince so well exercised selves one to one, perceive his Souldiers to as Joas had been in recovering his own, and be no better than men of their own mould. winning from the enemy, should forsake the and inferiour in number to the inhabitants possession of Jerusalem, and wilfully neglect of so great a City. It is not so easy to hold the possibilities, or rather cast away the full by force a mighty town entred by capituaffurance of fo fair a conquest, as the King- lation, as to enter the gates opened by un-

dom of Juda. thers had been most material, I mean the gin to understand their first errour, they will defire of the vanquished people to accept the think upon every advantage, of place, of Israelite for their King, it is plainly seen, provisions, of multitude, yea of women arthat entring Jerusalem in triumphant manner, | med with tile-stones; and rather choose by Joas was unable to concoct his own pro- desperate resolution, to correct the evills sperity. For, the opening of the gates had grown out of their former cowardise, than been enough to have let him not onely into luffer those mischiefs to poyson the body, the City, but into the Royal Throne, and which in fuch half-conquests, are easily the peoples hearts, whom by fair intreaty tasted in the mouth. A more lively example (efpecially having fure means of compul- hereof cannot be defired, than the City of fion) he might have made his own, when Florence, which through the weakness of they saw themselves betrayed, and basely Peter de Medices, governing therein as a given away by him whose they had been Prince, was reduced into such hard tearms, before. The fair mark which this opportunity prefented, he did not aim at, be-King Charles the eighth, who not plainly cause his ambition was otherwise, and more professing himself either friend or foe to meanly busied, in levelling at the glory the State, entred the Town, with his Arof a triumphant entry through a breach. my, in triumphant manner, himself and his Yet this errour might afterwards have been horse armed, with his lance upon his thigh. corrected well enough, if entring as an ene- Many infolencies were therein committed my, and shewing what he could do, by by the French, and much argument of quarfpending his anger upon the Walls, he had rell ministred between them and the within the City done offices of a friend, and Towns-men: fo far forth that the Floren-I boured to shew good will to the inhabi- times, to preserve their liberty, were dritants. But when his pride had done, his cove- ven to prepare for fight. To conclude the rousnels began, and sought to please it self matter, charles propounds intollerable conwith that which is commonly most rea- ditions, demanding huge sums of ready dy to the spoyler, yet should be most for money, and the absolute Seigniory of the and the Philistims, men ignorant of the true City in Arms. But Peter Caponi, a princi-God and his Religion, had quenched their pal Citizen, catching these Articles from greedy thirst, ought not to have tempted the Kings Secretary, and tearing them bethe appetite of loas, who though an Idolater, fore his face, bad him found his Trumpets, yet acknowledged also and worshipped the and they would ring their Bels: which pesalem. Therefore when the people saw him themselves, and come readily to this agree-

the famous acts that he had done, were e- take his way directly to feife that holy place. advised fear. For when the Citizens, not be-But concerning that point, which of all o- ing difarmed, recover their spirits. and beborn. The Treasure wherewith sefac, Hazael, State, as conquered by him, who entred the eternal God, whose Temple was at Jeru-remptory words made the French bethink

fit, who upon the uncertain hope of destroy- other sacrilegious Potentates. ing a Town, forfakes the affurance of a good

of him, to take hoftages for his better fecurity his Army being upon return, and betcauses it was the more unapt to fight,

Besides these impediments, within the City and without, ferving to cool the ambition of Joas, and keep it down from aspiring to the Crown of Juda; it appears that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of Elisha the Prophet; who, when this Joas had smitten the ground with his arrows thrice, told him that he should no oftner smite the Aramites. The three victories which Israel had against Aram, are by fome, and with great probabi-

ment, that for forty thousand pounds, and change of fortune and suffer losse; we must not half of that money to be paid in hand, needs conclude, That the Aramite pre-Charles should not only depart in peace, but vailed upon him this yeare, it being the last restore whatsoever he had of their Domini- of his Reign. That this was so, and that the on, and continue their affured friend. So dan- Syrians, taking advantage of Joas his absence gerous a matter did it feem for that brave gave fuch a blow to Ifrael, as the King at his Army, which in few moneths after wan the return was not able to remedie, but rather Kingdom of Naples, to fight in the streets, a- fell himself into new missfortunes which ingainst the armed multitude of that populous creased the calamitie; we may evidently per-City. It is true, that Charles had other business ceive in that which is spoken of Jeroboam his (and so perhaps had foas, as shall anon be son. For it is said, That the Lord saw the exceethewed) that called him away: but it was ding bitter affiction, of Ifrael, and that having the apprehension of imminent danger that not decreed to put out the name of Israel from made him come to reason. In such cases the under the Heaven, he preserved them by the firing of houses, usually draws every Citizen hand of Jeroboam the some of Joas. This is eto fave his own, leaving victory to the Soul- nough to prove, that the victorious Reign dier: yet where the people are prepared and of Joas was concluded with a fad catastrorefolved, women can quench, as fast as the phe; the riches of the Temple hastening his enemy, having other things to look unto, can mifery and death, as they had done with fet on fire. And indeed that Commander is Sefac, Athalia, and Hazael, and as afterwards more given to anger than regardful of pro- they wrought with Antiochus, Crassus, and

Thus either through indignation conceicomposition. Diversity of circumstance ved against him, by the people of Jerusalem, may alter the case: it is enough to say, that and courage which they took to set upon it might be in ferusalem, as we know it was in him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Army that lay abroad in the How strongly soever Joas might hold Countrey to bid him battel in open field, & himself within Jerusalem, he could not easily recover by a new charge the honour which depart from thence, with his booty safe, if was lost at the former encounter; or through the Army of Juda, which had been more ter- the miseries daily brought upon his own rified than weakned in the late encounter, Countrey, by the syrian in his absence (if should re-enforce itself, and give him a check not by all of these) Joas was driven to lay aupon the way. Wherefore it was wifely done lide all thought of winning the Kingdom of Juda; and taking hoftages for his quiet paffage, made all hafte homewards, where he ter loaden than when it came forth; for which found a fad wel-come, and being utterly forfakeirof his wonted prosperity, forfook also his life in few moneths after, leaving his Kingdom to Jerobeam the second, his fortu-

nate and valiant fon.

X.
 The end of Amazia his Reign and life.

Ny man is able to ghess how Amazia Looked, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted fo much of his own lity referred unto the fifth, fixth, and seventh great prowels and skill in Arms, threatyeares of Joas: after which time, if any losses ning to work wonders, and set up a-new ensuing had blemished the former good suc- the glorious Empire of David, was now uncess, ill might the King of Ifrael have likened cased of his Lions hide, and appeared nohimself to a stately Cedar, and worse could thing so terrible a beast as he had bin painhe have either lent the Judaan one hundred ted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had thousand men, or meet him in battell, who ministred unto such as held him in diswas able to bring into the feild three hun- like; which at this time doubtless were very dred thouland of his own. Seeing therefore it many: for the shame that falls upon an inis made plain by the words of Elista, that solent man, seldom fails of meeting with aafter three victories Jouff should find some bundance of reproach. As for Amazia,

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was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous

confequence; especially when an unable

fpirit, being over-perted with fo high au-

(besides that the multitude are alwayes have been kept out; why did their Anceprone to lay the blame upon their Gover- ftors let Sefac in? Ala was reputed a verturours, even of those calamities which hap- ous Prince, yet with his own hands he empen by their own default) there was no pried the Temple, and was not blamed, but child in all Jerusalem, but knew him to be held excusable by necessity of the State. the root of all this mischief. He had not only Belike these traducers would commend no challenged a good man of War, being him- Actions but of dead Princes: if so, he should felf a Dastard; but when he was beaten and rather live to punish them, than die to please taken by him, had basely pleaded for the them. Though wherein had he given them common enemy, to have him let into the Ci- any cause of displeasure? It was he indeed ty, that with his own eyes he might fee what that commanded to fet open the gates to spoil there was, and not make a bad bargain Joas; but it was the people that did it. Good by hear-fay. The father of this Amazia was a fervants ought not to have obeyed their beaftly man; yet when the Aramites took Masters Commandments to his disadvanhim and tormented him, he did not offer to tage, when they faw him not mafter of his buy his own life at so dear a rate, as the City own Person. As his captivity did acquithin and Temple of Jerusalem. Had he offered, from blame of all things that he did or fufshould they have made his promise good? fered in that condition; so was that missorfurely the hafte which they had made in tune it felf, in true estimation, as highly to condescending to this hard match, was very his honour, as deeply to his loss. For had he unfortunate: for by keeping out the Ifrae-been as hafty to fly as others were, he might lites (which was easie enough) any little have escaped as well as others did. But while they should soon have been rid of him, seeking to teach the base multitude courage feeing that the Aramites would have made by his Royal example he was flamefully behim run home, with greater fpeed than he trayed by those in whom he trusted. Unworcame forth. Then also, when having truffed thy creatures, that could readily obey him, up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a when speaking another mans words, being little courage would have served to per-prisoner, he commanded them to yeild; hafwade him to leave his load behind; had ving neglected his charge, when leading not their good King delivered up hoftages, them into the field, he bad them fland to it to fecure his return, as loath to defraud him and fight like men. The best was, that they

heart of this unhappy King; it had been well were faved; the enemy having wifely prefor him, if they had made him acknowledge ferred the furprise of a Lion that was Caphis fault unto God, that had punished him by tain, before the chase and flaughter of an all this dishonour. But we find no mention of Army of Stags that followed him. his amendment. Rather it appears, that he Thefe or the like words comforting Amacontinued an Idolater to the very last. For zia, were able to perswade him, that it was it is faid of him, that after his turning away even fo indeed. And fuch excufes might have from the Lord, they prought treason against served well enough to please the people, if bim in jerufalem: a manitest proof that he the King had first studied how to please was not reclaimed unto his lives end. And God. But he that was unwilling to afcribe certainly, they which tell a man in his adver- unto God the good fuccess foretold by a fity of his faults passed, shall sooner be Prophet; could easily find how to impute thought to upbraid him with his fortune, this late disafter unto fortune, and the fault

of the recompence due to his pains taken. must needs acknowledge his mischance, as Such exprobations could not but vex the the occasion whereby many thousand lives

than to feek his reformation. Wherefore it is of others. Now concerning fortune it feems no marvel, that Priests and Prophets were that he meant to keep himself safe from her less welcome to him, than ever they had by sitting still; for in fifteen years following; been. On the other fide, flatterers, and fuch (fo long he out-lived his honour) we find as were defirous to put a heart into him, not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though whereof themselves might alwayes be ma- nothing henceforth be recorded of his gosters, wanted not plantible matter to revive vernment, yet we may fee by his end, that the him. For he was not the first, nor second of middle time was ill spent among them, inthe Kings of Juda, that had been overcome creating their hatred to his own ruine. He in battel. David himself had abandoned the that suspecteth his own worth or other mens City, leaving it before the enemy was in opinions, thinking the less regard is had of fight, unto Absalom his rebellious Son. Many his person than he believeth to be due to besides him had received losses, wherein the his place, will commonly spend all the force Temple bare a part. If Joss might so easily of his authority in purchasing the name of a

levere man. For the affected sowreness of a Kingdom of Ifrael. Therefore it may seem vain fellow, doth many times resemble the that he was detained there, where certain it gravity of one that is wife: and the fear is that he found no kind of favour: for had wherein they live, which are subject unto not the people of this Town added their oppression, carries a shew of reverence to own treason to the general insurrection; him that does the wrong; at least it serves the murderers could not at so good leisure to dazle the eyes of underlings, keeping as they did, have carried away his body to them from prying into the weakeness of Jerusalem, where they gave him burial with fuch as have jurisdiction over them. Thus his fathers. the time, wherein, by well using it, men might attain to be such as they ought, they do usually mil-spend, in seeking to appear such as §. XI. they are not. This is a vain and deceiveable course; procuring, in stead of the respect of the Inter-regnum, or vacancy, that was in that was hoped for, more indignation than

the Kingdom of Juda, after the death of

TT hath already been shewed, that the thority, is too passionate in the execution Reigns of the Kings of Juda and Israel of fuch an office, as cannot be checked but were sometimes to be measured by compleat by violence. If therefore Amazia thought years, otherwhiles, by years current: and by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, that the time of one King is now and then what did he else than strive to make the confounded with the last years of his fathers people think he hated them, vvhen of them- Reign, or the foremost of his sons. But we felves they were apt enough to believe that are now arrived at a meer vacation, wherein he did not love them? the best vvas, that the Crown of Juda lay void eleven whole he had, by revenging his fathers death, pro- | years : a thing not plainly fet down in Scrivided well enough for his own security : but | ptures, nor yet remembred by Josephus, and who should take vengeance (or upon therefore hard to be believed, were it not vyhom?) of such a murther, wherein every proved by necessary consequence.

one had a part? Surely God himself, who Twice we find it written, that Amazia, 2 chron. had not given commandment or leave unto King of Juda, lived after the death of Joas 1. 2. the people, to take his office out of his hand, King of Israel, fifteen years; whereupon it King. 14. in shedding the bloud of his Annointed. Yet | follows that the death of Amazia, was about as Amazia careless of God, was carried head- the end of fifteen years compleat, which Jelong by his own affections; fo his fubjects, roboam the second (who in the fifteenth year & King 14. following the same ill example, without re- of Amazia was made King over Israel) had 23. quiring what belonged unto their duties, reigned in Samaria. But the fuccession of rose up against him, with such headlong su- Vzzia, who is also called Azaria, unto his fary, that being unable to defend himself in ther in the Kingdom of Juda, was eleven Jerusalem, he was driven to forsake the City, years later than the sixteenth of Jeroboam: and fly to Lachis, for fafeguard of his life. for it is expressed, that Azaria began to reign 2 King 15. 8 But so extream was the hatred conceived a- in the seven and twentieth year of Jeroboam: gainst him, and so general, that neither his the sixteenth year of his life, being joyned absence could allay the rage of it in the Ca- with the first of two and fifty that he reignpital City, nor his presence in the Country ed. So the Inter regnum of eleven years canabroad procure friends to defend his life. not be divided, without some hard means

Questionless he chose the Town of Lachis | used, of interpreting the Text otherwise for his refuge, as a place of all other best af- than the letter founds. Yet some conjectures there are made,

fected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill which tend to keep all even, without achim with their own hands; for when the knowledging any void time. For it is thought Conspirators (who troubled not themselves that in the place last of all cited, by the seabout raifing an Army for the matter) fent ven and twentieth year of Jeroboam, we pursuers after, he was abandoned to death. should perhaps understand the seven and Lachie was the utmost City of his Dominion twentieth year of his life; or else (because Westward, standing somewhat without the the like words are no where else interpreted border of Juda; so that he might have in the like sense) that Azaria was eleven made an easie escape (if he durst adventure) | years under age, that is, five years old, when into the Territory of the Philiftims, or the his father died, and so his fixteenth year

2 Chron

might concur with the feven and twentieth, reign fingle in the fifteenth of Amazia; did of Teroboam; or that the Text it felf might it not swallow up almost the whole reign of have suffered some verong, by miswriting Joss, and extending the years of those which twenty feven for feventeen years; and fo, reigned in Ifrael (by making such of them by making the seventeenth year of Jero- compleat as were onely current and take at boam to be newly begun, all may be falved. the shortest the reigns of Princes ruling in These are the conjectures of that worthy other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute man Gerard Mercator: concerning the first further of this: every man may follow his of which, it may suffice, that the Author own opinion, and see mine more plainly in himself doth easily let it pass, as improba- the Chronological Table, drawn for these ble; the last is followed by none that I purposes. know neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, vve flould call the text in question; vvhich could not be falfified in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that Azaria Of Princes Contemporary with Amazia, and began his Reign being five years old; but then must vve add those eleven years which passed in his minority, to the two and fifty He Princes living with Amazia, and in that followed his fixteenth year, which is all one in a manner, with allowing an Inter- death, were Joas and Jeroboam in Ifrael;

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void an Inter-regnum in Juda, seeing that memnon in Corinth; Diognetus Pheredus, and the like necessity hath inforced all good Ariphron in Athens; in Lacedamon Thelettus. Writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, in whose time the Spartans wan from the Atwice happening within few years, in the chaians, Gerautha, Amyela, and some other Kingdom of Ifrael? The space of time be- Towns. tween feroboam's death, and the beginning But more notable than all these, was Assof Zachariah's reign, and fuch another gap rian Sardanapalus, who in the one and twenfound between the death of Peka, and the tieth year of Amazia, succeeding his father beginning of Hosea, have made it easily to be Ocrazapes or Anacyndaraxes, reigned twenadmitted into Samaria; vyhich the consi- ty years, and was llain the last of the eleven deration of things as they stood in Juda, void years which fore-went the reign of when Amazia was flain, doth make more Azaria. In him ended (as most agree) probable to have happened there, yea, al- the line of Ninus, which had held that Emthough the necessity of computation vvere pire one thousand two hundred and forty not fo apparent.

ed it felf, as unto the destruction of the strumpers, whom he imitated both in apparel Kings own person, was not likely to be ap- and behaviour. pealed without order taken for obtaining In these voluptuous courses he lived an some redress of those matters, which had unhappy life, knowing himself to be sovile, extremity. We need not therefore wonder him; yet feen he was at length, and the how it came to pass, that they which already light of him was so odious, that it procured had thrown themselves into such an horri- his ruine. For Arbaces, who governed Meble treason, should afterwards dare to with- dia under him, finding means to behold the hold the Crown from a Prince of that age, person of his King, was so incensed with which being invested in all ornaments of that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in Regality, is nevertheless exposed to many womans attire, and striving to counterfeit an injuries, proceeding from head-strong, and harlot, that he thought it a great shame to forgetful fubjects.

6. XII.

more particularly of Sardanapalus.

the eleven years that followed his Cepbrenes and Mycerinus in Egypt ; Sylvius Al-But vvhy should vve be so careful to a- ladius, and Sylvius Aventinus in Alba; Aga-

vears. A most luxurious and esteminate Pal-For the publick fury having fo far extend- liard he was, passing away his time among

caused it at the first to break forth into such that he durst not let any man have a sight of live under the command of so unworthy a As for their conjecture, who make Azaria creature. Purposing therefore to free himto have been King but one and forty years felf and others from fo base subjection, he after he came out of his non-age; I dare was much encouraged by the prediction of not allow it, because it agrees too harshly Belesis or Belosus a Chaldean, who told him with the Text. The best opinion were that plainly, that the Kingdom of Sardanapalus which gives unto Jeroboam eleven years of should fall into his hands. Arbaces well reign with his Father, before he began to pleased with the Prophecy, did promise un-

thering such forces as the could out of other breach for Arbaces to enter. ing to be a flight, caused Sardanapalus to seeming a Prince. feast his Army, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened with wife of his end; saying that Arbaces, when this new supply, came upon him by night, he first found him among his Concubines, Itance.

menus to keep the field, he withdrew himself where the truth might best be known. into the City of Nineve; which, till new Concerning the Princes which reigned ving in two battels overthrown the Kings because they did nothing worthy of memo- c. 6. Army, and slain Salamenus) was fain to lye ry. What soever they did, that which Theo-Theophilus ance. It feems that he wanted Engines and them.

to Belofus himself the government of Baby- skill to force those walls, which were an lon; and fo concluding how to handle the hundred foot high, and thick enough for business, one of them stirred up the Medes, three Chariots in front to pass upon the and allured the Persians into the quarrel, the rampire. But that which he could not do in other perswaded the Babylonians and Ara- two years, the River of Tigris did in the hians to venture themselves in the same third: for being high swoln with rains, it cause. These four Nations armed forty thou-not onely drowned a part of the City fand men against Sardanapalus, who in this through which it ran, but threw down twendanger was not wanting to himself, but ga- ty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair

Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that Sardanapalus, either terrified with the acwould by deeds refute the tales that they compliftment of the old Oracle, or feeing had told of him. Neither did his carriage in no means of refiftance left, shutting up himthe beginning of that War, answer to the self into his Palace, with his Wives, Eumanner of his retiredness. For in three bat- nuchs, and all his Treasures, did set the house tels he carried away the better, driving Ar- on fire, wherewith he and they were togebaces and his followers into such fearful ther consumed. Strabe speaks of a Monuterms, that had not Belosus promised them ment of his, that was in Anchiale, a City of Strab.l.g. constantly some unexpected succours, they Cilicia, whereon was found an inscription. would forthwith have broken up their shewing that he built that City and Thar-Camp. About the same time, an Army out supon one day: but the addition hereto. of Battria was coming to affift the King; bidding men eat and drink, and make merbut Arbaces encountring it upon the way, ry, encouraged others with verses well perswaded so strongly by promise of liberty, known, to a voluptuous life, by his own exthat those forces joyned themselves with his lample testified that his nature was more The sudden departure of the enemy seem- prone to sensuality, than to any vertue be-

There are some that faintly report otherand forced his Camp, which through over- was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him great fecurity was unprepared for refi- with a dagger. But the more general confent of Writers agrees with this relation of Dio- Diod, Sic. This overthrow did so weaken the Kings dorus siculus, who citeth Ctessas a Greek 1. c. 78 heart, that leaving his Wives brother Sala- Writer, that lived in the Court of Persia,

aids that he fent for should come he thought in Affyria, from the time of Semiramis, unto eafily to defend; it having been prophefied, Sardanapalus, though I believe that they that Nineve should never be taken, till the were sometimes (yet not, as Orosius hath it, River were enemy to the Town. Of the inceffantly) bufied in offenfive, or elfe defengreatness and strength of Nineve, enough sive arms; yet for the most part of them I hath been spoken in our discourse of Ninus | do better trust Diodorus Siculus, who saith It was so well victualled, that Arbaces (ha- that their names were overpassed by Ctessas, Died. I. E.

two whole years before it, in hope to win it philus Antiochenus hath faid of them is very Antioches by famine; whereof yet he faw no appear-true; Silence and Oblivion hath oppressed was L zi.

CHAP. XXIII.

CHAP. XXIII. Of UZZIA.

9. I.

The prosperity of Uzzia, and of Jeroboam the second, who reigned with him in Ifrael. Of the Anarchythat was in the ten Tribes after the death of Jeroboam. Of Zacharia, Sallum Menahem, and Pekahia.

fon of Joss King of Ifrael. He served the God in the most likely places. if by these Towers of his father David, and had therefore good he fo commanded the water, that none could fuccess in all his enterprises. He built *Eloth*, a without his consent, relieve themselves Town that stood near to the Red Sea, and therewith, questionless he took the onerestored it to Juda. He overcame the Philistims, of whose Towns he dismantled some, and built others in fundry parts of their Territories. Also he got the mastery over some tream drought, when the sew Springs thereparts of Arabia, and brought the Ammonites in found, are left free to the use of Travelto pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of lers. his prosperous Wars, wherein (as Josephus rehearseth his acts) he began with the Phili- of Eloth by the Red Sea, and of sundry stims, and then proceeded unto the Arabians Towns among the Philistims; he repaired and Ammonites. His Army confifted of three the wall of Ferufalem, which Joss had brohundred and seven thousand men of War, ken down, and fortified it with Towers, over which were appointed two thousand whereof some were an hundred and fifty and fix hundred Captains. For all this multi- Cubits high. tude the King prepared shields, and spears, Princes, and all the Chariots.

interest, he had the skill to use, as well as David. the happiness to get. He turned his lands to But it was not for the piety of Jeroboam, the best use, keeping Ploughmen and Dreft that he thrived so well, for he was an Idolafers of Vines, in grounds convenient for fuch ter: it was only the compassion which the husbandry. In other places he had Cattel Lord had on Israel, seeing the exceeding bitteeding; whereof he might well keep great ter affliction whereinto the Aramites had ftore, having won fo much from the Ammo brought his people, which caufed him to alter nites and Arabians, that had abundance of the succession of war, and to throw the victowaste ground serving for pasturage. For de- rious Aramites under the feet of those whom

Zzia, who is called Ahazia, the I fence of his Cattel and Heardsmen, he built fon of Jotham, was made King Towers in the Wilderness. He also digged of Juda, when he was fixteen many Cifterns or Ponds. Josephus calls them years old, in the feven and Water-courses; but in such dry grounds, it twentieth year of Jeroboam the was enough that he found water, by digging ly course, by which he might securely hold the Lordship over all the Wilderness; it being hardly paffable, by reason of the ex-

Besides all this cost, and the building both

The state of Israel did never so flourish, as and helmets, and other Arms requisite; fol- at this time, fince the division of the twelve lowing therein happily a course quite oppo- Tribes into two Kingdoms. For as Vizzie fite unto that which some of his late prede- prevailed in the South, so (if not more) Jeroceffors had held, who thought it better poli- boam the fon of Joas, King of the ten Tribes, cy to use the service of the Nobility, than of enlarged his border on the North; where the multitude; carrying forth to war the obtaining many victories against the Syrians, he wan the Royal City of Damascus, and he , King,14 As the victories of Vzzia were far more wan Hamath, with all the country therea s. 18. important, than the atchievments of all that bout from the entring of Hamath, unto the had reigned in Juda, fince the time of Da- Sea of the Wilderness, that is (as the most exvid; fo were his riches and magnificent pound it) unto the vast defarts of Arabia, works, equal, if not superiour to any of theirs the end whereof was undiscovered. So the that had been Kings between him and salo- bounds of Ifrael in those parts, were in time mon. For, besides that great conquests are of this Jeroboam, the same (or not much narwon to repay the charges of War with triple rower) which they had been in the reign of

victorious reign of one and forty years, had life than he did his fervant David. ended his life; it feems in all reason that Zaare likely not to have been wanting upon for the eradication of Ahabs house.

they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of of Uzzia, which was the last of Jeroboans They had to which God had promifed the King- his one and fortieth (his feven and twentieth dom of Ifrael unto the fourth generation, was concurring with the first of Uzzia) and the now not far from the end; and now again eight and thirtieth of the same Uzzia, in the it was invited unto repentance by new bene- last fix moneths whereof Zacharia reigned fits, as it hath been at the beginning. But the in Samaria. There are some indeed that by fin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat was held so supposing Jeroboam to have reigned with his pretious, that neither the Kingdom it felf gi- father eleven years, do cut off the interregvento him by God, was able to draw Jehu num in Juda (before mentioned) and by the from that politick Idolatry; nor the mifery fame reason abridge this Anarchy that was falling upon him and his posterity, to bring before the reign of Zacharia in Ifrael. Yet them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, they leave it twelve years long: which is at the last, this great prosperity of Jeroboam time sufficient to prove that the Kingdom of the fon of Joas, to make him render the ho- the ten Tribes was no less distempered than nour that was due to the onely giver of vi- as is already noted. But I choose rather to ctory. Wherefore the promise of God made follow the more common opinion, as conunto Jehu, that his fons, unto the fourth gene- curring more exactly with the times of other ration, should fit on the throne of Ifrael, was Princes reigning abroad in the World, than not enlarged; but being almost expired, this doubtful conjecture, that gives to ferogave warning of the approaching end, by an boam two and fifty years, by adding three accident (fo strange, that we who find no par- quarters of his fathers reign unto his own; ticulars recorded, can hardly ghess at the which was it felf indeed so long, that he may occasions) foregoing the last accomplish- well seem to have begun it very young; for I do not think that God bleffed this Idolater When Jeroboam the fon of Joas, after a both with a longer reign, and with a longer

Thus much being spoken of the time charia his son should forthwith have been ad- wherein the Throne of Israel was void, before mitted to reign in his flead; the Nobility of the reign of Zacharia; little may suffice to that race having gotten fuch a lustre by the be said of his reign it self, which lasted but a immediate succession of four Kings, that any little while Six months only was he King; in Competitor, had the Crown passed by electi- which time he declared himself a worshipper on, must needs have appeared base; and the of the golden Calves; which was enough to vertue of the last King having been so great, justifie the judgment of God; whereby he as might well ferve to lay the foundation of a was flain. He was the last of Jehu's house, benew house, much more to establish the alrea- ing(inclusively) the first of that line; which dy confirmed right of a family so rooted in may have been some cause of the troubles possession. All this notwithstanding, two or impeaching his orderly succession: the prothree and twenty years did pass before Za- phesie having determined that race in the charia the fon of Jeroboam was, by uniform fourth generation. But (belidesthat Gods proconfent, received as King. The true original mife was extended unto the utmost) there causes hereof were to be found at Dan and was no warrant given to Sallum, or to any o-Bethel, where the golden Calves did stand; ther, for the death of Zacharia, as had been giyet second instruments of this disturbance ven to Jehn for the saughter of Jehoram and

which the wisdom of man was ready to cast Zacharia having been fix moneths a King, 2 King, 15 an eye. Probable it is, that the Captains of the was then flain by salium, who reigned af-13 army (who afterwards flew one another fo ter him, the space of a moneth in Samaria. falt, that in fourteen years there reigned five What this salium was, I do not find; fave Kings) did now byhead-strong violence, rend onely that he was a Traytor, and the son the Kingdom afunder, holding each what he of one Jabesh, whereby his father got no could, and either despising or hating some honour. It seems that he was one of those, qualities in Zacharia; untill, after many years, who in time of faction had laboured for wearied with diffention, and the principal himself, and now when all other Competiof them perhaps, being taken out of the way tors were fitten down, thought eafily to by death, for want of any other eminent man, prevail against that King, in whose person the they consented to yeild all quietly to the son of Jeroboam. That this Anarchy lasted all that Sallum had a strong party: for Tipbsab most three and twenty years, we find by the or Thapfa, and the coast thereof even from difference of time between the fifteenth year Tirzah, where Menahem his enemy and sup-

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planter then lay, refused to admit, as King in his flead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, Sallum received the reward of his treason, and vvas flain by Menahem who reigned in his place.

Sallum ten years. In opposition to Sallum, David in the person of Joas, so it appears; that his hatred was deadly, and inhumane, for the care of holy men was not wanting to he not onely destroyed Tiphsah, and all that Uzzia, to bring him up and advance him to vvere therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up the Crown of Juda vvhen the hatred born to all their women with child, because they did his Father Amazia had endangered his surnot open their gates and let him in. Had this ceffion. For it is faid of Uzzia, That he fought earnest, in procuring unto him his Fathers Lord, God made him prosper. Crown when it was first due. But in performing that office, there was used such long de- up to his destruction : for he transgressed against bition, Difdain, and other private passions, to the Lord to burn incense upon the Altar of inhave been the causes of this beastly outrage. cense. Thus he thought to enlarge his own

Affyria, came against the Land of Ifrael, whom so helpful to the Kings of Juda, that meer this new King appealed, with a thouland ta- gratitude and civil policy, thould have held lents of filver levied upon all the fubftantial back Vzzia from incroaching thereupon; yea, men in his Countrey. With this money the II- though the Law of God had been filent in raelite purchased, not onely the peace of his this case, and not forbidding it. Howsever, Kingdom; but his own establishment therein: the King forgot his duty, the Priests rememfome factious man (belike) having either in- bred theirs, & God forgat not to affift them. vited Pul thither, or (if he came uncalled) Azaria the high Priest interrupted the Kings fought to use his help, in deposing this ill-be-loved King, Josephus reports of this Menahem, little to his honour it would prove, that he that his reign was no milder than his en- took upon him the office of the fons of Aaron. trance. But after ten years, his tyranny ended There vvere vvith Azaria fourscore other

his room.

reigned onely two years; at the end whereof, ded the Kings prefumption. This was enough he was flain by Peka the son of Ramalia, whose the rest God himself performed. We find in treason was rewarded with the Crown of If Josephus, that the King had apparelled himrael, as, in time comming, another mans Trea- self in Priestly habit, and that he threatned fon against himself shall be. There needs no Azaria and his Companions, to punish them King, who first opened unto those Northern till it rested against another Hill, stopping Nations the way into Palastina; it will shortly up the high-ways, and spoiling the Kings follow in order of the Story, to deliver our o- Garden in the passage. With this Earth-quake pinion: whether he were that Belosus (called he faith, that the roof of the Temple did also Beleses, and by some Phul Belochus) who cleave, and that a Sun-beam did light upon joyned with Arbaces the Median, against Sar- the Kings face, vvhich vvas presently infectthe happiness wherein we left him.

II.
 The end of Uzzia his Reign and Life.

S the zeal of Jehojada that godly Priest them who reigned in his place.

Menahem the son of Gadi reigned after Novas the mean to preserve the linage of cruelty been used in revenge of Zacharia's God in the days of Zacharia (which understood s. death, it is like that he would have been as the visions of God and when as he sought the

But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted liberation, that we may plainly discover Am- the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of Volent In the time of Menahem, and (as it feems) authority, by medling in the Priests office. in the beginning of his Reign, Pul, King of vvhose power had in every extremity been with his life:and Pekahia his Son occupied Priests, valiant men, but their valour was shewed onely in affisting the high Priest, Of this Pekahia the story is short: for he vvhen (according to his duty) he reprehenmore to be fail of Menahem and his fon, fave vith death, unless they would be quiet that they were both of them Idolaters, and Josephus indeed inlargeth the Story, by in light the fon (as we find in Josephus) like to his fallering a great Earth-quake, which did tear ther in cruelty. Concerning Pulthe Alfgrian down half an Hill, that rowled four furlogs. danapalus, or whether he were some other ed with leprosie. All this may have been man. At the present it is more fit that we re- true; and some there are vvho think that this late the end of Uzzia's life, who out-lived Earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet Amos; wherein they do much mif-reckon the times. For the Earthquake spoken of by Amos, was in the days of Jeroboam King of Ifrael, vvho dyed feven and thirty years before Vazia, fo that Jotham

the four of Uzzia, vehich supplied his Fa- Esay, the first of the four great prophets, bethere place in government of the Land, gan to fee his visions. This difference of great should, by this accompt, have been then un- and leffer prophets, is taken from the Voborn: for he vvas but five and twenty years lumes which they have left written (as S. old, when he began ro reign as King There- Augustine gives reason of the distinction) be-

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§. III.

cause he was a Leper.

of the Prophets which lived in the time of Uzzia; and of Princes then ruling in Egypt, and in some other Countries.

TN the time of Uzzia were the first of the the Kingdom of Judalesser Prophets, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadia and Jonas. It is not indeed set down, lowed in the Kingdom of Egypt: unto him sucwhen feel or Obadia did prophecy but if the ceeded Anylis, and these two occupied that Prophets, whose times are not expressed, Crown fix years. Then Sabacus, an Athiopian, ought to be ranged (according to Saint Hie- became King of Egypt, and held it fifty years, rome's rule) with the next before them; then | whereof the ten first ran along with the last must these two be judged contemporary of Uzzia his Reign and Life. Of these and owith Hosea and Amos, who lived under King ther Egyptian Kings, more shall be spoken, Vzzia. To enquire which of these five was when their affairs shall come to be interthe most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, | medled with the business of Juda. at least, a superfluous labour; yet if the age thus, victories of Jeroboam King of Ifrael, and with the three and twenty of Silvius Procas, 240,25 therefore is like to have prophefied in the and two and twenty the first of Silvius Amuby his sufferings, than by his writings, now ex- not likely to forget it. tant:in all the rest are found express promises of the Messias.

In the reign of Vzzia likewise it was, that,

fore, thus far onely vve have affurance; that cause the greater have written larger Books. tore, the Uzzia was wroth with the Priests, the leprose rose up in his fore head, before the Priests. ly in regard of his much writing, or of his Lis. c. 19. Hereupon he vvas caused, in all haste, to de- Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who part the place, Et to live in a house by himself think him to have been the son of Amos the untill he dyed, the rule over the Kings house, Prophet) and the high account wherein he and over all the Land, being committed to lived; but for the excellencie both of his file Jotham, his Son and Successiour. Jotham took and argument, wherein he so plainly foretelnot upon himself the stile of a King, till his eth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole Father vvas dead; vvhom they buried in the History of our Saviour, with the calling of fame field wherein his Ancestors lay interred; the Gentiles, that he might as well be called yet in a Monument apart from the rest, be- an Evangelist, as a Prophet; having written in such wife, That (as Hierome, faith) Hier. in one would think he did not foretell of wings to ref. super come but compile an History of matters already paft.

Bocchoris was King of Egypt, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when Ozzia took possession of

After the death of Bocchoris, Afchis fol-

In Athens, the two last years of Ariphron wherein Homer lived, hath so plentifully been his twenty, the seven and twentieth of Thefought, without reprehension, how can he be spains, the twentieth of Agamnestor, and the taxed, which offers to fearch out the anti- three first of Æschilus his three and twenty, quity of these holy Prophets? It seems to me, made even with the two and fifty of Uzzia: that the first of these, in order of time, was as likewise did in Alba the last seven of silthe Prophet Jonas; who foretold the great vius Aventinus his seven and thirty, together days of Joas, whilest the afflictions of Ifrael lius. In Media Arbaces began his new Kingwas exceeding bitter; the Text it self intima- dom in the first of Uzzia, wherein, after ting no less: by which consequence he was eight and twenty years, his son sofarmus sucelder than the other Prophets, whose works ceeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of are now extant. But his prophecies that con- this Arbaces, and the division of the Assgrian cerned the Kingdom of Israel are now lost. Empire, between him and others, when they That which remaineth of him, seems, not had oppressed Sardanapalus, I hold it conwithout reason unto some very learned, to venient to use more particular discourse, that have belonged unto the time of sardana- we may not wander in too great uncertain-Palus, in whose days Nineve was first of all de- ty in the story of the Assyrian Kings, who have stroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ already found the way into Palestina, and are

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reigned a part in Nineve and Babylon.

rent, that the chief therein was Arbaces the Affprians under their subjection, when the Medyan; to vvhom the reft of the Confede- reft of the Provinces were fet at liberty; but rates did not onely submit themselves in in consideration of the Kings themselves. that War, but vvere contented afterwards who reigning afterwards in Babylon and Nito be judged by him, receiving by his au- neve are confounded by some, and distinguithority sentence of death, or pardon of their shed by others; whereby their History is forfeited lives. The first example of his pow-made uncertain. er, was shewn upon Belosus the Babylonian, I will first therefore deliver the opinion by whose special advice and help, Arbaces generally received, and the grounds wherehimself vvas become so great: Yet vvas not upon it stands: then, producing the objectithis power of Arbaces exercised in so tyran- ons made against it, I will compare together nical a manner, as might give offence in that the determination of that worthy man Joseph great alteration of things, either to the Prin- Scaliger, with those learned that subscribe ces that had affifted him, or to the genera- thereunto, and the judgement of others that lity of the people. For in the condemnation were more ancient Writers, or have followof Belssus, he used the counsel of his other ed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Nei-Captains, and then pardoned him of his own ther shall it be needfull to set down a-part grace; allowing him to hold not onely the the severall authorities and arguments of City and Province of Babylon, but also those sundry men, adding somewhat of weight, or treasures, for embezelling vvhereof his life of clearnesse one to another: it will be had been endangered.

rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers and without fear to be taxed of partialitie, of Provinces; retaining (as it appears) onely as being no more addicted to the one opinithe Soveraignty to himself, which to use on than to the other, by any fancic of mine immoderately he did naturally abhor. He own, but meerly led by those reasons, which is faid, indeed, to have excited the Medes a- upon examination of each part, seemed to gainst Sardanapalus, by propounding unto me most forceable, though to others they them hope of transferring the Empire to may perhaps appear weak. their Nation. And to make good this his promife, he destroyed the City of Nineve, permite, the destroyed the City of Nineve, permite, the state of t mitting the Citizens nevertheless to take and who, first of the Assirians, entred Palasina carry away every one his own goods. The with an Armie; being called Pul, or Plul, in other Nations that joyned with him, as the the Scriptures, and by Annius his authors Persians and Battrians, he drew to his side, with such as follow them, Phul Belochus. Of by the allurement of liberty; which he him-this man it is faid, that he was a skilfull Afelf fo greatly loved, that by flacking too ftrologer, fubtile, and ambitious; that much the reins of his own Soveraignty, he he got Babylon by composition made with did more harm to the general estate of Me- Arbaces; and that not therewith content, he dia, than the pleasure of the freedom, which got into his hand part of Assyria: finally that it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the he reigned eight and fortie years, and then Territory of that Countrey was pared nar-dying, left the Kingdome to Teglat phalaffar rower by Salmanassar, (or perhaps by some his son in whose Posterity it continued some of his Progenitors) vvhom vve find in the few descents, till the house of Meroduch Scriptures to have held some Towns of the prevailed. The truth of this, if Annius his Medes; and the civil administration was fo Metasthenes were sufficient proof, could not disorderly, that the people themselves were be gainfaid; for that Author (such as he is) is glad to see that reformation, which Deinces peremptoric herein. But, howsoever Annithe fift of Arbaces his Line, did make in that us his Authors deserve to be suspected, it government, by reducing them into firicter | frands with no reason, that wee should conterms of obedience,

How the force of the Asyrians grew to be fuch as might in fourfcore years, if not foo. of the Asiyrian Kings, descending from Phul: ner, both extend it self unto the conquest of and whether Phul and Belolus were one Ifrael, and tear away some part of Media, it is person, or heads of fundry Families, that a question hardly to be answered; not onely in regard of the destruction of Nineve, and Subversion of the Assyrian Kingdom, whereof BY that which hath formerly been show the Meder, under Arbaces, had the honour, who may seem at that time to have kept the

enough to relate the whole substance of each In like manner, he gave rewards to the discourse which I will doe as briefly as I can,

clude all to be false which they affirme.

They, who maintaine this Tradition, justi- enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except Authors, and repugnant unto no historie at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Dio*as of right, unto the Seat of the Empire.

Tallamore both. This being to, how can it be thought friendship of these Arabians was a thing of Rullamor, that the Assyrians in three or foure years had main importance, to those that were to pass

fie it by divers good Allegations, as a mat- he had fuch means as Felofus had, which Pul. ter confirmed by circumstances found in all if he were not Belosus, is likely to have want-

Besides all this had Pul been a distinct perdorus (which is indeed the foundation fon from Belosus, and Lord of Asserta, which whereupon all have built) that Arbaces and lay beyond the Countries of Babylon and Belofus were partners in the action against Mesopotamia, it would not have been an easie Sardanapalus; and that the Bactrians, who matter for him, to pass quite through anojoyned with them, were thought well re- ther mans Kingdom with an Army, seeking warded with libertie, as likewife other Captains were with governments: but that any third person was so eminent, as to haue Assiration in the state of the state ria it selfe, the cheife Countrey of the Em- Pul or Fhul, was the same whom prophane pire bestowed upon him, it is a thing where- writers have called Belosus, Beleses, and Be-1,105,120 bliftorie. And certainly it flood with little eth, that he, whom the Scriptures called nereason, that the Assyrians should be commit- ver otherwise than Darius the Mede, was the ted unto a peculiar King, at fuch time as it fon of Afriages, and called of the Greeks by was not meet to trust them in their own another name, that is, Cyaxeres) then is this walls and houses. Rather it is apparent, that scruple utterly removed. For Babylon and the destruction of Nineve by Arbaces, and the Mesopotamia did border upon Syria and Patransplantation of the Citizens, was held a lestina: so that Belosus having settled his afneedfull policy, because thereby the people fairs in Assyria towards the East and North, of that Nation might be kept down from af- might with good leifure encroach upon the piring to recover the Soveraignty, which Countries that lay on the other fide of his else they would have thought to belong, Kingdom, to the South and West. He that looks into all particulars, may find every Upon such considerations did the Romans, one circumstance concurring, to prove that in ages long after following, deftroy Carthage | Phul, who invaded Ifrael, was none other and diffolive the Corporation, or Body politick, of the Citizens of Capua; because those who joyned with Arbaees, and brought no two Towns were capable of the Empire: a small part of the forces wherewith Sardanamatter esteemed over-dangerous, even to palus was overthrown, did enter into that Rome it selfe, that was Mistresse of them action, meerly for the love of Belosus. The erected their Kingdome a new under one over Euphrates with an Army into Syria. Pul? or what must this Pul have been (of Wherefore Belosus, that held good correswhose deservings or entermedling, or in-pondence with them, and whose most fruitdeed of whose very name, we find no men-full Province, adjoyning to their barren tion in the Warre against Sardanapalus) to quarters, might yearly do them inestimable whom the principall parts of the Empire fell | pleasures, was not only likely to have quiet either by generall confent in division of the passage through their borders, but their ut-Provinces, or by his owne power and pur- most affistance: yea, it stands with good reachase very soon after? Surely he was none son, that they who loved not Israel, should other than Belosus; whose neer neighbour- for their own behoose have given him intellihood gave him opportunity (as he was wife gence of the destructions and civil broyles aenough to play his own game) both to get mong the ten Tribes; whereby as this Pul Allgria to himself, and to empeach any other got a thousand talents, so it seems that the syman that should have attempted to seize rians and Arabians, that had felt an heavy upon it. The Province of Babylon, which Be- neighbour of Jeroboam, recovered their own, losus held, being (as Herodotus reports) in setting up a new King in Damasco, and clearriches and power as good as the third part of ing the coast of Arabia, (from the Sea of the the Persian Empire, was able to furnish him Wilderness to Hamath) of the Hebrew Garriwith all that was requifite for such a business: sons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, if that were not enough, he had gotten into that made the Nations, divided by Euphrates, his own hands all the gold and filver that had hold together in fo good terms of friendbeen in the Palace of Nineve. And question- ship: it was ancient consanguinity, the meless, to restore such a City as Nineve, was an mory whereof was availeable to the Syrians,

beyond the river came over willingly, to of Affiria, and fettling of that Countrey, was the succour of Hadadezer, and the Aramites work enough to hold Belosus occupyed about Damasco. So Belosus had good rea- besides the restauration of Nineue, which fon to look into those parts: what a King alone was able to take up all the time remaireigning fo far off as Nineve, should have to ning of his reign, if perhaps he lived to fee do in Spria, if the other end of his Kingdom it finished in his own days. So that this had not reached to Euphrates, it were hard to argument may rather ferve to prove that

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business which might allure the Chaldeans made until Belosus could find leisure; and the into Palæstina, it may be doubted, lest it time of advantage which Belosus did let slip, should feem to have ill coherence with that argued his business in some other quarter, which hath been faid of the long Anarchy namely, in that Province of which Phul is that was in the ten Tribes. For if the called King. Briefly, it may be faid, that he Crown of Ifrael were worn by no man in who conquered Affria, and performed somethree and twenty years, then is it likely that what upon a Country fo far diffant as Fala-Belosus was either unwilling to stir, or un-sting, was likely to have been, at least, named able to take the advantage when it was fair- in some History, or, if not himself, yet his est and first discovered. This might have com- Country to have been spoken of for those vipelled those, who alone were not strong ctories: but we neither hear of Phul, in any enough to feek after help from some Prince prophane Author; neither doth any Writer, that lay further off; and fothe opinion of facred or prophane, once mention the vithole that diftinguish Phul from Belosus, Ctories or acts whatsoever of the Allgrians, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other done in those times; whereas of Belosus, and fide, if we fay, that Belosus did pass the river the power of the Chaldeans, we find good of Euphrates, as soon as he found likelihood Record. of making a prosperous journey, then may | Surely, that great slaughter of so many it feem that the inter-regnum in Ifrael was thousand Affyrians, in the quarrel of Sardananot fo long as we have made it: for three palus, together with other calamities of that and twenty years leifure would have afford-long and unfortunate war, which overed better opportunity, which ought not to whelmed the whole Country, ending but have been loft.

what Orofius and Enfebius have written con- of Affyria, that it could not in thirty years cerning the Chaldees: the one, that after the space be able to invade Palastina, which the departure of Arbaces into Media, they layd ancient Kings, reigning in Nineve, had, in all hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that their greatness, forborn to attempt. Yet they prevailed and grew mighty, between these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did the times of Arbaces and Deioces the Medes. help to enable Belosus to subdue it; who has Now, though it be held an errour of Orosi- ving once extended his Dominion to the w, where he supposeth that the occupying of borders of Media, and being (especially if Babylonia by the Chaldeans was in a manner he had compounded with the Medes) by the of a rebellion from the Medes; yet herein he interposition of that Countrey, secure of the

in the time of David, when the Aramites his Reign; manifest it is, that the conquest Phul and Belofus were one person, forasmuch But concerning this last argument of the as the journey of Phul against Israel was not

with the ruine and utter desolation of Ni-For answer, hereunto we are to consider, | neve, must needs have so weakened the state and Eusebius do concur, that the autho- scythians, and other warlike Nations on that riry of Arbaces did restrain the ambition, side, might very well turn Southward, and which by his absence grew bold, and by his try his fortune in those Kingdoms, wheredeath, regardful onely of it self. Now, though into civill diffention of the inhabitants, and fome have conjectured that all Affyria the bordering envy of the Arabians and Arawas given to Belosus (as an overplus, besides mites about Damasco, Friends and Cousins the Provinces of Babyion which was his by to the Chaldrans and Mesopotamians, did inplain bargain made aforehand) in regard vite him. For these, and the other before of his high defervings; yet the opinion alledged reasons, it may be concluded, That more commonly received, is, that he did what is faid of Pulin the Scriptures, ought to onely incroach upon that Province by lit- be understood of Belosus; even as by the tle and little, whilest Arbaces lived, and af- names of Nebuchadnezzar, Darius the Mede, terwards dealing more openly, got it all Artashasht, and Ahashuerosh, with the like, himselfe. Seeing therefore, that there passare thought, or known, to be meant the fed but twelve years between the death of same whom prophane Historians, by names Arbaces, and the beginning of Menahem better known in their own Countreys, have ledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themfelves easily follow. For it is a matter of no naffar none other than Baladan King of Babel, great consequence to know the truth of this and not Salmanassar King of Assyria point (confidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether Pul were Belofus, or some other man: the whole race of these far, which in Greek or Latine writing hath Assyrian and Babylonian Kings, wherein are no difference, we are taught by Scaliger, that found those famous Princes, Nabonassar, Mar- in the Hebren letters there is found no affidocempadus, and Nabopollassar (famous for the nity therein. So concerning the places of Ba-Astronomicall observations recorded from bylonia, whereinto salmanassar carried captheir times) is the main ground of this con- tive some part of the ten Tribes, it may well tention. If therefore Belosus or Beleses were be granted, that in the Province of Babylon; that Phul which invaded Ifrael; if he and his Salmanassar had gotten somewhat, yet will posterity reigned both in Nineve and in Baby- it not follow that he was King of Babylon it lon; if he were father of Teglat-Phul-Afer, felfe. To conclude, Merodach began his from whom Salmanafar, Senacherib, and A- reign over Babylon in the fixt year of Hezifarhaddon descended; then it is manifest, that kia, at which time Salmanassar took Samaria; we must seek Nabonassar the Babylonian King, among those Princes; yea, and conclude him then must we say that he and Merodach, yea, This is the scope and end of all his disputa-

quence is so plain, that it needs no confir- answer. mation. To prove that Nabonassar was a diffuch arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had fworn to hold the contrary. For first, Nabonassar was King of Babyis proper to the Allyrians.

calle d Nahopollasser, Cyaxares, and Artaxer- that Epocha, or account of times, vvas a Babyxes : especially confidering, that hereby we lonian, and no Assyrian. Thirdly, and more shall neither contradict any thing that hath strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of been written of old, or need to trouble our Nabonassar, which vvas Mardocempadus, calfelves or others with framing new conject- led in his own language Mero-dac-ken-pad, E/19 39.1. tures. This in effect is that, which they al- but more breifly in E/ay his prophecie. Merodac by the former Part of his name; or Merodach Baladan the fon of Baladan. Now if Merodach the fon of Baladan King of Babel, were the fonne of Nabonassar, then was Nabo-

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, Nabonassar and Salmanatherfore if Salmanassar were King of Babylon, to be none other than Salmanafar, who is and Nabonassar, were all one man. These are known to have reigned in those years which the arguments of that noble and learned Ptolomy the Mathematician hath affigned Writer Joseph Scaliger; who not contented to unto Nabonassar. As for Merodech, who sup- follow the common opinion founded upon planted Afar-haddon, manifest it is, that likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his he and his fucceffors were of another house. proofes from matter of more necessary in-

Touching all that was faid before of Phul But they that maintain the contrary part, Belosus, for the proving that Phul and Belosus will not be fatisfied with such conjectures. were not fundry Kings; Joseph scaliger pities They lay hold upon the conclusion, and by their ignorance, that have spent their labour shaking that into peices, hope to overthrow to so little purpose. Honest and painfull all the premisses upon which it is inferred. men he confesseth that they were, who by For (fay they) if Nabonassar that reigned in their diligence might have won the good li-Babylon, could not be Salmanafar, or any of king of their Readers, had they not, by menthose other Assprian Kings, then it is manifest tioning Annius his Authors, given such ofthat the races were distinct, and that Phul fences that men refused thereupon to read and Belosus were severall Kings. This conse- their Bookes and Chronologies. A short

For mine own part, howfoever I beleeve tindt person from Salmanassar, are brought nothing that Annius his Berosus, Metasthenes, and others of that stamp affirm, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not fo fqeamish, but that I can well enough digest a lon, and not of Affyria. This is proved by his good Book, though I find the names of one name, which is meerly Chaldean, vyhereas or two of these good fellows alledged in its Salman, the first part of Salmanassars name, I have (fomewhat peradventure to often) already spoken my mind of Annius his Au-It is likewise proved by the Astronomicall thors: Neverthelesse, I may say here again, observations, which proceeding from the that where other Histories are silent, or Babylonians, not from the Affyrians, do shew speak not enough, there may we without that Nabonassar, from vvhom Ptolomy draws shame borrow of these, as much as agrees

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with that little which elfewhere we find, and wife King Philip loft partly, and partly did

ful men (as scaliger terms them, meaning, them, being me thinks none other than anif I mistake him not, good silly sellows) who swers to somewhat that is or might be alledfer down the Affrian Kings from Pul for- ged on the contrary fide) one of them which for Relosus, and Salmanassar for Nabonassar, ting of those names, Salmanassar and Nabofuch Writers as a man should be assumed or nassar in the Hebren, I hold a point about unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude which no man will dispute; for it is not likeof others, that herein follow Annius, though ness of found, but agreement of time, and not fo flight a Chronologer, that he should be way the distinction of persons: the other likehonest meaning fellow.

fifted or avoided. It will eafily be granted, Merodach the fon of Baladan; and in that hinders us from believing that one man in the handling of these objections untill I meet ral names? That Altronomy flourished a- will be when we come to the time of Hezekia, Nabonafar either an Astrologer or a chalda- that I may not leave too great a scruple in sed ca. an. So it is, that Scaliger himfelf calls them, the mind of the Reader, thus far will I here mon 13. Prophetas nescro quos, qui Nabonaslarum satisfie him; that how strong soever this arguphets I know not who, that in their fleep have retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in dreampt of Nabonaslar, that he was an Aftro- thinking Merodach to be the son of Nabonasloger.

or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain fort they have fallioned their Story, who tathe negative: But as his being Lord over the king Pul to be a diffine person from Belosus Chaldeans, doth not prove him to have or Beleftis, have in like fort, as was necessabeen learned in their sciences; so doth it ry, distinguished their off-spring, making not prove him not to have been also that of Pul to fail in Ajarhaddon, which left King of Affyria. The Emperour Charles the all to Merodach the Babylonian. And here I fift, who was born in Gant, and Philip his must first confess my want of Books, if Son, King of spain, and Lords of the Ne- perhaps there be many, that have gone atherlands, had men far more learned in all bout to reduce this parration into some such Sciences, and particularly in the Mathema- order, as might prefent unto us the body of ticks, among their Subjects of the Low Coun- this Hiftory, in one view. Divers, indeed, tries, than were any that I read of then living there are, whom I have feen, that fince Join Spain, if spain at that time had any; yet feph scaliger delivered his opinion, have writ-I think, Posterity will not use this as an ar- ten in favour of some one or other point theirs. It may well be, that Salmanaffar or abridged Scaligers learned Work, De emen-Nabonassar did use the Assyrian Souldiers, and datione Temporum, hath not been careful to and his posterity, by giving themselves Pul, or Tiglat Pulassar did reign, (perhaps wholly to the more warlike Nation; loft the because he found it not expressed in Scaliger) richer, out of which they first issued, as like- but is content to set down Baladan, for the

ferveth to explain or inlarge it without im- put to a dangerous hazzard all the Netherlands, by such a course. As for the two un-Neither indeed are those honest and pain- answerable arguments, (as Scaliger terms wards, as Lords also of Babylon, taking Pul is drawn from the unlike sound and wridifliking him in general) Gerard Mercator is many circumstances else, that must take alaughed out of doors with the name of an wife may be granted, which is, that salnanassar might be Lord of some places in the But I will not make comparisons between Province of Babylon, yet not King of Baby-Scaliger and Mercator; they were both of lon it felf: this indeed might be so, and it them men notably learned: let us examine might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothe arguments of Scaliger, and fee whether thing fave conjecture. But in that which is althey be of fuch force as cannot either be re- ledged out of the Prophet Elay concerning that Nabonaffar was King of Babylon; that he which is faid of this Merodach, and Mardowas not King of Ajjyria, some men doubt kenpadus, his being the Successor of Nabonassar whether scaligers reasons be enough to and his beginning to reign in the fixt year of prove. For though Nabonassar be a Chaldwan Hezekia, I find matter of more difficulty than name, and Salmanaffar an Affirian; yet what can be answered in hast. I will therefore defer two languages might be called by two feve- with their subject in his proper place; which mong the Chaldees, is not enough to prove wherein Merodach lived, and was King. Yet Astronomum fuisse in somnis viderunt; Pro- ment may secm, Scaliger himself did live to /ar, he had been deceived.

Whether Nabonassar were an Astrologer Now therefore let us consider, in what gument, to prove that Spain was none of thereof: but Sethus Calvifius himself, who hath Babylonian Scholars; but it feems, that he give us notice, how long Belofus, Baladan,

himself revoked. In this case therefore I to pass by the just judgment of God, that Phul must lay down the plot of these divided and Belosus rebelled against Arbaccs, like as Kingdoms, in fuch fort as I find it conceived Arbaces had done against Sardanapalus; and by Augustinus Torniellus; who onely of all instead of being Vice-Roys, made themselves that I have feen, fets down the fuccession, absolute Kings. And to this later opinion Torcontinuance, and acts, of those that reigned niellus himself leans, holding it much the in Affria after Sardanapalus, distinguishing more probable, as being more agreeable to them from Belofus, and his Posterity, of that which is found in prophane Histories. whom he hath the like remembrance. This Why he did make and publish theformer sup-Torniellus is a Regular Clark of the congre- pofing, refolving to hold the later. Ishall agation of S. Paul, whose Annales were prin- non, without any wrong to him, make bold to wilfully)forgetfulof thanking or mentioning manner. those Protestant Writers, by whose Books he hath received good information, and reign, and continues eight and forty years. enriched his works by inferting fomewhat Theglatphalasar (whose name, and the names of theirs. But in this business he hath of other Princes, I write diversly, accoropenly professed to follow scaliger, whose ding to the Authors whom I have in hand help, without wrong or dishonour to him- are pleased to diversifie them) succeeding felf, he hath both used and acknowledged. unto Phul, reigned three and twenty. Salma-For mine own part, I will not spare to do nassar followed him, and reigned ten. After right unto Torniellus; but confess my self him Senacherib reigned seven: and when he to have received benefit by his writing; and was flain, Afarhadden his fon ten years; in wish that his Annals had sooner come to light; whom that line failed. fed out of my hand, and been exposed to o- fession. ther mens constructions) of the four Kings cases, that invaded the Valley of siddim, and were

how he hath ordered these last Assyrian and | Concerning the original of these Assyrian Lepidus.

same person with Nabonassar, which Scaliger in short space, that is, in four years, it came ted the last year; he appears to me a man ghess. Having thus devised how Phul and Beof a curious industry, found judgment, and losus might, at the first, attain to be Kings, he free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, orders their time and their fucceffors in this

Four years after Arbaces, Phul begins to

for that as he hath much confirmed me The fame time that Phul took upon him as in some things, so would be have instructed, King of Assyria, or not long after (why not and imboldened me to write more fully and rather afore? for so it had been more likely) less timerously in other things, which now Belosus usurped the Kingdom of Babylon, I have no leifure to revife. Particularly in and held it three core and eight years; at that conjecture (which I had faintly deliver- the least threescore and eight years did pass, ed, and yet feared left it had over-haftily paf before Nabonaffar followed him in the pof-

To Nabonassar, whom (with Scaliger) he thinks to be Baladan, are affigned fix and flain by Abraham, I find him adventuring twenty years: then two and fifty to Meroas I have done, to fay, that they may pro- dach, or Mardocempadus: four and twenty to bably be thought to have been some petty Ben Merodach: and lastly, one and twenty to Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers Nabolassar the father of Nebuchodonosor; who notwithstanding. But now let us consider is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Babylonian Kings. After the destruction of and Babylonian Kingdoms, I may truly Sardanapalus, Arbaces, being the most migh- say, That the conjectures of other men, who ty, fought to get all to himself, but was op- give all to Belosus, and confound him with poled by Belofus; in which contention, one Phul, appear to me more nearly refembling Phul a powerful man in Affyria, fided with the truth. Neither do I think, that Tor-Belosus, and they two prevailed so far, that niellus would have conceived two different finally Arbaces was content to share the Em- waies, by which Phul might have gotten Afpire with them, making such a division there- fria (for how Belosus came to get Babylan, of, as vvas long after made of the Roman it is plain enough) if either of them alone Empire between Octavian, Anthony, and could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with Another conjecture is (for Torniellus of Diodore, and other Historians. But he perfers not this, or the rest, as matter of cer- ceived, that to make Phul on the sudden King tainty) that Arbaces made himself Soveraign of Asserto give him so noble a Province, Lord of all, and placed the feat of his as would, of it felf, invite him to accept Empire in Media, appointing Belofus his Lieu- the name and power of a King, was a thing tenant in Babylonia, and Phul in Affria. But most unlikely to have happened, unless his been proportionable to fo high a reward, without blufhing after a little, to help our And for this cause (as I take it) hath he de- own opinions, and lay the blame upon Annivised the means, whereby Phul might be us, against whom we shall be sure to find made capable of so great a share in the Em- friends that will take our part. pire. If this were a true or probable suppofition, then would a new doubt arife, Why nassar did reach, by Annius his measure, to this Phul being one of the three that divided the length of five and twenty years the all betweene them, was utterly forgotten by one, and seventeen the other; Torniellus all Historians? yea, why this division it felse, hath cut off two from the former, and seand the civil Warres that caused it, were ven from the latter of them, to fit (as I think) never heard of? Questionlesses, the enterver-his own computation; using the liberty ting of some treasures by Belosus, with his whereof I spake last: for that any Author. Judgment, Condemnation, and Pardon fol- fave our good Metasthenes, or those that borlowing, were matters of farre lefte note. rowed of him, hath gone about to tell how Therefore I doe not fee, how one of the two long each of these did reign, it is more than I inconveniences can this way be avoyded; have yet found. To Senacherib and Afarhadbut that either we must confesse the Domi don, Torniellus gives the same length of reign, nion given to Phul to have been exceeding which is found in Metasthenes, I think there his merits; or else his merits, and name with- are not many, that will arrogate so much all, to have been strangely forgotten: either unto themselves, as may very well be allowof which is enough to make us thinke, that ed unto a man fo judicious as is Torniellus; rather the conjecture, inferring such a sequel, and yet I could wish that he had sorborn is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of to condemn the followers of Annius in this Phul and Belofus, against Arbaces, it was al- business, wherein he himself hath chosen, most impossible for the Assyrians to recover in part rather to become one of them, than such strength in foure years, as might serve to say, as else he must have done, almost noto hold out in rebellion: for Belofus it was thing. needlesse to rebell, considering, that Arbaces | The like liberty we find that he used in did not feek to molest him, but rather per- the measuring the reigns of the Chaldwans,

logue of these Kings; not passing through reign somewhat later than Pkul: for threethem all (for some will require a large dis- score and eight years would seem a long course in their own times, but speaking of time for him to hold a Kingdom, that was no their order and time in generall. If it be foe young man when he took possession of it. unlawfull to think, that some of Annius his But how is any whit of his age abated by tales (let them all be counted his tales, which shortning his reign, seeing his life reacheth are not found in other Authors as well as in to the end of fuch a time, as were alone withhis) may be true, especially such as contra- out adding the time wherein he was a pridict no acknowledged truth, or apparent vate man, enough for a long liver? Indeed likelihood; why then is it faid, that Phul did eight and forty years had been somewhat of reign in Affiria eight and forty years? For the most, considering that he seems by the this hath no other ground than Annius. ftory to have been a little less at such time as It is true that painful and judicious Writers he joyned with Arbaces; and therefore the have found this number of years to agree fit- addition of twenty years, did well deserve ly with the course of things in History: yet that note (which Torniellus advisedly gives) all of them took it from Annius. Let it there- that if his reign extended not fo far, then the fore be the punishment of Annius his for- reign of such as came after him, occupied gery (as questionless he is often guilty of this the middle time, unto Nabonassar. crime) that when he tels truth, or probability, he be not believed for his own fake; Torniellus, in conjecturing, nor the modesty though for our own fakes we make use of of Scaliger and Sethus Calvisius, in forbearing his boldness, taking his words for good, to set down as warrantable, such things as whereas (nothing else being offered) we are depend onely upon likelihood. For things, unwilling our selves to be Authors of new, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken athough not unprofitable conjectures. Herein way from us by Antiquity must be described

deferts (whereof we find no mention) had | we shall have this commodity, that we may

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mitted (as being an over-great favourer of filling up all the space between the end of liberty) even the Medes that were vnder Sardanapalus and the beginning of Nabonafhis own Government, to doe what they | Jar, with the threefcore and eight years of lifted. | Belofus. In this respect it was, perhaps, that But it is now flt that we peruse the Cata- he thought Relosus might have begun his

I neither do reprehend the boldness of

feribe those Countreys, whereof as yet there Annius, may chance otherwhiles to be given is made no true discovery, that is, either by to one of those Authors whose names he preleaving some part blank, or by inserting the tendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of au-Land of Pigmies, Rocks of Load-stone, with thority, I had rather trust Scaliger or Torni-Head-lands, Bayes, great Rivers, and other ellus, than Annius, yet him than them, of his particularities, agreeable to common report, affertion be more probable, and more agreethough many times controlled by following able to approved Histories than their conjeexperience, and found contrary to truth. Cture, as in this point it feems to me; it havfrance of place, allows not fuch liberty to a probation of many, and those not meanly Describer, as that which ariseth from the re-learned. mediless oblivion of confuming time. For it is true that the Poet faith.

- Neque fervidis Pars inclusa caloribus Mundi, nec Borea finitium latus. Duratæque sole Nines, Mercatorem abigunt; horrida callidi Vincunt equora Navita,

Nor Southern heat, nor Northern Snow That freezing to the ground doth grow, The subjects Regions can fence, And keep the greedy Merchant thence: The fubtile Shipmen way to find, Storm never fo the Seas with Wind.

they cannot ferve alwayes. To which pur- for lack of better. pole I remember a pretty jest of Don Pedro de Sarmiento, a worthy Spanish gentleman, who had been imployed by his King in plantfor when I asked, him being then my Prifoner, fome questions about an Island in those ties would it be more shame to have believed Israel and Juda, where occasion requires. in the mean while, Annius or Torniellus, than These Olympian games and exercises of

in Hiltory, as Geographers in their Maps de not fay, that the credit which we gave to Yet indeed the ignorance growing from di- ing moreover gotten some credit, by the ap-

To end this redious disputation; I hold it a fure course in examination of such opinions as have once gotten the credit of being general, so to deal as Pacuvius in Capua did with the multirude, finding them defirous to put all the Senators of the City to death. He lockt the Senators up within the Statehouse, and offered the lives of the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, untill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was halty, for as falt as every name was read, all the town cryed, Let him dye: but the execution required more leifure; for in substituting of another, some notorious Therefore the fictions (or let them be vice of the person, or baseness of his condicalled conjectures) painted in Maps, doe tion, or sufficiency of his quality, made each ferve only to mif-lead fuch discoverers as new one that was offered to be rejected: so rashly believe them; drawing upon the pub-that finding the worse and less choice, the lishers, either some angry curses or well de- further and the more that they sought, it was ferved fcorn; but to keep their owne credit, finally agreed, that the old should be kept

ing a Colony upon the Streights of Megellan: Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

Streights, which, me thought, might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merily, that it was to be games, by Iphitus, in the reign of the same called the Painters wives Iland; faying, That King Uzzia and in his one and fiftieth year. It whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife is, I know, the general opinion, that these fitting by, defired to put in one Countrey games were established by Iphitus, in the first for her; that she in imagination, might have of Jotham: yet is not that opinion so general; an Illand of her own. But in filling up the but that Authors, weighty enough, have giblankes of old Histories, we need not be soe ven to them a more early beginning. The ferupulous. For it is not to be feared, that truth is that in fitting those things unto the fatime shall runne backward, and by restoring cred History, which are found in prophane the things themselves to knowledge, make Authors, we should not be too careful of our conjectures appear ridiculous: What if drawing the Hebrews to those works of time, fome good Copy of any ancient Author, which had no reference to their affairs, it is ecould be found, thewing if we have it not al- nough, that fetting in due order these beginready) the perfect truth of these uncertain- nings of accounts, we joyn them to matters of

to have believed nothing? Here I will activity, were first instituted by Herenles, who

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foot; by which Pythagoras found out the the Ionian expedition, threescore years; flate and likely strength of Hercules his bo- from that expedition to the time of Lycur. dy. They took name, not from the Mountain gus his government in Sparta, one hundred Olympus, but from the City Olympia, other- fifty nine; and thence to the first Olympiad. wise Pifa, near unto Elis; where also Jupi-one hundred and eight years. In this account ter's Temple in Elis, famous among the Gre-the first year of the first Olympiad is not incians, and reputed among the Wonders of cluded. the World, was known by the name of the But vain labour it were to feek the begin-Temple of Jupiter Olympius. These games ning of the Olympiads by numbring the years were exercised from every fourth year com- from the taking of Troy, which is of date pleat in the plains of Elis,a City of Pelopone- far more uncertain. Let it suffice that by fus, near the River Alpheus.

ings were discontinued for many years, till year current after Troy, we may reckon back Plut. out Iphitus, by advice from the Oracle of Apollo, to the taking of that City, fetting that, and re-established them, Lieurgus the Law-giver other accidents which have reference therethen living: from which time they were to, in their proper times. The certainty of continued by the Grecians, till the reign of things following the Olympiads must needs Theodosius the Emperour, according to Ce- teach us how to find when they began. drenus: others think that they were diffolved under Constantine the Great.

Grecian times and their stories to be certain: the beginning of the Olympiads to the pafbut reckoned all before, either doubtful or fage of Xerxes into Greece, two hundreth fabulous: and yet Pliny gives little credit fourfcore and seventeen years; from thence to all that is written of Greece, till the reign to the beginning of the Peloponnosian War, of Cyrus, who began in the five and fiftieth eight and forty years; forwards to the vi-Olympiad, as Enfebius out of Diodore, Caftor, Ctory of Lyfander, seven and twenty; to the Polybius, and others, hath gathered, in whose | battel of Lentera, thirty four; to the death of time the feven wife Grecians flourished. For Philip King of Macedon, five and thirty; and Solon had speech with Crassus, and Crassus was finally to the death of Alexander, twelve. overthrown and taken by Cyrus.

boured to find out the certain beginning of allowed by the most. these Olympiads, namely, to set them in the true year of the World, and the reign of hympiads in the one and fiftieth year of Uzfuch and fuch Kings: but feeing they all dif- zia, we have arguments grounded upon that fer in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds which is certain, concerning the beginning year, they can hardly jump in particulars of Cyrus his reign, and the death of Alexanthereon depending.

Olympiads the nine and fortieth of Ofias, or which happened when Xerxes fet out of

Eusebius, who is contrary to himself in this of divers other.

apud. clem. hundred and seven years after Troy, reckon- others) begin a year later, which comes all Alex. Stram L.I. ing the years that passed between to whom to one reckoning. So is the death of Alexan-Solinus, and many others adhere.

Erasofth.

measured the length of the race by his own loponnesus, were fourscore years; thence to

knowing the inflauration of these games to After the death of Hercules, these meet- have been in the four hundreth and eight

To this good use we have the ensuing vears unto the death of Alexander the Great. From this institution, Varro accompted the thus divided by the same Eratosthenes. From The whole fum arifeth to 453, years; which Many patient and piercing brains have la- number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is

Now for placing the inftitution of the 0der; as also upon the Astronomical calcula-Cyril against Julian and Dydimus begin the tion of fundry Eclipses of the Sun; as of that Sardis with his Army to invade Greece; and

Freq. E reckoning, accounts with those that find Touching Cyrus, it is generally agreed that Till name that the very first Olympiad in the beginning of his reign as King before he was Lord of the holds. the four hundreth and fixth year after Troy; great Monarchy, began the first year of the Enfeld yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth five and fiftieth Olympiad, and that he reign page as of Uzziab, which is (as I find it) two ed thirty years: they who give him but ϵ_3, σ_4 twenty nine years of reign (following Hero-Dem. Eratofibenes placeth the first Olympiad four under and Super Version and Super Versi Dionysius, Halicarnasseus, Diodorus Siculus, der set by all good Writers in the first year of the hundreth and fourteenth Olympiad. The distance between the destruction of This latter note of Alexanders death serveth Trey and the first Olympiad, is thus collected | well to lead us back to the beginning of Cyby Eratofthenes. From the taking of Troy to rus; as many the like observations do. For the descent of Hercules his posterity into Pe- if we reckon upwards from the time of Alexthe Persian Empire.

the fixtieth Olympiad, and the two hundreth speaks of these Victors, calling them. and fortieth year from the institution of those games by Iphitus) followed the last of the seventy years of the captivity of Juda, and defolation of the Land of Ifrael: manifest it is, that we must reckon back those seventy years, and one hundred threefcore, and ten years more, the last which passed under the Kings of Juda, to find the first of these Olym-

beginning of Xerxes, and from him to Cyrus, of a Province. whence we have a fair way through the fiftieth year of Uzzia.

time wherein these Olympiads began.

with what exceeding great concourse of all the Kings of Juda and leave the merry Greeks Greece, they were celebrated, I hold it a fu- at their games, whom I shall meet in more seperfluous labour. It is enough to fay that all rious imployments, when the Persian quarrels bodily exercises, or the most of them, were draw the body of the History into the coasts therein practifed; as Running, Wrestling, of tonia and Hellespont. Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Mastery in those feats, whereof there was good use, but in running of Chariots, fighting with whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises that ferved only for oftentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that I five and twenty years old, and in the sethought themselves excellent in any laudable cond of Pekah King of Israel, was anointed very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple contended which of them should get the hoo of threescore cubits upright, and therefore nour of having plaid the best part.

ander, we shal find all to agree with the years The Eleans were presidents of those Games, of the Olympiads; wherein Cyrus began his whole justice, in pronouncing without parreign either as King, or taking the word Mo-tiality who did best, is highly commended. As narch, to fignific a Lotel of many Kingdoms) for the rewards given to the Victors, they as a great Monarch. From the beginning of Cy- were none other than Garlands of Palm, or tus in the first year of the five and fittieth o- Olive, without any other commodity follow-Impiad, unto the end of the Persian Empire, ing than the reputation. Indeed there needed which was in the thad of the hundreth and no more. For that was held so much, that twelfth Olympiad, we find two hundred and when Diagonas had feen his three fons crownthirty years compleat: from the beginning of ed for their feveral victories in those games; Crrss his Monarchy, which lasted but seven one came running to him with this gratulayears, we find compleat two hundred and tion: Morere, Diagoras, non enim in calum affeven years, which was the continuance of cenfurus es, that is, Die, Diagoras, for thou shalt not clime up to heaven as if there could be no Now therefore feeing that the first year of greater happiness on earth, than what alrea-Cyrus his Monarchy (which was the last of dy had befallen him. In the like sense Horace

> Quos Elæa domum reducit Palma Cæleftes.

Such as like heavenly wights do come With an Elwan Garland home.

Dorat. Carm.l.4

Neither was it only the voyce of the Peopiads; which by this accompt is the one and |ple, or fongs of Poets, that fo highly extolled fiftieth of Uzziah, as we have already noted. them, which had won these Olympian prizes; The Eclipses whereof we made mention, but even grave Historians thought it a matferve well to the same purpose. For exam-ter worthy of their noting. Such was (as ples fake; that which was feen when Xerxes | Tully counts it) the vanity of the Greeks, that Tall, in mustered his Army at Sardis, in the two they esteemed it almost as great an honour flates. hundred threescore and seventh year of Na- to have won the victory at Running or wrestbonassar, being the last of the threescore and ling in those games, as to have triumphed in fourteenth Olympiad, leads us back unto the Rome for fome famous victory, or conquest

That these Olympian games were celebratthreefcore and ten years, unto the destruction led at the full of the Moon; and upon the of Jerusalem; and so upwards through the fifteenth day of the Moneth Hecatombaan; reigns of the last Kings of Juda, to the one and which doth answer to our June; and what means they used to make the Moneth begin Thus much may fuffice, concerning the with the new Moon, that the fifteenth day might be the full. I have shewed in another To tell the great folemnity of them, and place. Wherefore I may now return unto

§. V I. Of Jotham and his Contemporaries.

Totham the fonne of Uzziah, when he was quality, to make tryal of their skill. Yea, the King in Jerusalem, his Father yet living. He called Ophel: befides divers. Cityes in the

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Palaces: he inforced the Ammonites to pay of Nicander his royal companion. him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thou- fore-told the destruction of the Asyrian Emfand measures: he reigned fix and twenty pire, and of the city of Nineve, which succeedyears: of whom Tolephus gives this testi- ed (faith Josephus)a hundred and fifteen years monie : Eiusmodi verò Princeps bic fuit, ut after. The Cities of Cyrene and of Aradus were nullam in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui built at thistime, while in Media, Sosarmus Deum adeo Pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo and Medidus reigned, being the second and juste prefuerit, urbem ipsam tanta sibi cura esse third Kings of those parts. passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hostibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus fælix, faustum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit; This was such a Prince, as a man could find no kind of vertue wanting in him:he worshipped God so religiously, he governed his men so righteously, he was so provident for the Ci- of Remalia: the same being also the last ty, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his vertue and prowess he made his whole Kingdom not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Servants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous ter, exceeding all his predecessors. He made and happy.

was not long, but as happy in all things, as he himself was devout and vertuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded Phelesteus in Corinth: after whom, the Corinthians erected Magistrates, which governed from of cypfelus, who drove them out.

with reigned 27. years.

nent vertues, succeeded his father, and reign- up others to be offered, that therefore 84ed 60. years, and out-lived the Messeniack turn had stirred up and strengthened their

Hills of Juda, and in the Forrest, Towers and war: which was ended by Theopompus, the son

At this time lived Nahum the Prophet, who

of Achaz and his Contemporaries.

Has, or Achaz, succeeded unto Jotham in the seventeenth year of Peka, the son year of his fathers reign, who began in the fecond of the same Peka, and reigned 16.but not compleat years. This Ahaz was an Idolamolten Images for Baalim, and burnt his fon This is all that I find of Jotham: his reign for facrifice before the Idol Moloch, or Saturn, 184.16 which was represented by a man-like brazen in body, bearing the head of a Calfe, fet up not the is. far from Jerusalem, in a valley shadowed with Woods, called Gehinnom, or Tophet, from whence the word Gehenna is used for Hell. year to year. And yet Pausanias in his second The children offered, were inclosed within book with Strabo & Plutanch, in many places the carkafs of this Idol, and as the fire encreaare of opinion, That Corinth was governed fed, so the facrificers, with a noise of Cimbals, by Kings of the race of the Bacida, to the time and other Instruments, filled the air, to the end the pittifull cries of the children Teglathphalassar, or Teglathpeleser, the son of might not be heard: which unnatural, cruel, Phul the second of the Babylonians and Assyri- and divillish Oblation, Jeremy the Proans that was of this new race, about this time phet vehemently reprehendeth, and of invaded Ifrael, while Pelah (who murthered which S. Hierome upon the tenth of Matthew his master Pekeiah) was King thereof. In which hath written at large. By the prohibition expedition he took most of the Cities of Neph- in Leviticus the eighteenth, it appeareth that tali and Galilee, with those of Gilead over for- this horrible sin was ancient: in the twelsth dan, and carried the inhabitants captive. This of Deuternomy, it is called an abhomina-Tiglath reigned five and twenty years, accortion which God hateth. That it was also ding to Metasthenes. But Krentzhemius finds, practifed elsewhere, and by many Nations rethat with his fon Salmanassar he reigned yet mote from Judea, divers Authors witness; two years longer; which years I would not af- as Virgil in the second of Aneidscribe to the son, because the Aera of Nabonas- Sanguine Placastis, &c. and Silvius-Posfar begins with his fingle reign, but reckon cere cade Deos. Saturn is faid to have brought them to Tiglath Phulassar himself, who there- this custom into Italy; besides the casting of many fouls into the River of Tyber, in Æschylus, the son of Agamnestor, about the stead of which, Hercules commanded, that same time, the twelfth Archon in Athens, the waxen Images of men should be thrown ruled 25. years. Alcamenes governed Sparta: in and drowned. The Devil also taught the after whom, the Estate changed, according Carthaginians this kind of butchery, into Eusebius. But therein surely Eusebius is somuch, that when their City was besiegmistaken: for Diodore, Plutarch, Pausanias, ed, and in distress, the Priest made them and others, witness the contrary. Pausanias believe, that because they had spared their affirmeth, That Polydorus, a Prince of emi- own children, and had bought and brought

Inches Enemies against them: whereupon they pre- not firmly settled at home, and the syrian research 6 fently caufed two hundred of the nobleft Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet Even lib a youths of their City to be flain, and offered strong both in men and fame. But Tiglath, pid lib. to Saturn or Satan, to appeale him who be- having now, with the treasures of Termidem. fides thefe forenamed Nations, had instructed prepared his Army, first invaded the Territhe Rhodians, the people of Grete, and Chios, tory of Damascus, wan the City, and killed of Messen, sof Galatia, with the Massagetes, and Rezin the last of the race of the Adads, who others, in these his services. Further, as if he began with David, & ended with this Achaz, Many awriteth) the Mexicans and other peo-ple of America, were brought by the Devil ab the Prieft, commanding the like to be ple of America, were brought by the Devil

God ffirred up Rezen of Damascus, and Pekah And then passing the River, he mastered the the Son of Remaliah, King of Ifrael against Cities of Galilee, invaded Ephraim, and the him, who invaded Judea, and befreged Jeru- Kingdom of Ifrael, and made them his Vaffalem, but entred it not.

dren, the Israelites lead away to Samaria: Sepulchres of the Kings of Juda. but by the counsell of the Prophet oded, again.

evermore attended the ruine of Judga, 50. years. entred upon them from the South, and took

Kings house.

little before led him the way into Judea, invi- been hard to define. ted by Menahem, King of Ifrael. Wherefore

were not content to destroy the soules of At Damaseus, Achaz met Tiglath, and taking many Nations in Europe, Afia, and Africa, (as thence a pattern of the Altar, fent it to Vriunder this fearful fervitude, in which he also burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the Syrians. holdeth the Floridans and Virginians at this In the mean while Tiglath possest all Basan, and the rest beyond Jordan, which belong-For the wickednesse of this King Ahaz, ed to the Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manalle, fals. And notwithstanding that he was in-The King of Syria, Rezin, possest himself vited and waged by Achaz, yet after the spoil of Elab by the Red Sea, and cast the Jewes of Ifrael, he possess himself of the greater part out of its and Pehah flaughtered in one day of Juda, and, as it feemeth, inforced Achas to an hundred and twenty thousand Judans, pay him tribute. For in the second of Kings, of the ablest of the Kingdome, at which time the eighteenth, it is written of Ezechia, that Manseigh, the Sonne of Achaz, was also flaine he revolted from Ashur, or rebelled against, by Zichri, with Azrikam the Governor of his him, and therefore was invaded by Sennachehouse, and Eleanath the second person rib. After Ahaz had beheld and born these unto the King. Belides all this, two hundred miseries, in the end of the sixteenth year of thousand prisoners of women and chil- his reign he died; but was not buried in the

With Ahaz lived Medidus, the third Prince they were returned and delivered back in Media, who governed 40. years, faith Eusebius: Diodorus and Ctesius find Anticar- Euseb in Chron. As Israel and Aramvexed Juda on the mus instead of this Medidus, to have been North, so the Edomites and the Philistims, who Sosarmus his successor, to whom they give

Tiglath Pilefer held the Kingdom of Affy-Bethsemes, Ajalon, Gaderoth, Shocho, Timnah, ria, all the reign of Ahaz: yet 10, that Saland Gemzo, flew many people and carried a- manaffar his Son may feem to have reigned way many prisoners. Whereupon when Achaz with him some part of the time. For we find faw himself environed on all sides, and that that Ahaz did fend unto the Kings of Ashur to his Idols and dead gods gave him no com- belp him. The Geneva note fays, that thefe fort, he sent to the Affgrian Tiglathpileser, to Kings of Ashur, were Tiglath Pileser, and those wing it defire some aid from him against the Ifraclites | Kings that were under his Dominion. But that 10. and Aramites, prefenting him with the he or his Father had hitherto made such confilver and gold both of the Temple, and quefts, as might give him the Lordship over other Kings, I do neither find any Hiftory, Tiglathpileser wanted not a good example | nor circumstance that proveth. Wherefore I to follow, in making profit of the trouble think that these Kings of Ashur, were Tiglath; that role in Palestina. His Father having and Salmanassar his Son, who reigned with lately made himself from a Provincial Leiu- his Father, as hath been said before: though tenant, King of Babylon and Affyria, had a how long he reigned with his Father, it had

At this time began the Ephori in Lacedanion, Plus och in now the Son willingly harkened to Achaz, a hundred and thirty years after Lychrgus, vita solo. and embraced the advantage. As for Belo- according to Plutarch. Euchius makes their chis himself, he was content to affign some beginning far later, namely, in the fifteenth other time for going through with this enter- Olympiad. Of these Ephori, Elalus was the prize: because (as I have said before) he was first; Theopompus and Polydorus being then

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joynt Kings. These Ephori, chosen every Eusebius and Halicarnasseus in the first of the without their advice and consent. For (faith rule. Cicero) they were opposed against their Kings The Kingdom of the Latines, governed their City for ten years.

begins in the first year of the eight Olympiad, best account.

year, were controllers, as well of their Sena- seventh Olympiad: at which time indeed, tors, as of their Kings, nothing being done Carops the first of these, began his ten years

as the Roman Tribunes against the Consuls. about three hundred year by the Silvii, of In the time of Ahaz died Eschylus, who had the race of Eneas, took end in the same Ahaz ruled in Athens ever fince the fiftieth year of time: the foundation of Rome being Uzzia. Alcamenon the thirteenth of the Me- laid by Romnlus and Remus in the eighth year dontide, or Governours of the Athenians (so of the same King, Codoman builds it in the called of Medon who followed Codrus) fuc- eleventh of Achaz. Bucholzer in the eighth, as ceeded his Father Æschylus, and was the last I think he should; others somewhat laof their Governors: he ruled only two years. ter, and in the reign of Ezechias, Cicero, For the Athenians changed first from Kings Eutropius, Orosius, and others square the time (after Codrus) to Governors for life; which of the foundation to the third year of the ending in this Alcemenon, they erected a Ma- fixt Olympiad. But Halicarnasseus, Solinus gistrate, whom they termed an Archon, who Antiochenus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Euwas a kind of Burgho-Master, or Governour of sebius, to the first year of the seventh; who feem not only to me, but to many very learn-This alteration Pausanias in his fourth Book ed Chronologers, to have kept herein the

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Antiquity of Italy, and foundation of Rome in the time of Ahaz.

§. I. Of the Inhabitants, and the name of Italy.

Nd here to speak of the more | That by late ages of Posterity. much fabulous matter hath been mixed with are many and repugnant. But like enough the truth of those elder plantations. Italy be- it is, that the name which hath continued fore the fall of Troy, was known to the Greeks fo long upon the whole Country, and worn by divers names; as first Hosperia, then Ausonia, out all other denominations, was not at the the one name arising of the seat, the other of sirst accepted without good cause. Therethe Ausones, a people inhabiting part of it; fore to find out the original of this name, one ancient name of it was also Oenotria, and the first planters of this noble Country, which it had of the Oenotrii, whom Halicar- Reyneccius hath made a very painful search, nassaus, thinks to have been the first that and not improbable conjecture. And first of concerning which changes of names, Virgil did lead into Italy, before the name of Italy fpeaks thus:

Est locus, Hesperiam Grait cognomine dicunt, Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere gleba . Ocnotrii colucre viri, nunc fama, minores Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

Ancient, and strong, of much fertility: Oenotrians held it, but we hear by fame,

ancient times of Italy, and what Tis from a Captains name call'd Italy.

Nations possess the arir- Who this Captain or King may have bin, val of Eneas, the place may feem it is very uncertain. For Virgils speaks to invite us: the rather because no more of him, and the opinions of others brought a Colony of Arcadians into that all he grounds upon that of Halicarnassans, Halicarn Land. Afterward it was called Italy of Italus; who speaks of a Colony which the Eleans lib. 1. was given to it; Secondly, upon that of Justine, who saith, that Brundusium was a Colony of the Ætolians; Thirdly, upon that Infl. lib. of straba, who affirms the same of Temesa or 12. Tempfa, a City of the Brutii in Italy; Last- Strabeline. ly, upon the authority of Pliny, who shews c.s. that the Italians did inhabit onely one Re-There is a Land which Greeks Hesperia name, gion of the Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is faid of the Eleans and Etolians

them he brings the name of Italy. For the -Nun fama minores Italiam dixisse word Italia, differs in nothing from Aitolia, ducis de nomine gentem, had that name been fave that the first Letter is cast away, which heard of ere Dardanus lest the Countrey, in the Greek words is common; and the let- But feeing that, vvhen Hercules, vvhodied a ter(0) is changed into (a) which change is few years before the War of Troy, had found in the name of Æthalia an Island near left in Italy a Colony of the Eleans (who in Italy, peopled by the Ætholians: and the like a manner vvere one and the same Nation changes are very familiar in the Holic Dia- vvith the Htolians, as Strabo, Herodotus, and lectrof which Dialect (being almost proper Pausanias teach) then the name of Italy beto the Ætolians) the accent and pronuncia- gan: and feeing Virgil makes mention of Italus rion, together with many words little alter- among the Italian Kings, it were no great ed were retained by the Latines, as Dionysius boldness to say, that Italus vvas Commander Halicarnasseus, Quintilian, and Priscian the of these Eleans. Fot though I remember not

Grammarian teach.

Apostata, who called the Greeks cousins ten in Greek Aitolus, vvas very famous among of the Greeks and Latines from Javan; son of a King of Elis, and founder of the Etoling over the Ionian Sea, that lyes between and his people vvere. Ætolia and the Western parts of Greece and Italy, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas Reineccius thinks, that the names of thereto applyes that of Berofus, who called Cethim, Italus; though it may feem strengthened by the marriage of Dardanus, whilest of Atlas, yet is it by arguments (in my valuathe name of Italy, that began after the departure of Hercules out of the Countrey, not long before the War of Troy.

Likewise Virgil, who speaks of Atlas, and hath nothing of his meeting with her in I | Aborigines (to omit other fignifications that

who (as he shews) had one original; from rehearfed, wherein he would not have said. that I have read of any fuch Greek as vvas Hereunto appertains that of Julian the named Italus; yet the name of Ætolus vvritof the Latines. Also the common Original the Ætolians, and among the Eleans, he being and the Fable of James, whose Image had lian Kingdom. Neither is it more hard to detwo faces, looking East and West, as Greece rive the name of Italus from Ætolus, than Itaand Italy lay, and was stamped on Coins, lia from Ætolia. So may Virgil's authority with a Ship on the other fide; all which stand well with the collections of Reynecciis, by interpretation, referred to Javan, fa- us; the name of Italy being taken both from a ther of the Greeks and Latines; who fay- Captain, and from the Nation, of which he

Atlas and Italus belonged both to one man, & Of the Aborigenes, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

he abode in Italy with Electra, the daughter N Italy the Latines and Hetrurians vere of Atlas, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproved. the greatest part of it under their subjecti-For they who make mention of Atlas, place on; and the Latines by the vertue and feli-him before the time of Moles: and if Atlas city of the Romans, who were a branch of were Cethim, or Kittim, then was he the fon them, subduing all Italy, and in a few ages of Javan, and Nephew of Japheth, the eldest | whatsoever Nation was known in Europe: tofon of Noah: which antiquity far exceeds the gether with all the Western parts of Asia, and North of Africk.

The Region called Latium, was first inhabited by the Aborigines, whom Halicarnasa. us, Varro, and Regneccius (following them) of Dardanus his marriage with Electra, think to have bin Arcaians: and this name of taly, but calleth Electra and her lifter Maia are strained) imports as much as Original, or (poetically) daughters of the Mountain in Native of the place, which they possessed & Africa, naming Italus among the Kings of which title the Arcadians areknown in vaunthe Aborigenes; which he would not have ting manner to have always usurped, fetchdone, had Atlas and Italus been one person. ing their antiquity from beyond the Moon; As for the authority of Berosus in this case, because indeed, neither were the inhabitants vve need the less to regard it, for that Rey- of Peloponnesus inforced to forsake their neccius himself, vyhose conjectures are more seats so oft as other Greeks were, who did to be valued than the dreams vyherewith dwell without that halfe Ifland, neither Annius hath filled Berofus, holds it but a had the Arcadians fo unfure a dwelling as the rest of the Pelopennesians, because their That the name of Italy began long after Countrey was less fruitfull in land, mountain-Atlas, it appears by the verfes of Virgillast ous, and hard of access, and they themselves

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warlike men. Some of these therefore having other times men into stones:) in like manner occupied a great part of Latinm, and held it it may be, that the original of Saturns hiding long, did according to the Arcadian man-himself was some allusion to that old opininer, file themselves Aborigenes, in that langu- on of the wisest of the Heathen, that the age, which either their new Scat, or their true God was ignotus Deus, as it is noted in fomewhat farr from the Sea, and are alwaies vain, that the word Saturnus should also noted as unapt men to prove good Mariners, have this very fignification, if it be derived should have bin Authors of new discoveries, (as some think) from the Hebrew Satar, which were a question not easie to be answered, is to hide: Howbeit I deny not but that the were it not fo, that both fruitfulnesse of chil- original of this word, Latium, ought rather dren, in which those ages abounded, inforc- to be fought elsewhere. ed the superfluous company to seek another Reyneceius doth conjecture that the Cetefeat, & that fome expeditions of the Arcadi- ans, who descended of Cethim, the Son of ans, as especially that of Evander, into the Javan, were the men who gave the name to fame parts of Italy, are generally acknow- Latium. For these Ceteans are remembred ledged.

ancient Nation, who fometimes gave name calls them subjects to the Crown of Troy, to all Greece: but their antiquities are long Hereupon Reyneccius gathers, that their afince dead, for lacke of good records. Nei- bode was in Afia: viz. in agro Elaitico, in the ther was their glory such in Italy, as could Elaitian Territory, which agreeth with Strabo. long sustaine the name of their owne Tribes Of a City which the Molians held in Asia; for they were in short space accounted one called Elea, or Elaia, Pausanias makes mentipeople with the former inhabitants. The Si- on: Stephanus calls it Cidamis, or (according cani, Ausones, Arunci, Rutili, and other peo- to the Greek writing) Cidamis, which name ple, did in ages following disturbe the peace | last rehearsed hath a very neer sound to coof Latium, which by Saturne was brought | thim, Citim, or Cithim; the Greek Letter (D)

ed as a god.

or Sterculius, others term him Stercutius, and between many English words written with fay, that he taught the people to dung their the fame letters. Wherefore that these Cogrounds. That Latium took his name of teans, being descended of Cethim, Cittim, or Saturn, because he did latere, that is, lie hid- Kittim, the Son of Javan, who was Progeden there; when he fied from Jupiter, it is nitor of the Greeks, might very well take questionless a fable. For as in Heathenish su- a denomination from the City, and Region, persittion, it was great vanity to think that which they inhabited, and from thence be any thing could be hidden from God, or that called Eleites, or Elaites, it is very likely, there were many gods of whom one fled confidering that among the Arcadians, Phofrom another; so in the truth of History, it is cians, Atolians, and Eleans, who all were of well known, that no King reigning in those the Aolique Tribe, are found the names of parts was so mighty, that it should be hard the Mountain Elaus, the Haven Elaus, the to find one Countrey or another, wherein a people Elaite, the City Elaus, Elaia, and Elaman might be sase from his pursuit, And yet, teia; of which last it were somewhat harsh see lib. 1. as most fables and poeticall fictions were oc- in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitop 6/6t. cassioned by some ancient truth, which either tants by any other name then Elatini, from they did maimedly and darkly expresse (for both the Cetai and Arcadians, had their orimentable, and painfull, therefore they nam- pronunciation of one and the same word. in found, therefore they feigned in the time latus (of which name they had a Prince that

(as in fuch places commonly are found) very of Ducalion stones converted into men, as at Neighbours thereby had taught them. How the Acts; whence also Esty of the true God Attention it might be that the Arcadians, who dwelt faies, tu Deus abdens te. For it cannot be in 8/541,44

by Homer as aiders of the Trojans in their After the Aborigenes, were the Pelasgi, an war. Strabo interpreting the place of Homer. to some civility; and he therefore cannoniz- having (as many teach)a pronunciation very like to (TH) differing onely in the strength This Saturne S. Augustine calleth Sterces or weakness of utterance, which is found by ambiguity of speech, or some allusion, whence Latini may come. Now vvhereas fo they feigned a passage over a River in ginal from Cethim, it is nothing unlikely, that Hell, because death is a passage to another agreeing in language & similitude of names, life; and because this passage is hateful, la- they might nevertheless differ in sound and ed the River styx, of hate; Cocytus of lamen- So that as he is by many called Sabinus, to tation, and Acheron, of Pain: so also because whom some (deriving the Sabines from him) men are stonie-hearted; and because the give the name of sabus: in the like manner Greek nact, people, and nace, stones, are neer might he whom the Arcadians would call E-

whom Hercules begat upon Auge, the daugh- feem some other man. ter of Alens King of Arcadia) was flain by Ato take an Arcadian name, and to be called Elatus, which in the dialect and pronunciaimposed by the Arcadians, it is the more easie marriage, it self being meerly incessious. name Surto be thought, for that there were then two between these two families the succession in a Nymph called Marica. that Kingdom did pass, almost interchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the fave onely that her aboad was about the Trojan war it fell into the hand of Hippotheus River Lyris near Minturne. of the race of Elatus, in whose Posterity it dering that it is not easy to find either an aporiginals of Latium.

6. V I.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines untill Æneas his comming.

"He Kings which reigned in Latium before the arrival of Eneas, were Satur-

founded the City Elateja) be named of the | name was not borrowed from the skill which Excited Ceteans Latinus. Reyneccius, pursuing this he taught the people, but rather the soil the rdols Ceteans Latinus Latinus that when Euripplus, Lord which they laid on their grounds had that of the of the Ceteans, (being the Son of Telephus, appellation from him) do rather make him Heathen deep fleries.

Of Picus it is faid, that he was a good hence it chilles in the Trojan War: then did Telephus, horse-man. The fable of his being changed in-that in brother to Euripylus, conduct the Ceteans, who to a Bird, which we call a Py, may well feem the Evan-(fearing what evill might befall themselves (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the golist we by the Greeks, if the affairs of Troy should go skill which he had in sooth-saying or diving- Belzebub, ill) passed into that part of Italy, whereas the tion, by the slight and chattering of Fowles, Belyebul, which is Arcadians were planted by Oenotrius. And Faunus, the Son of Picus, reigned after his Fa-interpre-Revneccius farther thinks, that Telephus being ther He gave to Evander the Arcadian (who ted Domithe more gracious among the Oenotrian Ar- having thain by mischance his father Echemus rens and cadians, by the memory of his Grand-mother King of Arcadia, fled into Italy) the wast it may be Auge, an Arcadian Lady, was well contented grounds on which Rome was afterward built, that after that Saturn Fauna, called Fatua, the fifter of Faunus, became who was also his wife, as all Historians agree, the name of an Idol, tion either of the Ceteans, or of the Oenotri- fine was held a Prophetess, and highly com- it pleased ans, was first Elatinus, and then Latinus. That mended for her chastity, which praise in her God that this name of Elatus may have bin taken or must needs have bin much blemished by her in a like

It is not mentioned that Faunus, had by cuius hould Families, the one of Iphidas, the other of E- his fifter any child, neither do we read of fick latus, who were Sons of Areas King of Area- any other Wife which he had, fave only that unto him. dia, which gave name to the Countrey: and Virgil gives unto him Latinus as his Son, by Eneid. 7,

But who this Marica was, it is not found,

Of the name Latinus, there are by Pompocontinued untill the last. Again, the name of nius Sabinus recounted four:one, the Son of Latinus, having a derivative found, agrees the Faunus, another of Hercules, a third of Olysses better with the supposition of such an acci- by Circe, the fourth of Telemachus. Suidas Suidas in dent. This is the conjecture of Reyneccius, takes notice only of the fecond, of whom he the word which if he made over-boldly, yet others faith, that his name was Telephus, and the peo-Latinia may follow it with the less reproofe, consi- ple anciently named the Cetit, were from his furname called Latini. This agrees in effect parent truth, or fair probability among these with the opinion of Regneccius, the difference disagreeing Authors, which have written the consisting almost in this only, that Suidas cals Telephus the fon of Hercules, whereas Reyneccius makes him his Nephew, by a fon of the fame name. This Latinus having obtained the fuccession in that Kingdom after Faunus, did promise his only Daughter and Heir Lavinia. to Turnus the fon of Venilia, who was fifter to Amata Latinus his Wife.

But when Eneas arrived in those parts with fifteen ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might nus Picus, Faunus, & Latinus. Of Saturn there be imbarked, according to the rate which is nothing remembred, fave what is mention- Thucydides allows to the Veffels then used, aed already, and many Fables of the Greeks, bout one thousand & two hundred men: then which whether they be applyable to this Latinus finding that it would stand best with man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able his assurance, to make alliance, with the Troto determine, whether this were the Saturn jan, and moved with the great reputation of of the Greeks called by them 1860 , or some Eneas, which himself had heard of in the war other, stiled Saturn by the Aborigines. For the of Troy, gave his Daughter to him, breaking age wherein he lived, may very well admit off the former appointment with Turnus: who him to have bin the same: but the names of incensed herewith, sought to avenge himself Sterces, and Stercutius (for it may be, this by war: which was foon ended with his own

CHAP. XXIV.

certain, that were she an Italian, she could and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his not have born a Daughter marriageable at decease, there arose contention between sylthe arrival of Eneas; unless we should whol- wins, the son of Eneas, and Julus the son of ly follow Suidas, and rather give the conduct Ascanius, about the Kingdom: but the peoof the Cetei into Italy, to Telephus the Father, ple inclining to the fon of Lavinia, Julus than to his Son, who served in the last year was contented to hold the Priesthood, which of the Trojan War. But Reyneccius holds her he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingan Allatique, and thinks withall, that Lavinia dom to Sylvius Posthumus, whole posterity was born before Telephus came into Italy. were afterwards called Sylvii. That this name Amata, by which Virgit and The reign of the Alban Kings, with the Halicarnasseus call her, was not proper, but continuance of each mans reign, I find thus rather a furname, it may feem by Varro; who fet down: calleth her Palatia: which name very well might be derived from the Greek name Pallas. Amata, which fignifieth beloved, or dear, was the name by which the High Priest called every Virgin whom he took to serve as a Nun of Vesta; wherefore it is the more easie to be thought a surname, howsoever Virgil discourse of her and Venilia her fister.

Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, being given in marriage to Aneas, the Kingdom of Latium, or the greatest part of that Country, was established in that race: wherein it continued until it was overgrown by the might and greatness of the Romans.

6. IV.

of Aneas, and of the Kings and Governours

Neas himself being of the Royal bloud brance. of Troy, had the command of the Dardanians: he was a valiant man, very rich, ders of Latium: who standing much upon and highly honoured among the Trojans. By the honour of their original, grew thereby his Wife Crent, the daughter of Priamus, he to be called Prise Latini. Of Tiberinus some had a fon called Ascanius; whose surname think that the River Tiber had name, being was Julus, having before the ruine of 2roy formerly called Albula: but Virgil gives it (as Virgil notes) been furnamed Ilus. But that denomination of another called Tibris, when Aneas was dead, his Wife Lavinia, the before the coming of Aneas into Italy. The daughter of Latinus, being great with child Mountain Aventinus had name (as many by him, and fearing the power of this Asca- write) from Aventinus King of the Albanes, nins, fled into the Woods, where she was de- who was buried therein: but Virgil hath it livered of a son, called thereupon Sylvins, otherwise. Julius the brother of Aventinus, and furnamed Posthumus, because he was is named by Eusebius as father of another born after his fathers Funeral. This flight of Julius, and grandfather of Julius Proculus, Lavinia was so evil taken by the people, that who leaving Alba, dwelt with Romulus in Ascanius procured her return, entreated her Rome: Numitor, the elder fon of Procas, was honourably, and using her as a Queen, did deprived of his Kingdom by his brother Afoster her young son his half-brother Sylvius. mulius; by whom also his son Agesthus was Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasi- slain, and Ilia his daughter made a Nun of ons of difagreement, or delighted with the Vefta, that thereby the iffue of Numiter might situation of the place; Ascanius leaving to be cut off. But she conceived two sons, either his mother in law the City Lavinium, which by her Uncle Anulius, as some think; or by

Of Amata the Wife of Latinus, it is very years: Virgil gives him thirty; others five

Sylvius Posthumus.	29	1
Sylvius Ancas.	31	
Sylvius Latinus.	50	ì
Sylvius Alba.	39	
Sylvius Atis.	26	
Sylvius Capys.	28	
Sylvius Capetus.	13	
Sylvius Tiberinus.	8	years.
Sylvius Agrippa.	41	
	19	i
Sylvius Aventinus.	37	
Sylvius Procas.	23	
Sylvius Amulius.	44	,
vius Numitor.		
called also Rhea and	Sylvia.	
	-	
	Sylvius Latinus. Sylvius Alba. Sylvius Alba. Sylvius Aris. Sylvius Capetus. Sylvius Tiberinus. Sylvius Agrippa. Sylvius Aventinus. Sylvius Aventinus. Sylvius Procas. Sylvius Amulius. Vous Numitor.	Sylvius Ameas. 31 Sylvius Latinus. 50 Sylvius Latinus. 39 Sylvius Alba. 39 Sylvius Alis. 26 Sylvius Caprs. 28 Sylvius Caprus. 8 Sylvius Caprius. 8 Sylvius Agrippa. 41 Sylvius Addadius. 19 Sylvius Addadius. 37 Sylvius Procas. 23 Sylvius Amulius. 44 voius Numitor. 24 called allo Rhea and Sylvia.

The most of these Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remem-

Latinus founded many Towns in the bor-Eneas had built and called after his new Mars, as the Poets feign; or perhaps by some Wives name, founded the City Alba Longa, man of war. Both the children, their Uncle and therein reigned. The time of his reign commanded to be drowned, and the mother was, according to some, eight and twenty buried quick, according to the law; which fo ordained, when the Vestal Virgins brake their chastity. Whether it was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreaty of Antho, the daughter of Amulius, or punished as Of the beginning of Rome, and of Romulus the Law required (for Authors herein do vary) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preferved, who afterward revenged the cruelty of their Uncle, with the flaughter of him and all his, and reftored Nu-ginnings, which (though somewhat uncermitor their grandfather to the Kingdom: tain) depend much upon the birth and eduwherein how long he reigned, I find not, nei- cation of Romulus, the grand-child of Numither is it greatly material to know; for as tor, the last that reigned in Alba. For how much as the Estates of Alba and of Latinum not onely the bordering people, but all Nawere presently eclipsed by the swift increase tions between Euphrates and the Ocean. of Rome; upon which the computation of were broken in pieces by the iron teeth of Time following (as far as concerns the things this fourth Beast, it is not to be described in of Italy) is dependant. After the death of one place, having been the work of many Agoverned by Magistrates; of whom onely the Romans from Janus: but Herodotus, Marter this Combat, when Metius (following also worship the mother of Evander.
Tullus Hostilius with the Albane forces against Plutarch in the life of Romulus rememlour, and judgment, obtained the Soveraign- original, answered in these Verses: ty of the Roman Empire(much by him enlarged) to himself and his posterity; whereby the name of Eneas, and honour of the Trojan and Alban Race, was so revived, that seldom, if ever, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

birth and death,

Numitor, the Kingdom of Alba ceased; for ges; whereof I now do handle onely the Numitor left no male issue. Romulus chose ra- first, as incident unto the discourse precedther to live in Rome; and of the Line of Syl- ing. Q Fabius Pictor, Portius Cato, Calphurnivius none else remained. So the Albanes were us Pifo, Sempronius, and others, feek to derive two Dictators are mentioned, namely Caius Sylus, and many others of equal credit, give Chillius, who in the dayes of Tullus Hoftilius, the Gracians for their Ancestors; and as Stra- Strab. \$1. King of the Romans, making War upon be reporteth in his fifth Book, Cæcilius re-f-159.
Rome, dyed in the Camp; and Metius Suf-rum Romanarum Scriptor, eo argumento collifetius, the fuccessor of Chilius, who furren- git, Roman à Gracis effe conditam, quod Romadred the Estate of Alba unto the Romans, ni Graco ritu, antiquo instituto, Herculi rem having committed the hazard of both Sig- facram faciunt: matrem quoque Evandri venenories to the success of three men of each rantur Romani; Cacilius (faith he) a Roman side, who decided the quarrel by Combat : Historiographer, doth by this argument gather, in which, the three brethren Horatii, the that Rome was built by the Greeks, because the Champions of the Romans, prevailed against Romans, after Greekish fashion, by ancient orthe Curiatii, Champions of the Albanes. Af- dinance, do facrifice to Hercules: the Romans

the Vcientes and Fidenates) withdrew his breth many Founders of that City: as Roma-Companies out of the battel, hoping thereby | nus the fon of Ulysses and Circe; Romus the to leave the Romans to fuch an overthrow, fon of Emathion, whom Diomedes fent this as might make them weak enough for the ther from Troy; or that one Romns, a Tyrant Albanes to deal with; Tullus, who notwith- of the Latines, who drave the Tuscans out of flanding this falfhood, obtained the victory, that Countrey, built it. Solinus bestows the did reward Metius with a cruel death, cau- honour of building Rome upon Evander, fing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and fo faying, That it was beforetimes called Valentorn in pieces. Then was Alba destroyed, and tia. Heraclides gives the denomination to a the Citizens carried to Rome, where they captive Lady, brought thither by the Grecimade free Denizens, the noble Families being ans: others fay, That it was anciently called made Patricians; among which were the Febris, after the name of Februa, the mother Julii: of whom c. Julius Cafar being descen- of Mars; witness S. Augustine in his third ded, not onely gloried in his ancient, royal, Book de Civitate Dei. But Livie will have it and forgotten pedigree, in full affembly of to be the work of Romulus, even from the the Romans, then governed by a free Estate foundation: of whom and his consort, Juveof the People: but by his rare industry va- nal to a Roman Citizen, vaunting of their

> Attamen ut longè repetas longéque revolvas Majorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum, Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree so far; | up into heaven, or rather out of the world. Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,

Now of Romulus begetting, of his education rehearseth the other opinion that the storm and prefervation, it is faid, That he had Rhea was the fury of the Senators, but seemeth to for his mother, and Mars supposed to be his adhere partially to this taking up; and many father; that he was nurst by a Wolf, found Authors agree, that there was an unnatural and taken away by Faustula a Shepheards darkness, both at his birth, and at his death; wife. The same unnatural nursing had Cyrus, and that he might be slain by thunder or the same incredible fostering had semiramis; lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperor the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as Anastasius was slain with lightning; so was Plutarch faith, it is like enough that Amulius Strabo the Father of Pompey flain with a came covered with armour to Rhea, the mo-thunder-bolt: fo Carus the Emperour (who ther of Romulus, when he begat her with succeeded Probus) whilest he lodged with child: and therein it feemeth to me that he his Army upon the River Tygris, was there might have two purposes; the one, to de- flain with lightning. But a Mars of the same ftroy her, because she was the daughter and Kind might end him that began him; for he heir of his elder brother, from whom he in- was begotten by a man of War, and by viojuriously held the Kingdom; the other, to lence destroyed. And that he died by viofatisfie his appetite, because she was fair and lence (which destiny followed most of the goodly. For the being made a Nun of the Roman Emperours) it appeareth by Tarquigoddes Vesta, it was death in her, by, the Law, nins Superbus, who was the seventh King afto break her chastity. I also find in Fauchet ter him: who when he had murthered his his Antiquitez de Gaule, that Merouee, King of Father-in-law, commanded that he should the Francs, was begotten by a Monster of the not be buried, for (faid he) Romulus himself Sea : but Fanchet fayes, Let them believe it that died and was not buried. But let Halicarnaflist; Il le croira qui voudra: Also of Alexander, seus end this dispute; whose words are these: and of Scipio African, there are poetical in-ventions. But to aniwer these imaginations in general, It is true, that in those times, when that his cruelties in punishment of offenders, the World was full of this barbarous Idola-together with his arrogancy, were the canse of try, and when there were as many gods as his stanghter. For it is reported, that both when there were Kings, or passions of the mind, or his mother was ravished, whether by some man, as there were of vices and vertues, then did or by a god, the whole body of the Snn was eclipmany. Women greatly born, cover such slips fed, and all the earth covered with darkness as they made, by protesting to be forced by like unto night, and that the same did happen at more than humane power: so did venone con- his death. fess to Paris, that the had been ravished by Such were the birth and death of Romn-Apollo. And Anchyses boasted that he had lus: whose life historified by Pintarch, doth known Venus. But Rhea was made with child contain (befides what is here already spoken by some man of War, or other, and therefore of him) the conquest of a few miles, which called Mars, the god of battel, according to had soon been forgotten, if the Roman greatthe sense of the time. Oenone was overcome ness built upon that foundation, had not giby a strong wit, and by such a one as had ven it memory in all ages following, even those properties ascribed to Apollo. The Mo- unto this day. A valiant man he was, very ther of Merouee might fancy a Sea Captain, to strong of body, patient of travel, and tempebe gotten with young by fuch a one: as the rate in diet, as for bearing the use of wine and Daughter of Inachus fancied, according to delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew Herodotus. Eneas was a bastard, and begot- not how to temper, which caused him to slay ten upon some fair Harlot, called for her his brother, and neglect to revenge the death

by his father Mars, in a great from of thun-Some Shepheard was, or else, that I'll forbear. der and lightning: so was it said that Aneas meaning either a Shepheard or a Theif. vanished away by the River Numicus: but thereof Livie also speaketh modestly ; for he

beauty Venus, and was therefore the child of of Tatius, his companion in the Kingdom, lust, which is Venus. Romulus was nurst by a that he himself might be Lord alone in those Wolf, which was Lupa, or Lupina; for the narrow Territories. He reigned 37. years, Curtesans in those dayes were called Wolfs, first alone, then with Tatius, and after his Quanunc (laith Halicarnasseus) honestiori vo- death, single, till he was slain, as is already cabulo amica appellantur; Which are now by an shewed: after which time, the Soveraignty honester name called friends. It is also written, fell into the hands of Numa, a man to him that Romulus was in the end of his life taken unknown, and more Priest-like than King-

like: wherein Rome it self in her latter times ctorious to excessive magnificence, from hath somewhat resembled this King. For whence by the same degrees it fell, being drihaving long bin sole Governess, till Constant ven from luxury to defensive arms, and theretinople shared with her: afterwards, when in having bin unfortunate, at length betakes as the Greek Emperour was crushed by for- her self again to the Crosser staff. reign enemies, and the Latines dispoyled of And thus much of Rome in this place by oc-Imperial power, the fell into the subjection casion of the story of the times of King Ahaz, of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the during whose reign in Jury, the foundations Sheep-hook to the Sword, and therewith vi- of this famous City were laid.



CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezechia, and his Contemporaries.

of the beginning of Ezechias, and of the agreeing of Ptolemy, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar and Mardocempadus, with the history of the Bible.

most part, with the first of Ezechia.

dom, when the twelfth year of Ahaz was al- Father lived, we have already faid enough most compleat, some voould find the means Of this godly King Ezechias, we find, that how to dif-joyn the first of Hezechia from the his very beginning testified his devotion fifteenth of Ahaz, placing him yet one year and zeale. For whether it were so, that his later, of which year, Ahaz may perhaps have unfortunate and ungracious father (who had lived not many days. But feeing that the out-voorn his reputation) gave vvay to his fourteenthand fifteenth years of Ezechia may Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not not be removed out of their places, it is vain in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather labour to alter the first year.

joyning, lost his Army by a miraculous the beginning of his sole government; vvee stroak from Heaven, fled home, and vvas plainly find it to have been his first vvork, flain. The year following it was that God that he opened the doors of the house of the added sixteen years to the life of Ezechia, Lord, which Achaz had shut up, cleansed nine and twenty: and the same year was the Priests to their offices and estates, comthat miracle feen of the Suns going back 3 manded the Sacrifices to be offered which of vehich evonder (as I hear) one Bar- had bin for many years neglected, and brake tholomem Scultet, vvho is much commended down the brasen serpent of Moses, because the

S the first year of Ahaz his reign for skill in Astronomy, hath by calculatiwas confounded with the last of on found the very day, vvhich answered unhis father Jotham, so was the later to the twenty fift of April, in the Julian year, end of his fixteen years taken up being then Thursday. I have not seen any in the three first of Exechias his voorks of seulter; but surely to find a mofon. This appears by the Reign of Hosea, oter Israel, which began in the twelsth of A-ry that he produce some record of observations. haz, and therefore the third thereof was vation made at fuch a time. Howfoever it be, concurrent with Ahaz his fourteenth. But the the fifteenth year of Ezechia agreed upon; third of Hosea was the first of Ezechia; so it and therefore vve may not alter the first. As follows, that Exechia began to reign in this for that faying, which is usual in like cases, a through Fathers fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that Ahaz flept with his Fathers, & Ezechia 17. that the third year of Hosea, the same being his son reigned in his stead, it doth no more the fourteenth of Ahaz, was almost spent prove that Ezechia reigned not with his Fawhen Ezechia began, and so the fifteenth year ther, than the like saying doth inferr the like of Ahaz may have been concurrent, for the at the death of Jehofaphat, and succession of Jehoram; vvhereof, as concerning the By supposing that Hosea began his King- beginning of the Son to reign vvhilest his

think) the first year and first moneth of his In the fourteenth year of Ezechia, Sena- reign, wherein Ezechias opened the doors cherib, invaded Juda and the Countries ad- of the Temple, vvere to be understood as 2 chro 29. when he had already reigned fourteen of his the City and Kingdom of the Idols, restored schools

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it Nebushtan, which fignifieth a lumpe of cians. For by them it appears, that between braffe. He did also celebrate the passe-over Nabonassar and the birth of Christ, there with great magnificence, inviting thereunto passed seven hundred forty and six years: at the Ifraelites of the ten Tribes. Many there which distance of time the reign of salmawere even out of those Tribes, that came up nassar was. One great proofe hereof is this. to Jerusalem, to this feast: But the generall which the same Buckolerus alledgeth out of multitude of Ifrael did laugh the Messengers Erasmus Reinholdus, in the Prutenick Tables.

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of Ezechia to scorne. folemnize the memoriall of their delive- Moon, which were in his time, doth menrance out of the Egyptian fervitude, fell into tion) was the same whom the Scriptures call a new servitude; out of which they never Merodach, who sent Embassadours to Hegewere delivered. For in the fourth of Ezechia kia King of Juda. So that if we reckon backhis reign, Salmanafar the Son of Tiglath the ward to the difference of time between Son of Belochus, hearing that Hofea King of Merodach and Salmanaffar, we shall find it Ifrael had practifed with So King of Egypt, a- the same which is between Mardocempadus gainst him, invaded Ifrael, besieged samaria, and Nabonassar. Likewise Functius doth and in the third year (after the inhabitants shew, that whereas from the destruction of had endured all forts of miseries) forced it, Samaria, to the destruction of Jerusalem, in and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzer, we colinto Assiria and Media: among whom Tobias, lect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one and his Son of the same name, with Anna his hundred thirty and three years: the self-same Wife, were fent to Nineve; in whole Seats and distance of time is found in Ptolemy, be-Places the Assprians sent strangers of other tween Nabonassar and Nabopolassar. For Nations, and among them many of the anci- whereas Ptolemy feems to suffer from this ent Enemies of the Ifraelites, as those of Cutha, accompt, making Nabonasar more ancient by Ana, Hamah, and Sphernaim, befides Babylo- an hundred and forty years, than the denians: whose Places and Nations I have for- struction of Jerusalem, wee are to undermerly described in the Treatise of the Holy stand that he took Samaria in the eighth year

Land. ans, which followed them, are the first of three, make the accompt of the Scriptures whom we find mention made both in Pro- fall even with that of Ptolemy, Ptolemies phane and Sacred books. These therefore computation is that from the first of Nabonasferve most aptly to joyne the times of the far, to the fifth of Nabopolassar, there passed old World, (whereof none but the Pro- one hundred twenty and feven years. Now phets have written otherwise then fabulous-if wee add to these one hundred twenty ly) with the Ages following that were bet- feven, the thirteen ensuing of Nebuchadnezter known, and described in course of Histo-zers years, before the City and Temple ry. True it is, that of Cyrus and some other were destroyed, wee have the sum of one Persians, we find in the Bible the same names hundred and forty years. In so plain a by vehich other Authors have recorded case more proofes are needless, though mathem: but of Phul and Salmanassar, with o- ny are brought, of which this may serve ther Afgrian, Chaldean Kings, diversity of for all, that Ptolemy placeth the first of name hath bred question of the persons. Nabopolassar, one hundred twenty and two Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speak years after the first of Nabonasjar, which of Salmanassar, King of Assur, who reigned in agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To the time of Ahaz and Ezechia, Kings of Juda, these notes are added the consent of all Maand of Hosea King of Israel, whom he carried thematicians: which in accompt of times I into captivity: and whereas Ptolomy makes hold more fure than the authority of any Himention of Nabonassar, speaking precisely of story; and therefore I think it folly to make the time wherein he lived; it is very pertidoubt, whereas Historians and Mathematical nent to shew, that Salmanassar and Nabonassar observations do so throughly concurr. were one and the same man. The like reason Yet for as that argument of the learalso requireth, that it be shewed of Nebuchad-ned Scaliger doth rest unanswered, wherenezzer, that he was the same whom Ptolemy, by he proved Baladan the Father of Merocalleth Nabopolassar.

collected sufficient proofe from the exact Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the

people burnt incense before it and he called | calculations of fundry good Mathemati-Mardocempadus King of Babylon (whom It was not long ere they that scorned to Ptolemy, speaking of three Eclipses of the of his reign; so that the seven foregoing These latter Assprian Kings, and the Persi- years added to these one hundred thirty and

dach, to have been this Nabonassar, I will not Of both these points Bucholerus hath well spare to lose a word or two in giving the

which Ptolomy recorded, after the time of Nabonaffar, were in the reign of Mardocempadwithe fecond year of whose reign is according to Ptolomy, concurrent in part with the twenty feven of Nabonassar. For the fecond of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates. being in the fecond year of Mardocempadus, was from the beginning of Nabonaffar twenty feven years, feventeen dayes, and eleven hours: the accompt from Nabonassar, beginning at high-noon the first day of the Egypti- Of the danger and deliverance of Judan from an Moneth That, then answering to the twenty fixt of February; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth pire, in the fourteenth year of Ezechias, he of February; so that the difference of time demanded of him such Tribute as was abetween the two Kings Nabonassar and Mar- greed on, at such time as Tiglath, the Grandthe Egyptian years. But how doth this prove, naffar, invited by Ahaz, invaded Rezin King that Mardocempadus or Meradach, was the of Damaseus, and delivered him from the danwith Nabonassar, I have taken the pains to write his own conditions. fearch, as far as my leifure & diligence could go on with our account from Nabonassar, ta- condly, he altogether disabled the King of king him for Salmanassar; and not fearing, Egypt, from whom the Judaans hoped for that the Readers will be driven from our fuecour; and compared him to a broken 2 kin 18; Book, when they find something in it, agree- staffe, on which who sever leaneth, pierceth

next observations of the heavenly Bodies, and Asspria, in those very times which by Diodorus and Ptolomy are afligned to Belofus, Nabonaffar, and Mardocempadus and the reft: no good History naming any others that reigned there in those ages 5 and all Aftronomical observations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to thele, or numbred from them.

6. II.

Senacherib.

Hen Salmanassar was dead, and his son Senacherib in possession of the Emdocempadus is noted by Ptolomy, according to father of Senacherib, and Father of Salma-Son of Nabonassar? yea, how doth it prove, gerous War which Israel had undertaken athat he was his next Successiour, or any way gainst him. This Tribute and acknowledgof his Linage? It was enough to fatisfie me, ment when Ezechias denied, Senacherib, hain this argument, that Scaliger himself did af ving (as it feems) a purpose to invade Egypt, terwards believe Mardocempadus to have sent one part of his Army to lye before Jebeen rather the Nephew than the Son of Ba- rusalem. Now though Ezechias (fearing this ladan, or Nabonassar. For if he might be ei- powerful Prince) had acknowledged his ther the Nephew, or the Son; he might per- fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, hapsbe neither the one, nor the other. But with thirty hundred talents of filver, and because our Country-man Lidyat hath re- thirty talents of gold, wherewith he present 2 Kin. 18. prehended scaliger for changing his opinion; ed senacherib, now set down before Lachis in and that both Torniellus, who follows Scali- Judea; yet under the colour of better affuger herein, and Sethus Calvisus, who hath rance, and to force the King of Judea to dedrawn into form of Chronology; that learned | liver hostages, the Assirian invironed Jerusa work, De Emendatione Temporum, do hold up lem with a groß Army, and having his sword the same affertion, confounding Baladan in his hand, thought it the fittest time to

Exechias directed his three great Counreach, after any sentence that might prove sellers, to parly with Rabfaces over the Wall; the Kindred or Succession of these two: Yet | and to receive his demands: who used three cannot I find in the Almagest (for the Scrip- principal arguments to perswade the people tures are either filent in this point, or adverse to yeild themselves to his Master senacherib. to Scaliger; and other good authority, I know For though the Chancellour, Steward, and none, in this business) any sentence more near- Secretary, fent by Ezechias, defired Rabsaces ly proving the succession of Merodach to to speak unto them in the Syrian tongue; Nabonaffar, than the place now last rehearsed: and not in the Jewish, yet he with a louder which makes no more, to shew that the one voice directed his speech to the multitude in of these was father to the other than (that I their own language. And for the first, he may use a like example) the as near successi- made them know, That if they continued obon of William the Conqueror, declares him, stinate, and adhered to their King, that they to have been Son, or Grand-child to Edward would in a short time be inforced to eat their the Confessor. This confidered, we may fafely own dung, and drink their own urine : Seing with Annius, for a smuch as these Kings his own hand: Thirdly, that the gods who mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in Babylon should help them, Ezechias had formerly

broken

broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (asit is numerable multitude of Rars had in one thought by fome) the brasen Serpent, which night eaten in funder the Bow-strings of his had been preferved ever fince Mojes time: Archers, and spoiled the rest of their Weaand withall he bade them remember the pons in that kind, which no doubt might gods of other Nations, vvhom, notwithstand-greatly amaze him: but the approach of ing any power of theirs, his Master had con-Tarhaca, remembred by Josephus and Berofus, quered and thrown down; and for God him- was the more urgent. Saint Hierome upon the felf, in vyhom they trufted, he perfinaded feven and thirtieth of Efay, out of the fame flood that the King of Arabia was marching cherib Regem Allyriorum contra Legoptios, & on with a powerful Army, he himself lett obsedisse relusium, jamque extructis aggeribus the Affrian forces in charge to others, and urbi capienda, venife Taracham Regen Afought Senacherib at Libna to Judea, either thiopum in auxilium, o una node juxta Jeruto inform him of their resolution in Jerusa- Salem, centum olioginta quinque millia exercilem, or to confer with him concerning the tus Affrii peftilentia cornife, narrat Herodo-Army of Iurhaca the Arabian. Soon upon tus: & plenissime Berolus Chaldaice scriptor this there came letters from Senacherib to Historie, quorum sides de propriis libris peter-Exechias, whom he partly advised, and part- da eft; That Senacherib King of the Affyrily threatned to submit himself, using the ans fought against the Ægyptians, and besefame blasphemous outrage against the all- ged Pelusium, and that when his Mounts were powerful God, as before. But Ezechias built for the taking of the City, Tarhacas King fending those Counsellers to the Prophet E- of the Æthiopians came to help them, and that fay, which had lately been sent to Kabjaces, in one night near Jerusalem, one kundred eigh. received from him comfort, and assurance, ty five thousand of the Assyrian Army perified that this heathen Idolater should not pre- by pestilence; of these things (faith Hierome)

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his Army, which was departed as it seemeth sub Rabsacis imperio reliquerat poste divinifrom the siege of Pelusium in Egypt , for sear ius immisia deletum, prima nocie post eafon of Senacherib's return from Pelusium in Rabsaces, destroyed by a pestilence sent Egypt, which he also besinged, was, that an in-from God, the sirst night that he had begin to

them by no means to rely upon him; for he would deceive them. But finding the people it would deceive them. But finding the people filent (for 6 the King had commanded than his words lye; reports Senacherib's re-line is the file words. Phandle auton Senacherib's re-line is the file words. them) after a while, when he had under-trait in these words: Pugnasse autem Sena-un the vail; against whom the King also besought *Herodotus reports: and more at large Beroaid from Almighty God, repeating the most sus a writer of Chaldwan story, whose credit; in Jorit infolent and blasphemous parts of Senache- to be taken from their own Books. Out of mentions rib's letter, before the Altar of God in the Esty it is gathered, that this destruction of medical rib's letter, before the Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be the Affgrian Army was in this manner: Thou thing the true, That the King of Ashur had destroyed Shalt be wisted of the Lorel of Hoast's with thun- the 2 Kin. 19 the Nations and their Lands, and had fet der and shaking, and a great noise, a whirle nord; fire on their gods, for they were no gods, wind, and a tempeft, and a fame of decouring miles. but the works of mans hands, even wood and fire. But ofethus hathit more largely out of man the same Berojus, an authority (because so there The reason that moved Senacherib to de- well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be 59394 fire to possess himself in haste of Jerusalem, omitted; Senacheribus autem ab Agyptia 19. and was, that he might thereinto have retraited co bello revertens, offendit ibi exercitum quem toch of Terbaca: and though the Scriptures are quam Orbem oppugnare coperat, abjumptis filent of that enterprise which in these Books cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum odegima of the Kings, and of the Chronicles or Parali- quinque millibus Militum; qua clade territus, pomenon, speak but of the affairs of the Jews & de reliquis copiis sollicitus, maximis iliin effect) yet the ancient Berojus, and out of neribus in regnum fuum contendit, ad regiam him Josephus and Saint Hierom, together with que Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo post per instidias Herod La, Herodotto, remember it as followeth. Herodo Seniorum e filiis suis, Adramelechi, & Se selent tus calleth Senacherib King of Arabia and lennari, vitam amist: occisus in 1960 Tem obscure. Affria: which he might justly do, because plo quod dicitur Arasci, quem pracipuo cultu who see Tiglath his Grand-father held a great part dignabitur; quibus ob patricidium à popula himat thereof, which he wrested from Pekah King ribus pulsis, & in Armeniam sugientibus, A ing to of Ifrael: as Gilead over Jordan, and the reit faracoldas minor filius in Regnum faceelfit; were of Arabia Petrasa adjoyning: the same Hero- Senacherib (saith Josephus) returning from plants also maketh Sethon King of Egypt, to be the Ægyptian War, found there his Army, Vulcan's Prieft; and reporteth that the rea- which he had left under the command of

affault the Town: one hundred four foore and froe a maffe of Figs, laid to the Botch or Sore. thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chieftains and Colonels. With which de- data had told to Merodach, King of Eabylon. fruction being terrified, and withall affaid the fust of that house, he sent to Ezechias, to what might become of the rest of his Armie, he be informed of the cause at which time Exemade great marches into his Kingdome, to his chias shewed him all the Treasure he had. man great Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where short- both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for In after by the treason of two of the eldest of his which he was reprehended by the Prophet ces, or Nesroth; Whom he especially worshiped, thy Fathers have laid up in store to this day, These his Sons being for their paracide chased shall be carried into Babel; nothing shall be is 1805.19 amon by the people, and stying into Armenia. Less soils that 168,4.1 Afaracoldas his younger son succeeded in the how Ezechia should have got any treasure five dayes after Senacherib's returne, ere he | Jerusalem. was murthered by his Sons, during which time he flew great numbers of the Israelites God: the one, that he rejoyced too much fword against his own breast.

disease seemeth to be the pestilence, by the matter to hazzard, and prevailed, the affertimedicine given him by the Prophet, to wit, on of this history is made by the same argu-

This wonder when the Wife-men of Chalsons, Adramelch and Selenner or Sharezer, Isaiah, who told him; The dayes are at hand, Esy 39-be lost his life in the Temple dedicated to Arasi that all that is in thine house, and whatsoever away by the people, and flying into Armenia, left, faith the Lord. It may seeme strange, Kingdome. Who in the beginning of his reign worth the shewing: for Senacherib had robfent new troops out of Affyria to Samaria, to bed him of all, the year before. But the spoul fortific the Colonie therein planted by his of the same Senacherib his Camp repayed all Grand-father Salmanassar. What this Nefroth with advantage, and made Ezekia richer upwas, it is uncertain: Hierome in his Hebrew on the fudden than ever he had been: which traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing unexpected wealth was a strong temptation positively. It is certain, that Venus Vrania to boasting. After this time Ezekia had rest, was worshiped by the Assirians; and so was and spending without noise that addition Jupiter Belus, as Dion, Eusebius, and Cyrillus which God had made unto his life, he dved witnesse. Many fancies there are, what cause having reigned nine and twenty years. One his Sons had to murther him; but the most only offensive War he made, vehich veas likely it is, that he had formerly dif-inheri- against the Philistims, with good success. Ated those two, and conferred the Empire on mong his other acts (shortly remembred in Affarhaddon. Tobit tels us, that it was fiftie Ecclesiasticus) he devised to bring vvater to

In two respects they say that he offended in Nineve, till the most just God turned the at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemy: the other, that he fo much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason vvhich moved Ezechias (speaking humanely) to of Ezechias his sicknesse and recoverie; and of entertain the Embassiadours of Merodach in the Babylonian King that congratulated this friendly and familiar manner, vvas because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his A Fter this marvellous deliverie, Ezechias health; as also in that Merodach had weak-A sickned, and was told by Ifaiab that he ned the house of Senacherib, his fearfull must dye: but after he had besought God enemy. For Merodach, who was Comwith tears for his delivery, Isaiah, as he was mander and Lieutenant under Senacherib going from him, returned again, and had in Babylon, usurped that State himself, in the warrant from the Spirit of God to promife last year of that King, and held it by strong him recovery after three dayes, and a pro- hand against his son Assarbaddon; who longation of life for fifteen years. But Eze- was not onely simple, but impaired in chias somewhat doubtfull of this exceeding strength, by the molestation of his brothers. grace, prayeth for a fign to confirme him: This advantage Merodach espied, and rememwhereupon, at the prayer of Isaiah, the fla- bring that their ancestor Phil Belochus had set dow of the Sunne cast it self the contrary his own Master Sardanapalus besides the cuway, and went back ten degrees, upon the shion, thought it as lawfull for himself to Dyall of Achaz. The cause that moved Eze- take the opportunity which this Kings weakchias to lament (faith Saint Hierome) was, ness did offer, as it had been for Belochus because he had as yet no son, and then in de- to make use of the others wickedness, and so, spair that the Messias should come out of the sinding himself beloved of the Babylonians, house of David, or at least of his Seed. His and sufficiently powerful, he did put the CHAP. XXV

ments that were in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching Phul Belochus; which I will not here again rehearfe. So of this new race, which cut afunder the Line of Ninns, there were onely five Kings.

But forafmuch as the last year of Salmanassar was also the first of Senacherib his son, we reckon the time, wherein the house of Phul held the Affyrian Kingdom, to have been an hundred and one years, of which, the last five and twenty were spent with Ezechia, under Salmanassar, Senacherib, and As-Sarhaddon.

§. IV.

The Kings that were in Media during the reign of Ezechia: Of the difference found between fundry Authors in rehearling the Median Kings. Other contemporaries of Hezekia: of Candaules, Gyges, and the Kings descended from Hercules.

N the time of Ezekia, Medidus, and after him Cardiceas, reigned in Media. Whether gotten times, by conjectures founded upon it were fo, that variety of names, by which Ctesias and Metasthenes, I will lay the burden these Kings were called in several Histories, upon Ensebins, who lived in an age better hath caused them to seem more than indeed furnished than ours, with books of this arguthey were; or whether the fons reigning with the fathers, have caused not onely the Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemponames of Kings, but the length of Time raries with Ezekia) Medidus and Cardiceas, wherein they governed Media, to exceed the are found in Eusebius: for whether Cardicess due proportion, or whether the Copies them- were Diodorns his Arbianes, I will not flay to felves of Ciclias and Annius his Metafibenes, fearch. The Kings of Media, according to Euhave been faulty, as neither of these two sebius, reigned in this order. Authors is over-highly commended of trustiness; so it is, that the names, number, and length of reign are all very diverfly reported of these Median Kings, that follow Arbaces : therefore it need not feem strange, that I reckon Medidus and Cardiceas as contemporaries with Ezechia. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those writers that vary from Eusebius, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here let down the roll of Kings that reigned in Media, accordingly as I retain; but adde unto these, Cyaxares, the fundry Authors have delivered it.

Annius his Metasthenes orders them and their reigns thus:

	Arbaces	}	[28]	·
	Mandanes	}	50	
6	Sofarmon	1	30	
E	Articarmin	1	50	! E
	Arbianes		22	i
	Artæus	reigned .	40	years.
	Artines	ī	22	l I
	Astybarus, with his	i -	į	
	fon Apanda	ì	20	
	Apanda alone		30	
	Darius with Cyrus	j	l 36 .	1

Diodorus Siculus following Ctesias (as perhaps Annius made his Metasthenes follow Diedere. with fome little variation, that he might not feem a borrower)placeth them thus;

Arbaces Mandanes Sofarmus Articas Arbianes Arfæus Artines Artabanus	reigned	28 50 30 50 22 40 22 40	years.	
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------	----------------------------------------------	--------	--

Astybara the continuance of these two he Aftyages \ doth mention.

Mercator hath laboured, with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with Eusebius. But foralmuch as it feems to me an impossible matter, to attain unto the truth of his forment. Let it therefore suffice, that these two

Arbaces Sofarmus Medidus Cardiceas Deioces Phraortes Cyaxares Aftyages	reigned e	28) 30 40 15 54 24 32 38	years.
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These names, and this course of succession fon of Aftyages, according to Xenophon; and sometimes follow Herodotus, in setting down the length of a Kings reign, otherwise than Eusebius hathit: of which variations I will render my reasons in due place.

The twenty nine years of Ezekia were concurrent, CHAP. XXVI. first that were chosen Governours of Athens for ten years, that is, of Charops, Æsimedes, Elidicus, and Hippones. Touching the first of these I hear nothing, save that Rome was built in his first year ; of which perhaps himfelf did not hear. Of the second and third I find only the names. The fourth made himfelf known by a strange example of justice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewed upon his own Daughter. For he finding that the had offended in unchastity, caused her to be lockt up with an Horse, giving to neither of them any food: fo the Horse, constrained by hunger devoured the unhappy Woman.

In Rome, the first King, and founder of that City Romulus, did reign both before, and somewhat after Ezekia.

In Lydia, Candaules the last King ruled in

the same age.

This Region was first called Maonia. Lydus the fon of Atys reigning in it, gave the name of Lydia, if we believe fuch authority as we find. This Kingdom was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon Argon, who came of Alcaus the son of Hercules, by Fardana, a bond-woman. The race of these Heraclida continued reigning fifty five years (in which two and twenty Generations passed) the son continually succeeding the father. Candaules the fon of would needs enforce one Gyges the fon of folly of this last King Candaules.

concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four | Dafcylus to behold her naked body, and placed the unwilling man fecretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queen perceived Gyges at his going forth, and understanding the matter, took it in such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treafon So Gyges being brought again into the fame chamber by the Queen, flew Candaules, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdom of Lydia. He reigned thirty eight years, beginning in the last of Ezekia one year before the death of Romulus.

After Gyges, his fon Ardys reigned nine and forty years; then Sadyattes twelve: Halyattes. fifty feven, and finally Crafus the fon of Halyattes, fourteen years: who loft the Kingdom, and was taken by Cyrus of Persia.

And here by the way we may note that as the Lydian Kings whom Crafus his Progenitor dispossest, are deduced from Hercules, fo of the same Hercules there sprang many other Kings, which governed feveral Countreys very long; as in Asia, the Mysians, in Greece, the Lacademonians, Messenians, Rhodians, Corinthians and Argives; and from the Argives, the Macedonians, as likewise from the Corinthians, the Syracusans: besides many great and famous, though private families.

But of the Heraclida that reigned in Lydia, Myrfus was the last of his race, who doated I have not troubled my self to take notice of so much upon the beauty of his own wife, that the time of their several reigns: for little is he could not be content to enjoy her, but found of them beside the bare names, and the

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Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, between the deliverance of Israel from thence, and the reign of Ezekiah in Juda when Egypt and Juda made a league against the Assyrians.

That many names of Egyptian Kings, found in History, are like to have belonged only to Viceroys. An example proving this out of William of Tyre his History of the Holy War.

ble things in Egypt, and fetting down briefly fail in fuch conjectures. That which I have the state of that Countrey, which had con- delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the tinued long a flourishing Region, and was of Egyptian Dynasties, must here again help me. great power, when it contended with Affyria For it may truly be affirmed, That the great for the maftery. Of Cham the fon of Noah, number of Kings, which are faid to have

He emulation and quarrels ari- who first planted that Country, and of Ofris, fing in these times, between, the Orus, and other ancient Kings that reigned mighty Kingdoms of Egypt and there, untill the Israelites were thence deli-Assyrians, do require our pains, vered, more hath been said already than I in collecting the most memora- can stand to; though I hold it no shame to reigned in Egypt, were none other than Vice- his Turks, under the command of syracon roves or Stewards, such as Joseph vvas, and against the Soldan Dargan. So Dargan and fuch as vvere the Soldans in latter ages. Sanar met, and fought: The victorie was Therefore I will not onely forbear to feek Dargans; but he enjoyed it not: For in few after those, whom Herodotus and Diodorus dayes after, he was slain by treason, whereby have reckoned up from the mouths of Egyptotian Priests, delivering them by number, stall the kindred and freinds without rehearing their names; but will of Dargan, that he could find in the great fave the labour of marshalling them in order, Citie of Cairo. their reigns, and other circumstances proving gave little regard; for he thought it little them to have been Kings indeed, being not concerned him, which of them lived, and recorded.

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lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after his pleasure. But new troubles presently a-I may build what I lift; it were not amiffe, to rife, which (one would think) do necrly give unto the Reader such satisfaction in this touch the Caliph himselfe. Syracon with his point, as apparent reason, and truth of Histo- Turks, whom Sanar had gotten to come into rie doth afford, First therefore, we ought not Egypt, will not now be intreated there to to believe those numbers of Generations, leave him, and quietly go their way home. which the lying Preists have reckoned up to They seize upon the Town of Belbeis, which that from Abraham our Saviour Christ was re- more companie from Daviageo, for the conmoved onely forty two descents; which quest of all Egypt. The Soldan perceives makes it evident, that in farre shorter time, their intent, and finds himself not strong enamely before the Persian Empire, there nough to expell them, much lesse to expell could not have passed away twice as many the Turkish Armie that was likely to second fucceffions in Egypt: especially considering, them: He therefore sends Messengers to King that many of these, whose continuance is ex- Almarick of Jerusalem, whom with large propreffed, having reigned longer than forty miles he gets to bring him ayde, and for years. It follows that we should square the drives out the Turks: Of all this trouble number of the Egyptian Kings in some even the great Caliph hears nothing, or not so much proportion, to those which did bear rule in as should make him look to the playing of his other Countries. As for the rest whose names own game. we find feattered here and there; any man | A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the that will take the paines to read the nine- caliph Elhadech particularly in his own Title. fwade himself, that it is not hard to find was opposite to him of Egypt, each of them names enow, of such as might be thought to claiming as heir to Mahamet that false Prohave reigned in Egypt, being none other than phet, the Soveraigntie over all that were of Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here insert | the Saracen Law) and tels him the weakness as breifly as I can, some things making to of the Egyptian, with his own abilitie of doing that purpose, for the pleasure and informa- service in those parts; offering his best means tion of fuch as will not trouble themselves for the extirpation of the Schismaticall Cawith turning over many Authors.

of Damasco, for ayde, who sends an Armie of them all manner of content, as it behoved

whose names onely are found; the years of To all these doings, the Caliph Elhaderh had the administration of the kingdome. But that I may not feem before hand to whilest he might have the profit of it, and magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, they fortifie, and there attend the arrivall of

teenth book of the Holy Warr, written by Syracon, Captain of the Turks that had been William Archbishop of Tyre, may easily per- in Egypt, goes to the Caliph of Baldach (who liph, and the reduction of all Egypt, with the When Elahdech the Caliph ruled in Egypt, Western parts, under the subjection of the Baone Dargan, a powerfull and a fubtile man, bylonian. This motion is readily and joyfulmade himself Soldan by force and cunning, ly entertained; all the Eastern Provinces are chasing away Sanar an Arabian, who was up in Arms, and Syracon, with a mighty pow-Soldan before and after him. This Dargan er, descendeth into Egypt. The noyse of this ministred matter of quarrel to Amalrick King great expedition so affrighteth King Almaof Fernsalem, and sustained, with little losse, rick, that with all his forces he hasteth into an invalion, which Amalrick made upon E- Egypt, well knowing how neerly it concerngrpt. hereupon he grew so insolent and ed him and his kingdome of Jerusalem, to proud, that Sanar the former Soldan hoped keep the Saracens from joyning all under to make his partie good against him, if he one head. Sanar the Soldan perceiving the could get any forces wherewith to enter E- faithfull care of the Christians his friends, gypt. Briefly, Sanar fueth to Noradine, King welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giving him: for by their admirable valour, he fi- were brought into the Caliph's own lodgnally drave the enemies out of the Countrie. ings, which were yet more stately and But this victory was not fo foon gotten, as better guarded; where entring the Preit is quickly told.

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present purpose) that of so desperate a dan- Sword that he were about his neck, and in title onely, who meddled so little in the Presently the traverse wrought with Gold required, makes large offers to King Al- his most inward servants and Eunuches amarick, upon condition that he should abide bout him. When the Soldan had humbly his estate.

perhaps from the East Indies, which then his greatness. was undiscovered. The further they went,

fence, the Soldan having twice proftrated Strange it is (which most concerns our himself, did the third time cast off his ger, the Caliph, as yet, seems to know nothing, throw himself on the ground before the May we not think him to have been King Curtain, behind which the Caliph sate. Government? The Soldan, finding that the and Pearls was opened, and the Caliph Christians (without whose help all was lost) himself discovered, fitting with great Macould not well ftay so long as his necessities jesty on a Throne of Gold, having few of by it, He promifeth a great Tribute (William kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the of Twe calls it a Tribute; the Sarazens, per- cause of his comming, the danger wherein haps, called it a Pension) which the Kings the Land stood, and the offers that he made of Terusalem should receive out of Egypt, for unto King Almerick, desiring the Caliph this behoveful affiltance. But the Christians himself to ratific them in presence of the understanding that the Soldan (how much Embassadors. The Caliph answered, That foever he took upon him) was fubject to a he would throughly perform all which was higher Lord, would make no bargain of fuch promifed. But this contented not the Emimportance with any other than the Caliph bassadors: They would have him to give himself. Hereupon Hugh Earl of Casarea, his hand upon the bargain; which the and a Knight of the Templers, are sent unto Egyptians that stood by thought an impu-Elhadech to ratifie the covenants. Now dent request. Yet his greatness condefshall we see the greatness of the Caliph and cenced at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the Soldan, to These Embassadours were conveighed by reach out his hand. When the Earl of cethe Soldan to Cairo, where arriving at the Saria faw that the Caliph gave his hand nei-Palace, they found it guarded by great ther willingly nor bare, he told him round-Troops of Souldiers. The first entrance ly thus much in effect : Sir, Truth seeks no was through dark Porches, that were kept holes to hide it felf; Princes that will hold by many armed bands of Ethiopians, which Covenant, must deal openly, nakedly, and with all diligence did reverence to the fincerely 5 Give us therefore your bare Soldan as he passed along. Through these states than the weather than the work of the state will make no bargain with your ly open Courts, of such beauty and riches, Glove. Much adoe there was about this: that they could not retain the gravity of for it seemed against the Majesty of such a Embassadours, but were inforced to ad- Prince to yield fo far. But when it would mire the things which detained their eyes. none otherwise be, with a smiling chear For there they faw goodly Marble Pillars, (though to the great grief of his Servants) gilded Beams, all wrought over with em- he vouchfafed to let the Earl take him by boffed Works, curious Pavements, Fish- the bare hand; and so rehearing the coponds of Marble with clear Waters, and venants word by word, as the Earl spake many forts of strange Birds, unknown in them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the those parts of the World, as comming Embassiadors with such rewards as testified

In this Caliph and his Sultan, we may the greater was their magnificence; for differn the Image of the ancient Pharaoh. the Caliph his Eunuches conveyed them and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great into other Courts within these, as far ex- estate, sitting in his Palace, and not celling the former, as the former did fur- vexing himself with the great prepara-Pals ordinary houses. It were tedious per- tions made against him, which terrifie haps to rehearse how the further they en- his neighbour Countries: we see his Vicetred, the more high state they found, and roy, in the mean season, using all Royal cause of marvaile; suffice it, that the good power; making War and Peace; enter-Archbishop, who wrote these things, was taining and repelling Armies of strangers; never held a vain Author. Finally they yea, making the Land of Egypt tributary

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to a forrain Prince. What greater authority was given to Joseph, when Pharaoh faid unto him, Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, of Acherres; whether he were Uchoreus that only in the Kings throne will I be above thee. Behold I have let thee over all the Land of

ment; neither can I approve the conjecture curious. For who can hope to attain of mine Author, where he thinks that the E- to the perfect knowledge of the truth gyptians, ever fince Joseph's time, have felt the when as Diodorus varies from Herodotus, burden of that servitude which he brought Eusebius from both of them; and late Wri-Lands for Pharaoh. Herein I find his judge- out of these and others, find no one with ment good; that he affirms this manner of whom they can agree? In this case Annius the Egyptian Kings, in taking their ease, and would doe good service, if a man could ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the anci-trust him. But it is enough to be beholding ty, whereby they might the better trust their found scattering in others. Officers with so ample commission. But of From the departure of Israel out of Egypt, this matter, I will not stand longer to dis- unto the reign of Thuoris (who is generally pute. It is enough to have shewed, that the taken to be the same that the Greeks call Progreat and almost absolute power of the Vice- teus) there is little or no disagreement about roys governing Egypt, is set down by Moses, the Egyptian Kings. Wherefore I set down the and that a lively example of the same is same which are found in Eusebius, and give to found in William of Tyre, who lived in the every one the same length of reign. fame age, was in few years after Chancellor, Acherres was the first of these, who succeeof the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and had full ded unto Chencres, that perished in the Red discourse with Hugh Earl of Casaria touch- Sea. This King seems to Reyneccius to be the ing all these matters. Wherefore it remains, same whom Diodorus calls Uchoreus, the that we be not carried away with a vain o- founder of Memphis. But whereas mention pinion, to believe that all they were Kings, is found in Diodorus of a great King named whom reports of the fabulous Egyptians have Ofymandyas, from whom Ochoreus is faid to honoured with that stile; but rest contented be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, with a Catalogue of fuch, as we find by cir-that Timaus (as Reineccius conjectures was should make inquiry.

§. II.

was the eighth from Ofymandyas. of Ofv. mandyas and his Tomb.

I do not commend this form of Govern- IN this businesse I hold it vain to be too upon them, when he bought them and their ters that have fought to gather the truth ent customs practised by the Pharaohs For we to him when others do either say nothing, find, that even the Ptolemies (excepting Pto- or that which may justly be suspected. I lomans Lagi, and his fon Philadelphus, foun- will therefore hold my felf contented with der and establisher of that race) were given, the pleasure that he hath done me, in all of them wholly, to please their own appe-tites, leaving the charge of the Kingdom those antiquities removed so far out of to Women, Eunuches, and other Ministers fight: as for the Kings following the deparof their defires. The pleasures which that ture of Ifrael out of Egypt, it shall suffice Country afforded, were indeed sufficient to that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Eusebius have invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous not been filent, and that Reyneccius hath life, and the awful regard wherein the E- taken pains to range into some good order gyptians held their Princes, gave them fecuri- the names that are extant in these, or else

cumstance, likely to have reigned in that the great Ofymandyas; or else that this Acher-Countrey; after whom it follows that we res was Ochoreus: for the distance between them was more than eight generations. Mercator judgeth Ofymandyas to have been the husband of Ancheres, Orus the feconds daughter; thinking that Manethon (cited by Josephus) doth omit his name, and infert his wives into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wives right. As for Uchoreus, it troubles not Mercator to find him the eighth from this man; for he takes ogdons, not to fignisie in this place of Diodore (as that Greek word else doth) the eighth, but to be an the unprofitable use of this, and the like inex- conquered Egypt, and many other Countries. tricable doubts. All that Diodore hath found did build, not far from old Memphis, the of this Ofsmandyas, was wrought upon his great Citic of Cairo (corruptly to pronounmonument; the most thereof in figures, which | ced) naming it El Calira, that is, an enforcing, I thinke the Egyptians did fabuloutly ex- or an imperious Mittreffe, though he himself pound. For whereas there was portrayed a were a Dalmatian flave. great Army, with the feige of a Town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this the Egyptians faid to denote the conquest of Ballria made by that King : which how likely it was, let others of Cherres, Armeus, Ramefles, and Amenojudge. I hold this goodly peice of work, which Diodore fo particularly deferibes, to have been crefted for a common place of buriall to the ancient Kings and Queens of Egypt, and to their Viceroyes; whilft yet they were not fo ambitious, as every one to have his own particular monument, striving there- reigned Armeus five years, and after him Rainto exceed all others. This appears by the meffer threescore and eight. Of Armeus and many statues therein placed, by the Wars, Ramesses is that Historie understood by Eusethe judgement feate, the receiving of Tri- bins, which is common among the Greeks unbute, the offering facrifice to God, the ac- der the names of Danaus and Egyptus. For count of revenues, and plenty of all cattell it is faid that Danaus, being expelled out of and food: all which were there curioufly Egypt byhis brother, fled into Greece, where wrought, thewing the feverall Offices of a he obtained the Kingdome of Argos: that Governour. On the Tomb of Ofmandy as he had fifty Daughters, whom upon feeming of Kings; if any defire to know what I am, or brothers fiftie ions, but commanded every in the land of Canaan, and this empty monu- water; ment might King Orus, who out lived him, e- The reign of Danaus in Argos was indeed rect in honour of his high deferts, among the in this age; but that Armeus was Danaus, and royall sepulchres. To which purpose the Rameses, Egyptus, is more than Reincecius

above the Great.

Egyptian name, belonging also to Ochoreus, well be that Memphis was built by some such John Leo. who might have had two names, as many of King as was Geboar, Lieutenant unto the hift Athe reft had. I will not vexe my braines in Caliph Eleams who having to his Mafters use frie. I. t.

c. III.

phis. Of Myris, and the Lake that bear's his name.

I Hen Archerres had reigned eight years, Cherres succeeded and held the kingdome fifteen years : then was this inscription. I am Osymandyas King reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his where I lye, let him exceed some of my works. one of them to kill her husband the first Let them that hope to exceed his works, la- night; that onely Hipermnestra; one of his bour to know what he was But fince by those Daughters, did fave her husband Lincens, words, Or where I live it should seem that he and suffered him to escape; finally, That lay not there interred, we may lawfully for this fact, all the bloudy fifters, when suspect that it was Joseph, whose body was they dyed, were enjoyned this foolish pupreserved among the Hebrews, to be buried nishment in Hell, to fill a leaking vessel with

The reign of Danaus in Argos was indeed plemy of Cattel and all manner of viands, believes : he rather takes Armens to have had good reference. The name of Ofyman- been Myris, or Meris, who canfed the dyas doth not hinder this conjecture; feeing great lake to be made which bears his Tofeph had one new name given him by Pha- name. For my own part, as I can earanh, for expounding the dream, and might, fily believe, that he which fled out of upon further occasions, have another to his Egypt into Greece, was a man of such increase of honour. As for that stile, King of qualitie as the Soldan Sanar, of whom we Kings, it was perhaps no more than Beglerberg, spake before; so do I not find how in so short as the Turkish Bassace are called that is, Great a reign, as five years, a work of that labour could be finished, which was required unto Now although it be forthat the reckoning the Lake of Myris, and the Monuments therefals out right, between the times of Joseph & in ; whereof his own Sepulchre and his Acherres (for Acherres was the eighth in or- wives being some part, it is manifest that he der, that reigned after the great Orus, whose was not buried in Argos. Wherefore of Viceroy Joseph was) yet will I hereby feek, Myris, and of all other Kings, whose age neither to fortifie mine own conjecture, as is uncertain, and of whose reigns we have touching Joseph, nor to infer any likelihood no affurance, I may truly fay, that their of Acherres his being Dehorens. For it might great vvorks are not enough to prove were those of Joseph, who bought all the peo- in the Countries through which he passed ple of Egypt as bondmen, and all their land had it now been performed; as any man for bread; of Gehoar, who founded Cairo; will perceive, if he look upon my Chronoloand of Sanar, who made the Country Tri- gical Table, and confider who lived with

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the length of their reigns whom we find to jectures to have had the same signification. have followed one another in order of fuc- wherein the old Kings of Hetruria were calceffion: but in rehearing the great acts led Lartes, (the Hetrurians being iffued our which were performed, I will not stand to of Lydia, the Lydians out of Egrpt) and to examine, whether they that did them were have fignified as much as Imperator, or Gene-Kings or no.

odore and Herodoius, three thousand fix hun- Ethiopians: for sure I am, that they troudred furlongs in compais, and fifty fadoms bled not the Country of Palæstina, that lay deep. It ferved to receive the waters of Nilus, next unto them on the one hand; nor is it when the overflow, being too great, was likely that they travelled over the defart harmful to the Country: and to supply the sands, on the other hand, to seek matter of defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, conquest, in the poor Countries of Africa. when the river did not rise high enough. In But these Generals (if the Larthes were such) opening the fluces of this lake, for the letting were not many. Five only had that title; in or out of waters, were spent fifty talents; and the last of these took it, perhaps, as hebut the lake it self defraied that cost; seeing reditary from the first; in such sort as the the tribute imposed upon fish taken therein Roman Emperours were proud, for a while, was every day one talent, which Myris gave to be called Antonini, till the most unsuitato his Wife to buy sweet Ointments and o- ble conditions of Heliogabalus, made his sucther Ornaments for her body. In the middest cessors forbear the name. of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchres of Myris and his Wife, and over sties (as appears by this particular) took name each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, from the Kings; that the Kings also did ador (according to Herodotus) fifty paces high; minister the government themselves, and having on the tops their statues, fitting in that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so Thrones. I find not the description of this much unto the Viceroys. But it is to be con-Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of sidered, that what is said of these Larther, Historians: yet it is very great. The years of depends only upon conjecture, and that the Armeus are by Manethon divided, by insert- authority of the Regents, or Viceroys, might ing one Armesis (whom Eusebius omits) that be great enough, though some few Kings should have reigned one year and odd took the conduct of Armies into their own difference worthy of examination.

Kingdom forty years. Some give him only Soveraignty to himself) had under him a nineteen years; and Mercator thinks him to Viceroy, stiled Eddaguadare, who had auhave been the King that was drowned in thority to place, or displace, any Magistrates, the Red Sea: whereof I have already spo- or Officers; and that this mans Family was ken in the first Book.

s. IV.

Larthes.

been either easily performed, or forgotten time; as many think, that the seventeenth

butary; were performed by none of them. this Zethus. With this King began the Dy-It shall therefore be enough to set down nasty of the Larthes; which Reineccius conral. The Wars in which these Kings were The Lake of Myris, is, by the report of Di- Generals, I take to have been against the

Here it may be objected, that the Dynamoneths of the time : but I hold not this hands. For so we find in John Leo, that the John Leo, Soldan of Egypt (after such time as the Sol-8. After Ramesses, his son Amenophis held the dan Saladine, murdering the Caliph, got the almost as great as the Soldans own. Yet was there also the Amir Cabir, or Lord General of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might, as he thought good, spend of the Soldans Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynasty of the treasure. So might the office of the Viceroys continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generals upon CEthosis, or Zethus, reigned after his Father them, did somewhat abridge the greatness of Amenophis, fifty five years. To him are that second place. As for the names of the ascribed the famous acts of that antient se- Dynasties, it skills not whence they were fostris. But the state of the World was not drawn; whether from their Country, as those such at these times, that so great an expedi- of the Thebans and Diapolitans; or from tion as the old Sefostris made, could have some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that

Dynasty was called of the Shepheards, because Joseph governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; as this was faid to be of the Larthes or Generals. The next, as Manetho (but Annius his Manetho) hath it, was without any Larthes or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, forafmuch as Vaphres, and Sefac, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the business which we left.

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lour, was taken by these as hereditary.

Helen to her restitution.

other such matters, may seem to be under- sense is all one; which is this: Officers: for fuch only are like to have had their residence about Pharos, and the seacoast where Menelaus arrived.

Of Proteus, who detained Helen, it is said that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himself into all shapes: whereby is fignified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a Proverb. The Poets feigned him a Sea-God, and keeper of Neptune's Seal-fishes, for belike he was some was faid before.

ther did reign at all.

§. V.

Of the Egyptian Kings, whose names are found scattering in Sundry Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of Egypt, according to Cedrenus. Of Vaphres and

Any other names of Egyptian Kings are Rameles was King after Zethus, or Setholis, V found scattered here and there; as threescore and fix years. He is mistaken for Tonephersobis, of whom Suidas delivers only that second sesoftris, of whom I have spoken the bare name and title; Senemures, or Sein the first book. I find nothing worth rehear- nepos, mentioned in Macrobius, who perhaps fal of this Rameses, or of Amenophis and An- was the same that by Suidas is called Senyes, nemenes, that followed him in order, the for- or Enenes, noted by occasion of a great Phymer of which reigned forty, the latter fix and fician that lived under him; Banchyris, retwenty years. Wherefore it may very well corded by the same suidas for his great jube, that the name which Zethus had from va- flice; and Thulis, of whom Suidas tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Thuoris, the last of the Larthes, reigned on- Ocean Sea; that he gave name to the Isle of ly seven years; yet is he thought to have Thule, which some take to be Iseland; and heen that Proteus, of whom Herodotus hath that he consulted with the Devil, or (which mention, faying, That he took Helena from is all one) with Seraphis, defiring to know, Paris, and after the fack of Troy, restored her who before him had been, or after him should to Menelaus. I need fay no more in refutati- be so mighty as himself. The answer or conon of this, than that the time of Thuoris his fession of the Devil was remarkable; which reign lasted not so long as from the Rape of I find Englished in the translation of Plessis his work Of the trueness of Christian Religion. This Proteus or Cetes (as he is named by The Greek Verses are somewhat otherwise, fome) together with Thon, and others menti- and much more imperfect in those Copies oned by Greek Writers in this business, or in that I have of Cedrenus and Suidas, but the

> First God, and next The Word, and then The Spirit, Which Three be One, and joyn in One all Whose force is endless. Get thee hence frail Wight. The man of Life unknown excelleth thee.

I should have thought that suidas had under-Officer to the Admiral, having charge borrowed all this of Cedrenus, had I not of the Fishing about the Isle of Pharos, as found somewhat more in Suidas than Cedrenus hath hereof; as the form of invocation Remphes the fon of Proteus is reckoned the which Thulis used, and that clause of his ginext King, by Diodore, as also by Herodotius, ving name to the Iland: though in this last who calls him Ramsinitus, and tells a long point I hold Suidas to be deceived; as also tale fit to please children, of his covetouiness, | Cedrenus is, or (at least) seems to me, in giving and how his treasure-house was robbed by to this King such profound antiquity of a cunning thief, that at last married his reign. Indeed the very name of that book, ci-Daughter. But of this a man may believe ted often by Cedrenus, which he calls Little what he lift. How long this King reigned I Genesis, is alone enough to breed suspicion of know not, nor think that either he or his fa- some imposture: but the Frierly stuffe that he alledgeth out of it, is such as would serve to discredit himself, were it not otherwise apparent that he was a man both devout, and of good judgment in matters that fell within his compass. I will here set down the list of

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old Egyptian Kings delivered by him, and the times of David and of Salomon. He came

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leave the confure to others. The first King of Egypt that he sets down, the Canaanites, and gave it to his daughter. is Mizraim the ion of Cham. After him he salomon's wife: though for her take perhaps finds many of a new race, deriving their pe- it was, that in time following either he, or degree thus: Nimrod the fon of Chus was (as I rather take it) sefac his fon did favour allo called Orion, and further took upon him the enemies of Salomon, who kept fo many the name of the Planet Saturn, had to Wife Wives and Concubines, befides this Egyptian Semiramis, who was of his own Linage, and Princefs.In the life of Reholoam all hath been by her three fons; Picus, furnamed Jupiter, written that I find of Sefac, excepting the Beius, and Ninus. Pieus chafing his Father out length of his reign, which must have been six of Affgria into Italy, reigned in his stead thir- and twenty years, if he were that Smendis ty years, and then gave up that Kingdom to with whom Eulebius begins the one and Juno his fifter and wite, and to Belus his fon: twentieth Dynafty. after which Belus, who reigned only two Now for a fruch as it would ferve to no years, Nims had the Kingdom, and married great purpose, that we knew the length of his own Mother Semiramis. But Piens went Sefac his reign, and of theirs that followed into Haly to visit his old Father Saturn; Sa- him, unless therewithall we knew the beginturn forthwith religned the Kingdom unto ning of sefac, upon which the reft have dehim. Pieus Inhiter reigned in Haly threefcore pendance; this course I take. From the fourth and two years, had threefcore and ten Wives year of Jehojakim King of Juda, in which or Concubines, and about as many children: Tharan Neco was flain, I reckon upwards the finally dyed, and lyes buried in the Isle of years of the same Nece, and of his Predecef-Crete. The Principal of Jupiter's fons were fors, unto the beginning of Sefac: by which Faunus, Perseus, and Apollo. Faunus was cal- accompt, the fust year of Sesac is found conled by the name of the Planet Mercury: he current with the twentieth of Salomon's reigned in Haly, after his Father, five and reign, and the twenty fixt of Sesac with the thirty years, and then (finding that all his fifth of Rehoboam, wherein Sefac spoiled the brethren conspired against him he went in-Temple, and dyed, enjoying the fruits of his to Egypt, with abundance of Treasure, where, Sacriledge no longer than Joas the Israelite, after the death of Mifraim, he got the King and Craffus the Roman did; who after him dom, and held it nine and thirty years. After spoiled the Temple of Jerusalem. Mercury Julean reigned in Egypt, four years To fill up the time between Sefac and Neand a half. Then sol, the ion of Vulcan, co, I have rather taken those Kings that I find reigned twenty years and a half. There fol- in the Greek Historians, than them which are lowed in order sofis, Ofiris, Orus and Thules, in Eufebius his Catalogue. For of those that of whom we spake before: the length of are delivered by Eusebius, we find no Name their several reigns is not set down. After nor Act recorded elsewhere, save only of Thules , was the great Sefoftris King twenty Bocchoris , who is remembred by Diodore, years. His fucceffor was Pharaoh, called Nare- Plutarch, and others, much being spoken of cho, that held the Crown fifty years, with him, that makes him appear to have been a Pharaoh, to a very long potterity.

credit rest upon the Author.

into Palestina with an Army took Gezar from

which there passed from him the surname of King Hercunto I may add, that the succession is often interrupted in Enfebius by Æthiopi-These reports of Cedrenus I hold it e- ans, which got the Kingdom often, and held nough to set down as I find them: let their it long: whereas contrariwise it appears by the Prophet Esay, that the Counsellors of Others yet we find, that are faid to have Pharaoh did vaunt of the long and flourishreigned in Egypt, without any certain note, ing continuance of that house, infomuch that when, or how long : about whom I will not they faid of Pharaoh, I am the son of the wife, Egg 14 labour, as scaring more to be reprehended I am the son of the ancient King. But that of vain curiofity, in the fearch made after which overthrows the reckoning of Eulebithese already rehearsed, than of negligence, us, is the good agreement of it with his miin omitting such as might have been added. | staken times of the Kings of Juda. For though Vaphres, the father in law to Salomon, and it please him well to see how the reigns of sefac, the afflicter of Rekoboam, lead us again Jolias and Neco meet by his computation, yet way, i. 9. into fair way, but not far. The name of Va- this indeed mars all, the reign of Jossa being phres is not found in the Scriptures; but we mifplaced. This errour grows from his omitare beholding to Clemens Alexandrinus and ting to compare the reigns of the Kings of 11. 2.18 Eufebins for it. These give us not the length Juda with theirs of Israel: by which occasion of his reign; but we know that he lived in Joran King of If acl is made to reign three

by salmanassar before Hezechia was King: be, that they, who had not power to avoid and in a word, all, or most of the Kingshave the like slavery laid upon them by the yountheir beginnings placed in some other year ger brother or son, should have power or leiof their collaterals than the Scriptures have fure to take such revenge upon his Predecefdetermined.

Rehoboam and Ezechia.

ans, I place Chemnis, or (according to Di- Monument with the superfluity of her Faodore) Chembis, first in the rank of those that thers provisions. were Kings after sefac. He reigned fifty years, Mycerinas the fon of cephrenes reigned them yet standing.

Bund. Lin Succeeded. Herodotus hath Cheops (who might who knows whether Chemnis did not learn

years after Abazia of Juda; Samaria istaken otherwise it is hard to conceive how it might for. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale devised against Cheops his Daughter; That her Father wanting money, did proftitute her, and that she getting of every of Chemnis, Cheops, Cephrenes, and other man that accompanied her, one stone, did Kings recited by Herodotus and Diodorus build with them a fourth Pyramis, that stood Siculus, which reigned between the times of in the midft of the other three. Belike the was an infolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery for her fake, longer a while Ollowing therefore the Greek Histori- than they thought to have done, in raising a

and built the greatest of the three Pyra- after his Father six years. He would have mides, which was accounted one of this built as his fore-goers did, but prevented by Worlds Wonders. The Pyramis hath his death, finished not what he had begun. The name from the shape, in that it resembleth people thought him a good King, for that he a flame of fire, growing from the bottom up- did fet open the Temples, which Cheops and wards narrower and narrower to the top. Cephrenes had kept shut. But an Oracle threat-This of chemnis being four-square, had a ned him with a short life of six years only, Base of seven acres every way, and was a- because of this his devotion; For (faid the bout fix acres high. It was of a very hard and Oracle) Egypt should have been afflitted an durable stone, which had lasted, when Dio-dore saw it, about a thousand years, without knew, and performed for their parts; but thou complaining of any injury that it had fuffer- haft released it, therefore shalt thou live but his ed by weather in so long space. From the years. It is very strange, that the gods should reign of Chemmis, unto the age of Augustus be offended with a King for his piety; or Cefar, wherein Diodore lived, are indeed a that they should decree to make a Country thousand years; which doth give the better impious, when the people were desirous to likelihood unto this time wherein Chemnis scree them; or that they having so decreed, is placed. As for this and other Pyramides, it should lye in the power of a King to alter late Writers do testifie, that they have seen destiny, and make the ordinance of the gods. to fail in taking full effect. But these were After Chemnis, Diodore placeth Cephrenes Egyptian gods. The true god was doubtless his Brother; but doubtfully, and enclining more offended with the inftitution of fuch rather to the opinion, that his ion Chabreus Idolatry, than with the interruption. And be Chabreas) and Cephrenes after him. These somewhat at Jerusalem in the last year of his are faid to have been brethren; but the Father sefac, that made him perceive, and length of their reigns may argue the latter deliver to those that followed him, the vato have been fon to the former: for Cheops nity of his Egyptian superstition? Most sure reigned fifty years; Cephrenes fifty fix. Thefe it is, that his reign, and the reigns of Cheops were, as Chemmis had been, builders of Py- and Cephrenes were more long and more ramides, whereby they purchased great ha- happy than that of Mycerinas, who, to detred of their people, who already had over- lude the Oracle, revelled away both dayes laboured themselves in erecting the first, and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, These Pyramides were ordained to be he had changed his nights into dayes, and so Tombs for those that raised them; but the doubled the time appointed: a service more malice of the Egyptians is said to have cast pleasing to the Devil, than the restitution of out their bodies, and to have called their Idolatry durst then seem, when it could Monuments by the name of an Heardsman speed no better. I find in Reineceius fifty that kept his Beafts thereabouts. It may be, years affigned to this King; which I verily that the robbing them of their honour, and believe to have been some errour of the entituling a poor fellow to their works, was print, though I find it not corrected among held to be the casting out of their bodies 5 other such overlights; For I know no Author

threatned Mycerinus with a short life, as is the years of Rehoboam. before shewed.

by Diodore, who speaks no more of him than most, that he reigned fifty years. He was a this, that he was a strong man of body, and merciful Prince, not punishing all capital excelling his predecessions in wit. He is spoken offences with death, but imposing bondage of by divers Authors, as one that loved ju- and bodily labour upon malefactors; by flice; and may be taken for that Banchyris whose toil he both got much wealth into his whom Surdas commends in that kind: Euse- own hands, letting out their service to hire. bius reckons 44. years of his reign.

follows in the Catalogue of Diodore; but trey. Zonoras calls this King Sua; the Scricertain ages after him. Herodotus quite omit- ptures call him So. Hofea, the last Kino of ting Bocchorus, hath Affichis; who made a Ifrael, made a league with him against Salmasharplaw (asit was then held) against bad nassar, little to his good: for the Egyptian debtors, that their dead bodies should be in was more rich than warlike, and therefore his the creditors disposition, till the debt were friendship could not preserve the Israelite paid. This Asychis made a Pyramis of brick, from destruction. more costly and fair, in his own judgment, It feems, that the encroaching power of than any of those that the former Kings the Affyrian grew terrible to Egypt about had raised. Besides this Asyckis, Herodetus these times; the victories of Tiglath Pholas placeth one Anysis, a blind man, before the sar and Salmanassar having eaten so far into Æthiopian. The reigns of these two are per- Syria, in the reign of this one King So or Sahaps those many ages which the Egyptians, bacus. Yea, perhaps it was in his dayes (for to magnifie their antiquities, accounted be- his reign began in the fourth of Menahem) tween Bocchorus and him that followed that Phul himself did make the first entrance them. But all this could make but fix years; into Palastina. This caused so to animate the and so long doth Fundins, so long doth Rei- half-subdued people against their Conqueneccius hold, that these two Kings between rors; but the help which he and his Succesthem both did govern. If any man would for gave them was so faint, that Sennacherib's lengthen this time, holding it unprobable Embassador compared the Egyptian succour fo foon spent; he may do it by taking some had Hosea found it, and such Ezechia might years from sethon or Psammiticus, and ad- have found it had he not been supported by ding them to either of these. To add unto the strong staffe of him that ruleth all Natithese without subtracting from some other, ons with a rod of iron. It appeareth by the would breed a manifest inconvenience : for- words of Rabsake, that the opinion was great asmuch as part of sesac his reign, must have in Juda, of the Egyptian forces, for Charioti been in the fifth of Rehoboam, as also the last and Horse-men; but this power, whatsoever of Pharao Neco was the fourth of Jehojakim, it was, grew needful, within a little while, and the first of Nebuchadnezzar. For mine for the defence of Egypt it felf, which so left own part, I like it better to allow fix years unto sethon his Successor, having now fulfilonly to these two Kings, than to lose the led the fifty years of his reign. Herodotus witness of Herodotus, who, concurring here- and Diodorus have both one tale, from the rein with the Scriptures, doth speak of Senna- lation of Egyptian Priests, concerning the decherib's War, at which time Sethon was King parture of this King; faying, that he left the of Egypt. I will not therefore add years Country, and willingly retired into Ethiounto these men three years, we shall thrust his dreams, by the god which was worship-

that gives him so many years, and Reineccius further or more (if the like abridgment shall himself takes notice of the Oracle, that be required of Pfammiticus his reign) into

Of Sabacus the Athiopian, who took the Bocchorus is placed next unto Mycerinus, Kingdom from Anglis, it is agreed by the and performed many works of more use than After Bocchorus, one Sabacus an Ethiopian pomp, to the fingular benefit of the Coun-

that the reigns of two Kings should have been to a broken staffe of Reed. Such indeed to a broken staffe of Reed. unto these obscure names; for by adding pia, because it was often signified unto him in the beginning of Sethon out of place, and ped at Thebes, that his reign should be neimake it later than the death of Sennacherib. ther long nor prosperous, unless he slew all In regard of this agreement of Herodotus the Priests in Egypt; which rather than to with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to do, he refigned his Kingdom. Surely, these hold with him in his Egyptian Kings. Other- Egyptian gods were of a strange quality, that wife it were a matter of no great envy to fo ill rewarded their fervants, and invited leave both Affichis and Anylis out of the Kings to do them wrong. Well might the roll, which were easily done by placing sefac Egyptians (as they likewise did) worthin lower,, and extending his life yet fix years Dogs as gods, when their chief gods had the property

the better for beating them. Yet to vvhat his especial confidence in God, held that cannot tell; and therefore I think that it likely to turn to the benefit of his Country; might be some device of the fearful old man, the multitude of Judan looking into the fair who feeing his Realm in danger of an inva- hopes which this Egyptian league promifed, from, fought an honest excuse for his depar- were pussed up with vain conceits, thinking ture out of it, and withdrawing himself into that all was safe, and that now they should named for his education, and because issuing strength is to sit still. from thence, he got the Kingdom from Any- According to the Prophets words it came (is, who was his opposite. The quiet and to pass. For in the treaty of Confederacy mild form of his government, his holding that was held at Zoan, all manner of contentwe leave him, and speak of Sethon his next yet is wifest. Succeffor who is omitted by Diodore, but rehis having been King.

Of Sethon who reigned with Ezechia, and sided with him against Sennacherib.

fift of sennacherib. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdoms of Afgria and Egypt, being then inga-

ple 5 who knowing how much it concerned where he was flain. Pharao, to protect them against his own great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so rib, Herodotus takes this notice of it: That it near and mighty a Neighbour, before the fer- was purposed against Egypt, where the men of vice of a terrible, yet far removed King. But War, being offended with sethon their King,

property of Dogs, vvhich love their Masters | and his Subjects: For the good King fixing end the Priefts should have feigned this tale, course of policy, which he thought most Æthiopia, vvhere he had been bred in his not need to fear any more of those injuries Elbiopia, vonere ne nato occur brea in insport need to rear any more of those injuries youth. What if I should say, that the Æthiopia which they had suffered by the Assertion into which he event, vous none other than and so became forgetful of God, taking comparabia, whereof Tirbaka the King (perhaps selbut not of him. The Prophet Esay complains at the instigation of this man) raised an Army ed much of this presumption; giving the against sennacherib, vvhen he meant to in- people of Juda to understand, That the Evade Egypt within two or three years after? gyptians were men, and not God, and their E/49 31.2. but I will not trouble my felf with much Horses sless, and not spirit; that God himself 3. and 8. enquiry. This I hold, that So, or Sabacus vvas should defend Ifrael upon repentance, and not indeed an Ethiopian (for in his time li- that Asiur should fall by the sword, but not of Esay 30.7. yed the Prophet Esay, who mentioneth the man. As for the Egyptians (faid the Prophet) antiquity of Pharaohs house) but only so sur- they are vanity, and they shall help in vain, their

the Kingdom fo long without an Army, and ment and affurance was given to the Jews by many other circumstances argue no less. But Sethon, or his Agents, who filled them with whether finally he betook a private life, or such reports, of Horses and Chariots, that whether he fore-went his life and Kingdom they did not look (as Esay faith) unto the holy Esay 31.7.2 at once, being now very old, it is time that | One of Ifrael, nor feek unto the Lord. But he

After a while came Sennacherib with his membred by Herodotus, by a fure token of Army, and wakened them out of these dreams; for sethon their good Neighbour as near as he was, did feem far off, being unready, when his help was most needful. It may feem that he purposed rather to make Palastina, than Egypt, the stage whereon this great Warshould be acted, and was not without hope, that the Affgrians and Jews, weakning He first year of sethon's reign falls into one another, should yeild unto him a fair adthe twelfth of Ezechia, which was the vantage over both. Yet he fought with mony; for he fent Horses and Camels laden with treasure, to hirethe Arabians, whom Esay calleth a people that cannot profit. These Esay 30.63 ged in a War, the issue whereof was to de- Arabians did not profit indeed; for (besides termine whether of them should rule or that it seems by the same place of Esay; that ferve. The Affrian had the better men of the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the War; the Egyptian better provision of nel enemies hands before any help appeared cessaries: the Assyrian more Subjects; the from Tirhaca) all the strong Cities of Juda Egoptian more Friends: and among the new were taken by Sennackerib, except Libna, Laconquered half Subjects of Affur, many that chis, and Jerusalem it self, which were in sore were Egyptian in heart, though Afgrian in distress, till the sword of God and not of Man, defeated the Assyrian, who did go, for Of this last fort were Ezechia and his peo fear, to his Tower, that is, he fled to Nineve, Elay 31. 9.

Concerning this expedition of Sennacheherein was great difference between Ezechia who had taken away their allowance, re-Ppp

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their Country; that sethon being Vulcan's erected) might give occasion to such a fa-Priest bemoaned himself to his god, who by ble; the Divel helping to change the truth dream promifed to fend him helpers; that into a lie, that God might be robbed of his hereupon Sethon, with fuch as would follow honour. Yet that vve may not belie the him, (which were craftf-men, shop-keepers, Devil, I hold it very likely, that Sethon finand the like)marched towards Pelufium; and ding himself in danger, did call upon his that a great multitude of field-mice entring gods, that is, upon Vulcan, Serapis, or any to the Camp of Senacherib by night, did so whom he had most devotion. But so had gnaw the bows, quivers, and straps of his other of his predecessors done in the like mens armour, that they were fain the next need: yet which of them had obtained fucday to fly away in all haste, finding them- cour by the like miracle? Surely the Jews felves disarmed. In memory hereof (faith He- (even such of them as were most given to Irodotus) the statue of this King is set up in the dolatry) would have been ashamed of the Temple of Vulcan, holding a Mouse in his confidence which they reposed in the Charihand, with this inscription, Les kim that holds ots of Egypt, because they were many, and in the 1934. me ferve God. Such was the relation of the Horsemen, because they were very strong; had it Egyptian Priests, wherein how far they swar- been told them, that sethon, instead of sendved from the truth, being defirous to magni- ing those Hors-men and Chariots, was befie their own King, it may eafily be percei-leeching Vulcan to fend him and them good ved. It feems that this Image of sethon was luck; or elfe (for these also were Egyptian fallen down, and the tale forgotten in Diodo- gods)addreffing their prayers to some Onyrus his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did on or Cat. Howsoever it was, doubtless the forbear to tell it him (which caused him to Prophecy of Esay took effect, which said, They omit it) for that the nation of the Jews was shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot then well known to the world, whereof eve- profit them, nor help, nor do them good, but shall ty child could have told how much falshood be a shame & also a reproach. Such is commonhad been mingled with the truth.

Scriptures, thus far forth; That Senacherib made, it will no longer feem to ftand in need King of the Affrians and Arabians, (so He- of God. rodotus calleth him: the Syrians, or peradventure fome borderersupon Syria, being been fet down by Eusebius under the name of meant by the name of Arabians) lived in this Tarachus the Æthiopian; and therefore the age, made War upon Egypt, and was miracu- twenty years which are given to Tarachus, loufly driven home. As for that exploit of they allow to the reign of sethon. These have the Mice, and the great pleasure that Vulcan well observed that Tarachus the Æthiopian did unto his Prieft, happy it was (if Sethon is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King were a Priest) that he took his god now in of Egypt, but as a friend to that Country, or fo good a mood : For within three or four at least an enemy to Sennacherib, in the war years before this, all the Priests in Egypt last spoken of; the Ethiopians (as they are should have been slain, if the merciful King englished) over which he reigned, being inhad not spared their lives, as it were half a deed Chushites or Arabians. Hereuponthey gainst the gods will. Therefore this last good suppose aright, that Eusebius hath mistaken turn was not enough to serve as an example, one King for another. But whereas they that might stir up the Egyptians to piety, see- think that this Tarachus or Tirhaka is placed ing that their devotion, which had lasted so in the room of sethon, and therefore give to long before, did bring all the Priests into sethon the twenty years of Tarachus, I hold danger of fuch a bad reward. Rather I think, them to have erred on the other hand. For that this Image did represent Senacherth this Ethiopian (as he is called) began his himself, and that the Mouse in his hand, signi- reign over Egypt, by Eusebius his accompt, affied Hieroglyphically (as was the Egyptian ter the death of Sennacherib and of Ezechia, manner of expressing things) the shameful in the first year of Manasses King of Juda. issue of his terrible expedition, or the de- Therefore he or his years have no reference struction of his Army, by means which came to Sethon. no man knew from whence. For the venge- Herodotus forgets to tell how long Sethon ance of God, shewed upon this ungodly reigned; Functius peremptorily citing no King, was indeed a very good motive to Author, nor alledging reason for it, sets him piety. But the Embleme, together with the down thirty three years; many omit him Temple of Vulcan (being perhaps the chief quite; and they that name him are not care-

fused to bear arms in defence of him and Temple in that Town vvhere this Image was ly the iffue of humane vviidom, when rest-We find this hiftory agreeable to the ing fecure upon provision that it felf hath

CHAP, XXVI

my felf at the first, for measuring the reigns fore I conform my own reckoning to his. of these Egyptian Kings. The years which though I could be content to have it one passed from the fifth of Rehoboam, unto the year less. The reason of this computation I fourth of Jehojakim, I so divide among the shall render more at large, when I arrive at Egyptians, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in much dependance, and whereinto the course whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred of this History will shortly bring me, the Eupon him whose length of reign is uncertain; gyptian affairs growing now to be interlaced that is, upon this sethon. By this accompt I with the matters of Juda, to which it is meet find the thirty three years that are fet down that I return.

ful to examine his continuance. In this case, I by Functius, to agree very nearly, if not prefollow that rule which I propounded unto cifely, with the time of sethon's reign; there-



CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manasses, and bis Contemporaries.

The wickedness of Manasses. His imprisonment, repentance, and death.

the Moon, and the Stars, with all the Hoast ved the Assyrians heart to deliver him: of heaven, as gods, and worshipped them: It is also likely that Merodach, because he the fire of Sacrifice to the Devils.

phet Esay (who was also of the Kings race, the Assyrians: and therein sed with bread of we say, and as the Jews affirm, the Father-in-law of bran and water, which men may believe as strength the King) he caused the Prophet near unto it shall please their fancies. illide Par, the Fountain of Silve, to be fawn in funder With a wodden Saw, in the eightieth year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous than hath been heard of. The Scrip- of troubles in Egypt following the death of tures indeed are filent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by Epiphanius, Isidore, Eusebius, and others, too many to rehearse, and too Hat the wickedness of King Manages good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord

Anase the Son of Ezechias, brought upon them the Captains of the Hoast of forgetting the piety of his Fa- the Kings of Ashur, which took Manasse, and ther, and the prosperity which put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, 33, 11. followed him, fet up, repair- and carried him to Babel: Where, after he ed, adorned and furnished had lyen twenty years as a captive, and disall the Altars, Temples and high Places, in poiled of all honour and hope; yet to his which the Devil was by the Heathen wor- hearty repentance and continual prayer, the shipped Besides he himself esteemed the Sun, God of infinite mercy had respect, and mo-

and of all his acts the most abominable was, loved his father Ezechias, was the easilier that he burnt his fons for a Sacrifice to the perswaded to restore Manasse to his liberty Devil Moloch or Melchor, in the Valley of and estate. After which, and when he was Hinnon, or Benhinnon: wherein was kindled again established, remembring the miseries which followed his wickedness, and Gods He also gave himself to all kind of Witch- great mercies toward him, he changed form, craft and Sorcery, accompanied and main-detefted his former foolish and devillish Idotained those that had familiar Spirits, and all latry, and cast down the Idols of his own eforts of Enchanters: befides he flied fo much recting, prepared the Altar of God, and fainnocent bloud, as Jerusalem was replenished crificed thereon. He repaired a great part of therewith, from corner to corner. For all Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reign of his vices and abominations, when he was re- lifty five years. Glycas and suidas report, prehended by that aged and reverent Pro- that Manasse was held in a cage of iron by

Sethon. The reign of Pfammiticus...

was the cause of the evil which fell up-Ppp2

must needs believe: for it is affirmed in the dalus took the pattern of that which he made Scriptures. Yet was the state of things in for Mines in Crete. Who this Marus, or those parts of the World such, at that time, Menides was, I cannot tell. Resneccine takes as would have invited any Prince (and did him to have bin Annemenes, which reigned perhaps invite Merodach, who fulfilled Gods immediately before Thuoris. But this agrees pleasure, upon respect born to his own ends, not with Diodore, for Dedalus & Minos were desirous to enlarge his Empire) to make at- both dead long before Annemenes was King. tempt upon Juda. For the kingdom of E- Belike Reyneccius, desiring to accommodate gypt, which was become the pillar whereon the fabulous relations of Manethon, Charemon the state of Juda leaned, about these times and others, that are found in Jesephus, touwas miserably distracted with civill dissenti- ching Amenophis and his children to the story on, and after two years ill amended by a of Amasis and Attisanes the Athiopian mendivision of the government between twelve tioned by Diodore; held it confequent, after Princes. After some good agreement be- he had conjectured Manethon's Amonophia Milan. tween these, eleven of them fell out with to be Diodorus his Amasis; that Sethon should in the twelfth of their collegues, and were all be Adifanes, and that Annemenes should finally subdued by him, who made himself be Marus. If in this case I might intrude a absolute King of all. This Inter-regnum, or conjecture, the times which we now handle meer Anarchie that was in Egypt, with the are shofe about which Reyneccius hath erred division of the Kingdome following it, is in making search Amasis was Anysis, Alliplaced by Diodore who omitteth Sethon, Janes was Sabacus; and Marus was one ofthese between the reign of Sabacus and Pfammi- twelve Princes to whom Heredotus gives ticus: but Herodotus doth fet the Ariffocratie, the honour of building this famous Labyor twelve Governours immediatly before rinth. For Adifanes the Ethiopian deposed Pfammiticus, who was one of them, and af- Amasis; Sabacus the Ethiopian depoled A-

The second Book of the first Part

have bin the uncertainty of title to that bacus; Marus the next King after Adjanes Kingdom (for that the crown of Egypt passed built this Labyrinth; and the next (saving by fuccession of bloud, I have often thewed) Sethen, whom Diedere omits, as having not which ended for a while, by the partition of heard of him) that ruled after Sabacus, all among twelve, though things were not performed the fame work, according to Hefettled untill one had obtained the Sove- redotus, who was more likely to hear the

rainty. years in good seeming agreement, which to difference of times wherein Diodore believed preserve, they made strait covenant and alli- the Priests, might be a part of the Egyptian vaances one with another, being jealous of their nity, which was familiar with them in multiestate, because an Oracle had foretold, that plying their Kings, and boasting of their antione of them should depose all the rest, no- quities. Here I might add, that the twelve ting him by this token, that he should make great Halls, Parlours, and other circumstances a drink-offering in Vulcan's Temple, out of a remembred by Herodotus, in speaking of this Copper goblet. Whilest this unity lasted, building, do help to prove that it was the they joyned together in raising a Monument | work of these twelve Princes, But I hasten to of their Dominion; which was a Labyrinth, their end. built near unto the Lake of Meris; a work fo admirable, that (as Herodotus, vvho be- they were to make their drink-offerings, holding it, affirms) no vvords could give it the Priest, forgetting himself, brought forth commendation answerable to the statelinesse no more than eleven Cups, Hereupon, Pfame of the vvork it felf, I vvill not here set down miticus, who standing last, had not a Cup, that unperfect description vvhich Herodotus took off his brazen Helmet; and therewith makes of it, but think enough to say that he supplyed the want, This caused all the rest prefers it far before the Pyramides, one of to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him before Protess, that is before the Warr of the event is held by Diodore as a fable, which

on his Kingdome and person, any Christian Troy, and from this Labyrinth (saith he) Denylis; Actisanes governed well, and was mild The occasion of this diffention feems to in punishing offenders; so likewise was 84truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it These twelve Rulers governed fifteen was performed. The variety of names, and

At a solemn feast in Vulcan's Temple, when which (as he faith) excelled the Temple as a Traytor, yet, when they found that it was of Diana at Ephesus, or any of the fairest done by him upon set purpose or ill intent, vvorks in Greece. Diodorns reports this Laby- they forbear to kill-him, but being jealous of rinth to have bin the work of Marus or Me- their estate, they banished him into the marish nider, a King which lived five generations Countries by the Sea fide. This Oracle, and nions, and made himself sole King.

Governours, must be thought to have lived Children. unto extream age, if he ruled partly with government.

CHAP. XXVII.

with the truth) we must confound the last sion of this consusion; for that there they beyear of one reign with the first of another. gan to babble and talk one knew not what. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any of Ffammiticus. The most regardable of his great part of them, which are set down in acts was the siege of Azotus in Palestina, about Pfammiticus; who furely did not fall out made it hold out so well. with his Companions, fight with them, and

make himfelf Lord alone all in one day. Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in Egypt who entertained What reference these Egyptian matters might any strait amity with the Greeks; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of Caria, Ionia, and Arabia, to whom he gave large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his Egyptian Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Army, whilest

I believe to have bin none other: In the rest, his Mercenaries held the right wing (which Herodotus and Diodore agree, faying that was the more honourable place) in an expe-Planmiticus hired Souldiers out of Caria and dition that he made in Syria. Upon this dif-number of two hundred thousand, for sook The years of his reign, according to Hero-their natural Country of Egypt, and went dotus, were fifty four; according to Euje- into Athiopia, to dwell there : neither could bins forty four; Mercator, to reconcile these they be revoked by kind Messages, nor two, gives forty four years to his single reign, by the King himself, who over-took them and ten to his ruling joyntly with the Princes on the way; but when he told them of before spoken of. Indeed, he that was admit- their Countrey, their Wives and Chilted, being a man grown (for he cannot in dren, they answered, that their weapons reason be supposed to have been then a should get them a Countrey, and that nature young fellow) into the number of the twelve had enabled them to get other Wives and

It is also reported of him, That he caused others, partly alone, threescore and nine two Infants to be brought up in such fort; years. I therefore yield rather to Enfebins; but as they might not hear any word fooken; by will not adventure to cut five years from the which means, he hoped to find out what Arifforraty: though peradventure Pfammi- Nation or Language was most ancient; forafticus was not at first one of the twelve, but much as it seemed likely, that nature would succeeded (either by election, or as next of teach the children to speak that Language blood) into the place of some Prince that which men spake at the first. The iffue heredyed, and was ten years companion in that of was, that the children cryed, Beccus, Beccus, which word being found to fignifie Bread Another scruple there is, though not great, in the Phrygian tongue, served greatly to which troubles this reekoning. The years magnify the Phrygian antiquity, Goropius, Beof the Egyptians, as we find them fet down,
canus makes no small matter of this, for the are more by one, than ferve to fill up the honour of his Low-Dutch; in which the word time between the fift of Rehoboam and the Becker fignifies (as Baker in English) a maker fourth of Jebojakim. This may not be: Where- of bread. He that will turn over any part fore either we must abate one year from se- of Goropius his works, may find enough of thou's reign, that was of uncertain length, this kind, to perswade a willing man, that Aor else (which I had rather do, because dam and all the Patriarks used none other Funding may have followed better authority tongue than the Low-Dutch, before the confuthan I know, or than himself alledgeth, in sion of languages at Babel, the name it self of giving to Sethon a time so nearly agreeing Babel being also Dutch, and given by occa-

Chronologicall tables, reigned precifely so which he spent nine and twenty years. Never many years as are ascribed unto them, have we heard (saith Herodotus) that any Ciwithout any fractions: it is enough to think ty endured fo long a fiege as this; yet Plamthat the surplusage of one mans times supply- miticus carryed it at the last. This Town of ed the defect of anothers. Wherefore I con- Azotus had been won by Tartan a Captain of found the last year of those fifteen, wherein sennacherib, and was now, as it seemeth, rethe twelve Princes ruled, with the first of lieved, but in vain, by the Babylonian, which

§. III.

have to the imprisonment and enlargement of Manaffes. In what part of his reign Manuffes was taken prisoner.

Were it certainly known, in what year of his reign Manasses was taken pri-

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ned liberty, I think we should find these dissent from him) than to have used his ac-Egyptian troubles to have been no small oc- customed diligence in examining the matter. cation both of his captivity and enlarge-ment: God fo difpoing of humane actions, ments he brings to maintain the opinion of that even they, who intended onely their Bellarmine: the one, that Ammon the fon of own business, fulfilled onely his high plea- Manasses, is said by Josephus to have solfure. For either the civil Wars of Egypt lowed the works of his fathers youth; the that followed upon the death of sethon, or other, that had Manafies grown old in his the renting of the Kingdom, as it were, into fins, it is like that he should have continued. twelve pieces, or the War between Pfalm- as he did, in his amendment unto the end miticus and his Collegues, or the expedi- of his life. Touching the former of these tion of Psalmmiticus into Syria, and the arguments, I see no reason why the sins of fiege of Azotus, might minister unto the Ba- Manasses might not be distinguished from bylonian, either such cause of hope to enlarge his repentance in his old age, by calling them his Dominion in the South parts, or fuch works of his youth, which appeared when he necessity of fending an Army into those was twelve years old; though it were granparts, to defend his own, as would greatly ted that he continued in them (according tempt him to make fure work with the King to that of Rabbi Kimki) untill he was but fifof Juda. The same occasion sufficed also to teen years from death. Touching the seconds procure the delivery of Manasses, after he howsoever it be a fearfull thing, to cast was taken. For he was taken (as Josephus hath off unto the last those good motions unto it) by fubtilty, not by open force, neither repentance, which we know not whether did they that apprehended him, win his ever God will offer unto us again; yet were Countrey, but onely wast it. So that the Jews, it a terrible hearing, That the sins which having learned wit by the ill success of their are not for saken before the age of two and folly, in redeeming Amazia, were like to be fifty years, shall be punished with finall immore circumspect, in making their bargain penitencie. But against these two collections upon such another accident: and the Babylo- of Torniellus, I will lay two places of Scripnian (to whom the Egyptian matters presented ture, whence it may be inferred, as not unmore weighty argument of hope and fear, likely, That Manasses continued longer in his than the little Kingdom of Juda could af- wickednesse than Bellarmine hath intimated, ford) had no reason to spend his forces in pur- if not as long as Rabbi Kimki hath affirmed. fuing a small conquest, but as full of difficulty In the second book of Kings, the evill which as a greater, whereby he should compell his Manasses did, is remembred at large, and mightiest enemies to come to some good a- his repentance utterly omitted; so that his greement; when by quiting his present ad- amendment may seem to have taken up no vantage over the Jews, he might make his great part of his life? the storie of him being way the fairer into Egypt.

lasted, the Scriptures are filent, and Josephus the Chronicles of the Kings of Juda? the other gives no information. Yet I find cited by Tor- place is in the four and twentieth Chapter niellus three opinions: the one of Bellar- of the same Book, where, in rehearing the mine, who thinks that Manasses was taken in calamities with which that Nation was punthe fifteenth year of his reign; the other lished in the time of Jehojakim, the great of the Author of the greater Hebrew Chrono- Grand-child of this Manaffes, it is faid; Surety seventh year; the third of Rabbi Kimki upon Juda, that he might put them out of his upon Ezechiel, who faith, that he was for- fight, for the fins of Manasses, according to all ty years an Idolater, and lived fifteen that he did, and for the innocent blond that he years after his repentance. The first of shed (for he filled Jerusalem with innocent rejects the fecond, as more unprobable, Who so considers well these places, may favour the Cardinal as far as he may, (for he was twenty seven years old, he repented,

foner, and how long it was before he obtai- where need requires, he doth freely thus concluded in the one and twentieth Now concerning the year of Manasses his Chapter: Concerning the rest of the Acts of reign, wherein he was taken prisoner; or Manasses, and all that he did, and his sin that a King till concerning his captivity it felf, how long it he sinned, are they not written in the book of in. logy, who affirms, that it was in his twen- ly by the commandement of the Lord came this a Kingshi their conjectures is upheld by Torniellus, who blond) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. and condemns the third as most false. Yet find small cause to pronounce it most false, the reasons alledged by Torniellus in de- That the repentance and amendment of Mafence of the first, and refutation of the o- nasses was no earlier than fifteen years before pinion, are fuch, as may rather prove him to his death; or most probable, That when

and becomming a new man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the Of the first and second Messenian Wars. truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to which were in the reigns of Ezechia and fay, that two years of civill diffentions in Egypt fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened by partition of the Soveraigntie: the war of performed abroad in the world, about Planmiticus against his Affociates: and four these times of Manasses, the most remarkable and twenty years of the nine and twenty, were the Meffenian Wars; which happenwherein the fiege of Azotus continued, be- ed in this age, and being the greatest action ing all within the time of Manasses, did leave performed in Greece, between the Trojan no one part of his reign (after the first fif- and Persian Wars, deserve not to be passed teen years) free from the danger of being over with filence. oppressed by the *Babylonian*, whose men of war had continuall occasions of visiting his in the daies of *Ezechia*; the second in the ther any other, I forbear to shew mine whereof these Messenian were the greatest. opinion, left I should thereby seem to draw The pretended grounds of the Messenian computation.

doores and pillars of the Temple. more in convenient place.

Manasles, Kings of Juda.

Countrey. All which I will adde hereto, reign of Manasses: but to avoyd the trouble is this; that the fifteenth of Manasses was of interrupting our Historie, I have thought the last year of sethen in Egypt, and the one it best to rehearse them both in this place. and thirtieth of Merodach his reign, or (ac- Other introduction is needlesse, than to say, counting from the death of Afarhaddon) the that the posteritie of Hercules, driving the twentieth: The seven and twentieth of Ma- issue of Pelops and the Achaans out of their nalles was the tenth of the twelve Princes, feats, divided their lands between themand the three and fortieth of Merodach: his selves, and erected the kingdomes of Lacedafortieth, was the twenty third of Psammi-mon, Argos, Messen, and Corinth; all which aticus, and the fifth of Nabulassar, the son of greeing well together a vvhile, did after-Merodach, in Babylon: but which of these wards forget the bond of kindred, and was the year of his imprisonment, or whe- sought one anothers ruine with bloody wars;

all matters over-violently to mine own war are scarce worth remembrance, they were fo flight. Ambition was the true cause This was the first great masterie that the of it: vvherewith the Lacedamonians were so Babylonians had of the kingdome of Juda, transported, that any thing served them as a For though Achaz promised Tribute to Sal-colour to accomplish their greedy desires. manassar, yet Exechias never payed it. True Yet other matter was alledged; namely, that it is, that he hoped to stay Senacherib's en- one Polychares a Messenian had flain many terprise against him, by presenting him with Lacedamonians, for which the Magistrates of three hundred talents of filver, and thirty Sparta defiring to have him yeilded inof gold, befides the plate which covered the to their hands, could not obtain it. The Mefs fenians on the other fide, excused Polychares, But Manaffes being pressed with great for that he was grown frantick, through injunecessitie, could refuse no tolerable condi- ries received from Euxphnes a Lacedemonitions, that the Babylonian would impose up- an. This Enephnes had bargained to give paon him; among which it feems, that this was fture to the Cattel of Polychares, and was one, (which was indeed a point of fervi-therefore to receive part of the increase: but tude) that he might not hold peace with the not contented with the gain appointed, he Egyptians, whilest they were enemies to Baby- sold the Cattel, and slaves that keep them, to lon. This appears not only by his fortifiing Merchants; which done, he came with a with men of war all the strong Cities of Juda fair tale to his friend, saying, that they were after his return (which was rather against stollen. Whilst the lye was yet scarce out of Psammiticus, whose party he had forsaken his mouth, one of the slaves that had escaped than against the Babylonian, with whom he from the Merchants came in with a true had thenceforth no more controversie) but report of all. The Lacedamonian being thus likewise by that opposition, which Josias deprehended, confessed all, and promised made afterwards to Pharao Neco, in favour large amends; which to receive he carried of Nabulassar, which had been against all the son of Polychares home with him, but reason and policie, if it had not been his having him at home, he villamoully sew hims dutie by covenant. Of this I will speak Wherefore the Lacedemonians having refused, after long sute made by the wretched and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of word, that their City would grow unpeoquarrel out of those things which he did pled, by reason that no children had been in that madness, whereinto they themselves born them in all that time: Whereupon they had cast him. So said the Meffenians, and fur- sent back all their ablest young men, promitther offered to put the matter to compre- cuoully to accompany the young women, mife, or stand unto the judgement of the who got so many of them with child, as they Amphielyones, who were as the general Coun- became a great part of their Nation, and cil of Greece, or to any other fair course. were called Parthenians. Diodorus refers the fire to occupie the fair Country of Messene, time. But in process of this Messenian War, that lay close by them, were not content when the Devil in an Oracle had advised with such allegations. They thought it e- the Messenians to facrifice a Virgin of the nough to have some shew for their doings; stock of * Egyptus, that so they might be vifew escaped.

Camp, returned home. This War began in his innocent Daughters belly to disprove piad, having lasted twenty years. The two superstitions, into dispair of prevailing 12nians lost Euphaes their King, in whose stead such as had followed the Spartans in this they chose Aristodemus.

Many years were spent ere all this blood money to entertain Souldiers, caused the thirty years it continued (the Messenians not war to linger. And for the same reasons, did sinding how to help themselves) and then the Messenians for sake all their inland towns, brake out into a new and more furious War excepting Ithome, vvhich was a Mountain than the former. The able young men, that with a Town upon it, able to endure more vvere grown up in the room of those Mofthan the enemies were likely to do. But, as Jenians whom the former War had confufome Authors tell us, the Lacedemonians med, began to confider their own firength vvere so obstinate in this War, because of and multitude, thinking themselves equal to

Father, to do him right against this Theife ten years from Sparta, their wives sent them Cit of Greece, of to any other hand a great de- begetting of these Parthenians to a sormer Bud Line which the better to colour, they reckoned up ctorious against the Lacedamonians; the lot "lin in many old injuries, and so without sending salling upon the Daughter of one Lycsca, self-sugar many defiance, secretly took an oath to hold Epibolus the Priest, willing to save her, said, set so a War with Messen till they had mastered it: she was only a softened child, and not born by Mense, which done, they seized upon Amphia, a fron- of the wife of Lycifcus: which answer giving the dough. which done done in the theorem they delay to the execution of the Maid, Lycifus wood put all to the Sword without mercy, very fecterly fled away with her into Sparta. Then done Aristodemus, which afterwards was King, dia: of Weicaped. Hereupon the Messenians took Arms, and voluntarily offered his own Daughter: but Credition were met by the Enemy. A furious battel a young Nobleman, being in love with the the third were met by the Enemy. A Maid, when otherwise he could not prevail, Nothing was fought between them, which ended not Maid, when otherwise he could not prevail, of the until dark night, with uncertain victory. The faid openly that she was no Virgin, but that Mellening Meffenians did ftrongly encamp themselves; he had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child! " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her; & got her with child: " He had defloured her with The Lacedamonians, unable to force their whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up pagnet. the second year of the ninth olympiad, and the Lovers slander: at the grave of which ended in the first of the fourteenth Olym- Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other enemy Nations tried the matter, for a while, gainft the Lacedamonians, he flew himself, with their proper forces, the Lacedamonians to the great hurt of his Countrey, which he wasting the inland parts of Messene; and the loved most dearly. For after his death the Messenians, the Sea-coast of Laconia. But it Messenians lost their courage, and finding was not long ere friends, on both fides, were themselves distressed by many wants, especalled in to help. The Arcadians, Argives, and cially of victuals, they craved peace, which Sicyonians, took part with Meffene; the Spar- they obtained with most rigorous contans had, befides many Subjects of their own, ditions. Half the yearly fruits of their aid from Corinth, and hired Souldiers out of Land they were bound to fend unto Spar-Crete. So a second, third, and fourth battel ta; and they, with their Wives, to make were fought, with as great obstinacy as the solemn lamentations at the death of every first; saving that in the fourth battel the Spartan King; they were also sworn to live Lacedamonians were enforced to turn their in true subjection to the Lacedamonians; backs; in the other fights, the victory was still and part of their Territory was taken from uncertain, though in one of them the Messe- them, which was given to the Asmai, and War.

This peace being made upon fo uneven was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and their vow, that having ablented themselves the Lacedamonians, and therefore scorned Within one year another battel was fought, likelihood of taking Era. the booty.

that could not be fafe abroad, was convey- untill the way was too strait for him; and

to serve such Masters as had against all right, ed into a place of safety. Here the Lacedamaoppressed their Fathers. The chief of these mians found a tedious work, that held them was Aristomenes, a Noble Gentleman of the eleven years. For besides that Era it self houle of Egyptus; who perceiving the uniform was a strong piece, Aristomenes with three defires of his Country-men, adventured to hundred front Souldiers, did many incredibecome their Leader. He therefore found- ble exploits, that wearied them, and hindred ing the affections of the Argives and Arcadi- their attendance on the fiege. He wasted all ans, which he found throughly answerable to the fields of Meffene, that were in the enehis purpose, began open war upon the State mies power, and brake into Laconia, taking of Lacedamon. This was in the fourth year of away Corn, Wine, Cattel, and all provithe three and twentieth Olympiad; when the lions, necessary for his own people, the Lacedamonians hasted to quench the fire be- Slaves and houshold stuffe he changed into for it should grow too hot, with such forces money, suffering the owners to redeem them. as they could raise of their own without trou- To remedy this mischief, the Lacedamobling their friends, meaning to deal with their mians made an Edict, that neither Meffe enemies, ere any fuccour were lent them. ne, nor the adjoyning parts of their own So a ftrong battel was fought between them, Countrey, should be tilled or husbanded; and a doubtfull; fave that the Meffenians which bred a great tumult among private were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as men, that were almost undone by it. Yet they had thereby taught their late proud the Poet Tyrteus appealed this uprore with Lords to think them their equalls. Particu- pleasing Songs. But Aristomenes grew so bold, larly; the valour of Aristomenes appeared that he not onely ranged over all the fields; fuch in this fight, that his people would but adventured upon the Towns, furprifed, have made him their King : but he, refu- and fackt Amyele, and finally caused the enefing the honour of that name, accepted of mies to encrease and strengthen their Comthe burthen, and became their Generall panies; which done, there yet appeared no

whereunto each part came better provid- In performing these and other services, ed. The Lacedamonians brought with thrice Aristomenes was taken prisoner; yet them the Corinthians, and some other friends still he escaped. One escape of his descrives to help; the Messenians had the Argives, to be remembred, as a thing very strange Arcadians, and Sicyonians. This also was and marvellous. He had with too much coua long and bloudy fight; but Aristome- rage adventured to set upon both the Kings nes did so behave himself, that finally he of Sparta; and being in that fight wounded, made the Enemies run for their lives. Of and felled to the ground, was taken up sensefuch importance was this victory, that lefs, and carried away prisoner, with fifty of the Lacedamonians began to bethink them- his Companions. There was a deep naselves of making some good agreement. tural Cave into which the Spartans used to But one Tyrtaus an Athenian Poet, whom by cast head-long such as were condemned to appointment of an Oracle they had gotten dye for the greatest offences. To this puto direct them, re-inforced their spirits with nishment were Aristomenes and his companihis Verses. After this, Aristomenes took by one adjudged. All the rest of these poor men furprise a Town in Laconia, and vanquish- dyed with their falls; Aristomenes (howsoed in fight Anaxander King of Sparta, who ever it came to pass) took no harm. Yet did fet upon him in hope to have recovered was it harm enough to be imprisoned in a deep Dungeon, among dead carkaffes, where But all those victories of Aristomenes pe- he was like to perish through hunger and rished, in the loss of one battell, whereof stench. But after a while he perceived by the honour (if it were honour) or furely the some small glimmering of light (which perprofit, fell upon the Lacedemonians, through haps came in at the top) a Fox that was gnawthe treason of Aristocrates, King of Arcadia, ing upon a dead body. Hereupon he bewho being corrupted by the enemies with thought himfelf, that this beaft must needs money, fled away, and left the Meffenians know fome way to enter the place and get exposed to a cruel butchery. The loss was out. For which cause he made shift to lay fo great, that together with Andania their hold upon it, and catching it by the fail with principal City, all the Towns of Meffene, one hand, faved himself from biting with the standing too far from the Sea, were abandon-lother hand, by thrusting his coat into the ed for lack of men to defend them, and the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it Mount Era fortified, whither the multitude, would, he followed, holding it as his guide, CHAP.XXVII

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through a hole at which came in a little light; ry fellows with fresh Companions. Ariand there did Aristomenes delve so long with stomenes therefore, perceiving that his men his nails, that at last he clawed out his passage. for vvant of relief vvere no longer able to When fome fugitives of Messene brought hold out, (as having been three days word to Sparta, that Ariftomenes was returned had faid, that a dead man was received. But when the Corinthian forces that came to help gathered together all the weaker fort. the Lacedamonians in the fiege of Era, were whom he compafied round with armed men. cut in pieces, their Captains slain, and their and so attempted to break out through the Camp taken; then was it easily beleived, that midst of the Enemies. Emperanus Ge-

Aristomenes was alive indeed. mies hovering abour Era, saw no likelihood his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a of getting it; and Aristomenes with small fair passage to these desperate mad-men. forces did them greater hurt than they knew So they issued forth, and arrived safe in Arhow to requite. But at the last, a slave that had cadia, where they were most lovingly enfled from sparta, betrayed the place. This tertained. fellow had enticed to lewdness the vvife of Upon the first bruit of the taking of Era. a Messenian, and vvas entertained by her, the Arcadians had prepared themselves to vyhen her husband vvent forth to vvatch. the rescue: but Aristocrates their fall-heart-It happened in a rainy-winter-night, that the ed King, faid it was too late, for that all was husband came home unlooked for, vvhilst already lost. When Aristomenes had placed the Adulterer vvas vvithin. The Woman hid his followers in safety, he chose out five hunher Paramour, and made good countenance dred the luftiest of his men, with whom he to her husband, asking him by vvhat good refolved to march in all fecret hast into fortune hee vvas returned fo foon. He told sparta, hoping to find the Town fecure, her, that the form of foul vveather vvas and ill manned, the people being run forth fuch, as had made all his fellows leave their to the spoyl of Messene. In this enterprise, Stations, and that himself had done as the if he sped well, it was not doubted, that rest did; as for Aristomenes, he vvas vvound- the Lacedamonians would be glad to recover ed of late in fight, and could not look abroad their own, by restitution of that which neither was it to be feared, that the enemies they had taken from others; if all failed, an vould flir in such a dark rainy night as honourable death was the worst that could this was. This flave that heard thefe tidings, happen. There were three hundred Arrose up secretly out of his lurking hole, and cadians that offered to joyn with him; but got him to the Lacedamonian Camp with the Aristocrates marred all, by sending speedy news. There he found Emperamus his advertisement thereof to Anaxander King of Master commanding in the Kings absence. Sparta. The Epistle which Anaxander sent To him he uttered all; and obtaining par-back to Ariftocrates was intercepted by some don for his running away, guided the Ar- that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. my into the town. Little or nothing was done Therein was found all his falshood, which that night. For the Allarm was presently being published in open assembly, the Arcataken; and the extream darkness, together dians stoned him to death, and casting forth with the noise of wind and rain, hindred all his body unburied, erected a monument of directions. All the next day was spent in most his treachery, with a note, That the Perjurer cruel fight; one part being incited by meer cannot deceive God. hope ending a long work, the other enraged Of Aristomenes no more is remaining to be by meer desperation. The great advantage said, than that committing his people, to the that the Spartans had in numbers, was recom- charge of his fon Gorgus and other sufficient penced partly by the affiftance which women Governours, who should plant them in some and children (to whom the hatred of fervi- new feat abroad, he resolved himself to make tude had taught contempt of death) gave to aboad in those parts, hoping to find the their husbands and fathers; partly by the nar- Lacedemonians work at home. His daughters rowness of the streets and other passages, he bestowed honourably in marriage. One which admitted not many to fight at once. of them Demagetus, who reigned in the lle But the Messenians were in continual toyl; of Rhodes, took to wife, being willed by an

then dismissed it. The Fox being loose, ran turning supplyed the place of their weaneral of the Lacedamonians was glad of Thus eleven years passed whilest the ene-this; and to further their departure, caused

their Enemies fought in course, refreshing Oracle, to marry the daughter of the best themselves with meat and sleep, and then re- man in Greece. Finally Aristomenes went with where he was honourably buried.

(whole great Grandfather vvas a Meffenian, part of Asia, which was not freed from them and event into Italy after the former war)be- before the time of Alyattes this mans Granding Lord of the Rhegians in Italy, to take his child, by whom they were driven out. They part against the Zancleans in Sicily, on the o- had not onely broken into Lydia, but wan ther fide of the Streights. They did so; and the City of Sardes; though the Castle or Civyinning the Town of Zancle, called it Mef- tadel thereof was defended against them sene, which name it keeps to this day.

first year of the twenty eighth olympiad. Storm, to effect much. Long after which time, the rest of that Na- Phraortes was not King until the third year tion, who staying at home served the Lace- of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which damonians, found means to rebell; but was fix years after the Messenian war ended; were foon vanquished, and being driven to the same being the last years of Manasses his forfake Peloponnesus, they vvent into Acarna- reign over Juda. nia; vvhence likewise, after sew ages, they Deioces the father of this Phraortes, vvas were expelled by the Lacedamonians, and King of Media, three & fifty of these five and then followed their ancient Country-men fifty years in which Manaffes reigned. This into Italy and Sicily; some of them went into Deioces was the first that ruled the Medes Africa, where they chose unto themselves a in a strict form, commanding more absolute-

and fourfcore years, this banished Nation re- given to the people fo much licence, as forlaken Country; with a delire to return un- Deioces answered their desires to the full. For from thenceforth frood in fear.

ftory of Judith.

father, who encroached upon the Ionians work wonders upon Thil and Lud, and I

his daughter to Rhodes, when he purposed to in Asia, had taken Colophon by force, and have travelled unto Ardys the Son of Gyges attempted Miletus and Smyrna. In like maner King of Lydia, and to Phraortes King of Me- Ardys wan Priene, and affailed Miletus; but dia: but death prevented him at Rhodes, went away without it. In his reign, the Cimmerians, being expelled out of their own The Mellenians vvere invited by Anaxilas country by the Scythians, over-ran a great and held still for King Ardys; whose long This fecond Messenian vvar ended in the reign was unable, by reason of this great

ly than his Predecessours had done. For It is very strange, that during two hundred they, following the example of Arbaces, had tained their name, their ancient customs, caused every one to desire the wholesome language hatred of Sparta, and love of their severity of a more Lordly King. Herein to it. In the third year of the hundred and fe- he caused them to build for him a stately cond Olympiad, the great Epaminondas, having Palace; he took unto him a Guard; for detamed the pride of the Lacedamonians, revo- fence of his person; he seldom gave preked the Messenians home, who came flocking sence; which also when he did, it was out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, with fuch aufterity, that no man durft preinto Peloponnesus. There did Epaminondas sume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and reftore unto them their old possession, and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an help them in building a fair City; which by awfull regard, and highly upheld the Mathe name of the Province, was called Messene, jesty which his predecessours had almost and was held by them ever after, in despight letten fall, through neglect of due comportof the Lacedamonians, of whom they never ments. In execution of his Royal Office, he did uprightly and feverely administer justice, keeping secret spies to inform him of all that yvas done in the Kingdom. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Domini-Of the Kings that were in Lydia and Media, on by encroaching upon others, but studied while Manasses reigned. Whether Deioces how to govern well his own. The difference the Mede were that Arphaxad which is found between this King, and fuch as were mentioned in the Book of Judith. Of the Hi- before him, seems to have bred that opinion which Herodotus delivers, that Detoces was Herod to: the first who reigned in Media.

Rdys King of Lydia, and Phraortes of This was he that built the great City of The Medes, are spoken of by Pausanias, Echatane, which now is called Tauris; and as reigning shortly after the Meffenian war, therefore he should be that king Arphaxad, Ardys succeeding unto his father Gyges, mentioned in the story of Judith, as also Ben began his reign of nine and forty years, Merodach, by the same account, should be in the second of the five and twentieth Nabuchodonosor the Assiran, by whom Ar-Olympiad. He followed the steps of his phaxad was slain, and Holoseries sent to

kon the last year of Deioces to have been the nor after the captivity of the Jems, and denineteenth of Ben Merodach; though others folation of the City. Wherefore the brief place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time decision of this controversie is, That the book of Merodach Baladan, some later, in the reign of Judith is not Canonical. Yet hath Torn-of Nabulassar, who is also called Nabucho-ellus done as much in fitting all to the time of donosor.

time, there hath been much labour spent were other Kings, among which Arphaxad with ill success. The reigns of camby ses, Da- might be one (who perhaps restored and rerius Hystaspis, Xerxes, and Ochus, have been edified the City of Echatane, that had forfought into, but afford no great matter of merly been built by Deioces) and Nabuchodolikelyhood and now of late, the times fore- nofor might be another. This granted; he going the destruction of Jerusalem, have been adds, that from the twelfth year to the eighthought upon, and this age that we have in teenth of Nabuchodonofor, that is, five or fix hand, chosen by Bellarmine, as agreeing best years, the absence and ill fortune of Xerxes with the flory; though others herein can- in his Grecian expedition (which he supponot(I fpeak of fuch as fain would) agree with feth to have been fo long) might give occahim. Whilst Cambyses reigned, the Tem-sion unto Arphaxad, of rebelling: and ple was not re-built, which in the ftory of that Nabuchodonesor, having vanquished and Judith is found standing and dedicated. The slain Arphaxad, might then seek to make other two Persian Kings, Darius and Xerxes, himself Lord of all, by the Army which are acknowled ged to have been very fa- he fent forth unto Holofernes. So should the vourable to the Jews; therefore neither of Jews have done their duty, in adhering to them could be Nabuchodonofor, whose part | Xerxes their Sovereign Lord, and resisting they refused to take, and who sent to de- one that rebelled against him; as also the stroy them. Yet the time of Xerxes hath some other circumstances rehearsed before, be conveniences, aptly fitting this History; and well applyed to the argument. For in these above all, the opinion of a few ancient times, the affairs of Jury were agreeable Writers (without whose judgment the autho- to the History of Judith, and such a King as rity of this Book were of no value) having this supposed Nabuchodonosor, might well eplaced this argument in the Persian Monar- nough be ignorant of the Jews, and as proud chy, inclines the matter to the reign of this as we shall need to think him: But the filence vain-glorious King. As for Ochus, very few, of all Hiltories, takes away belief from and they faintly, entitle him to the business, this conjecture: and the supposition it self is Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time very hard, that a Rebell, whose King was of this History, there must be a return from abroad, with an Army confisting of sevencaptivity lately foregoing; the Temple re- teen hundred thousand men, should prebuilt; Joachim High Priest; and a long peace sume so far, upon the stength of twelve of threescore and ten years, or thereabout, hundred thousand foot, and twelve thou enfuing. All these were to be among the sand Archers on horse back, as to think that Jews. Likewise on the other side, we must he might do what he list, yea that there find a King that reigned in Nineve, eighteen was none other God than himself. It is years at the least; that vanquished and slew indeed easie to find enough that might be a King of the Medes; one whom the Jews faid against this device of Torniellus: yet refused to affilt; one that sought generally to if there were any necessity of holding the be adored as God, and that therefore com- book of Judith to be Canonical, I would manded all temples, of such as were accoun-rather choose to lay aside all regard of proted gods, to be destroyed; one whose Vice- phane Histories, and build some desence uproy or Captain General knew not the Jewish on this ground; than, by following the opi-Nation, but was fain to learn what they nion of any other, to violate, as they all do, were of the bordering people.

of Joachim, with a return from captivity, works I have not read, but find him cited by are found concurring, with either the time Torniellus)hath proved by many arguments. of Manasses before the destruction of Jerusa- That she lived not in the Reign of Ma-

know not what other Countries. For I rec- | are to be found all together, neither before Xerxes, as was possible in so desperate a case. In fitting this book of Judith to a certain For he supposeth, that under Xerxes there the text it felf. That Judith lived under none Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of the Persian Kings, Bellarmine (whose lem, or of Xerxes afterward: the re-building naffes, Torniellus hath proved very substantiof the Temple a while before, and the long ally, thewing how the Cardinal is driven, as peace following, agree with the reign of Xer- it were to break through a wall, in faying xes; the rest of circumstances requisite, that the text was corrupted, where it spake of time, that the Kings Arphaxad and Nabu- Coffins or Chefts of stone were in it, with time, time to a doubly Torniellus, are the an inscription in Greek and Latine letters, children of meer fantafie, it is so plain that which faid, that Numa Pompilius, the son of it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may Pompo, King of the Romans, lay there. In truly fay, that they, which have contentue one Coffin was nothing found; his boded about the time of this Hiftory, being dy being utterly confumed. In the other well furnished of matter, wherewith to con- were his Books, wrapped up in two bunfute each other, but wanting wherewith to dles of wax; of his own constitutions sedefend themselves (like naked men in a sto- ven, and other seven of Philosophy. They

Thinking which were towards the South, and over a were against the Religion then in use. Heregainst Arabia; or the Countries of Phuland upon the Senate, without more adoe, comthe former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not busie my self herehis Reign.

Romulus; after whose death, one year terate. the Romans wanted a King. Then was Numa reigned three and forty years in con-Numa Pompilius a Sabyne cholen, a peaceable tinual peace. After him Tullus Hoftilius the man, and feeming very religious in his kind. third King was chosen, in the fix and fortieth He brought the rude people, which Romulus of Manasses, and reigned two and thirty had employed only in Wars, to some good years, busied, for the most part, in War. He civility, and a more orderly fashion of life. quarrelled with the Albanes, who met him This he effected by filling their heads with in the field; but in regard of the danger, fuperstition; as perswading them, that he had which both parts had cause to sear, that might familiarity with a Nymph called Egeria, who grow unto them from the Thusanes, caused taught him a many of Ceremonies which he them to bethink themselves of a course, delivered unto the Romans as things of great | whereby without effusion of so much bloud, importance. But all these devices of Numa as might make them too weak for a common were in his own judgement, no better than enemy, it might be decided, who should commeer delusions, that served only as rudiments mand, and who obey. to bring the favage multitude of theeves and There were in each Camp three Brethren, out-laws, gathered into one body by Romn- Twins, born at one birth (Dionysus says his, to some form of milder discipline, than that they were Cousin Germans) of equal their boysterous and wild natures were o- years and strength, who were appointed to therwise apt to entertain. This appeared by light for their several Countries. The end the Books that were found in his grave, al- was, that the Horatii, Companions for the most six hundred years after his death, where- Romans, got the victory, though two of them in the Superstition taught by himself was first lost their lives. The three Curatii condemned as vain. His grave was opened by that fought for Alba (as Livy tels it) were all chance, in digging a piece of ground that alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when

the destruction of the Temple foregoing her | belonged to one L. Petilius a Scribe. Two ny field) have chased Holofernes out of all were not onely uncorrupted, but in a manparts of time, and left him and his great expense fresh and new. The Pretour of the Cidition, Extra anni solisque vias, in an age ty desiring to have a sight of these Books, that never was, and in places that were never when he perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, Surely, to find out the borders of Japheth, and offered to take a folemn oath that they Lud, that lay in Holofernes his way; I think manded them to be openly burnt. It feems it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as that Numa did mean to acquit himself unto wifer ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not been fo foolish as to with; having already so far digressed, in believe the Doctrine wherein he instructed shewing who lived not with Manaffes, that his own barbarous times. But the poyfor I think it high time to return unto mine wherewith he had infected Rome, when he own work, and rehearle what others I find, fate in his Throne, had not left working, to have had their part, in the long time of when he ministred the Antidote out of his grave. Had these Books not come to light untill the days of Tully and Casar, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better discussed: likely it is that they had not on-Of other Princes and actions that were in these ly escaped the fire, but wrought some good and peradvenure general) effect. Being as it was, they ferved as a confutation, He first year of Manasses was the last without remedy, of Idolatry that was inve-

fon of their hurts, could not follow him with ance of this History. Whereas therefore he equal speed, to follow him at such distance placeth the building of Rome, in the first one from another, that returning upon them, year of the seventh Olympiad, and affirms, that he flew them, as it had been in fingle fight, the same was the first year of Charops goman after man, ere they could joyn together vernment of Athens; I hope I shall not need and set upon him at once. Dionysius reports excuse, for varying from Pansanias, who sets it somewhat otherwise, telling very parti- the beginning of these Athenians somewhat cularly, what wounds were given and ta- fooner. ken, and faying, that first one of the Horatii was flain, then one of the Curatii, then a whom the Poets feigned to have had Affes fecond Horatius, and lastly the two Curatii, ears, held the Kingdom of Phrygia. Many whom the third Horatius did cunningly fe- fables were devised of him; especially that ver the one from the other, as is shewed be- he obtained of Bacchus, as a great gift, that

in the old Roman History, both in regard of means he had like to have been starved the action it felf, wherein Rome was laid, as (his meat and drink being subject to the it were in a wager, against Alba; and in re-same transformation) had not Bacchus despect of the great increase which thereby the livered him from this miserable faculty, by Roman State obtained. For the City of Alba caufing him to vvash himself in the River did immediately become subject unto her Pactolius, the stream vvhereof hath ever own Colony, and was shortly after, upon since, forsooth, abounded in that precious some treacherous dealing of their Gover-metall. Finally, it is said he dyed by drinknour utterly razed, the people being remoling Bulls blood; being invaded by the ved unto Rome where they were made Citi- Scythians. zens. The ftrong Nation of the Latines, whereof Alba, as the mother City, had been chief, who (faith Plutarch in the life of Romulus) became ere long dependent upon Rome, observed the Moons Eclipse at the soundathough not subject unto it and divers petty tion of Rome. States adjacent, were by little and little taken in : which additions, that were small, yet Athenians having obtained some power by many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the Sea, founded Macieratis a City on the East works of fundry ages, and few of them re- of Egypt. Psammiticus herein seems to have markable confidered apart by themselves) affifted them, who used all means of drawing until fuch time as the fourth Empire, that is the Greeks into Egypt, accounting them his Subject of this History.

The feventh year of Hippomenes in Athens, was current with the first of Manasses. Also followed Hippomenes, were in the same Kings | ded Syracusa in Sicily, a City in after times time. Of these I find only names, Leocrates, exceeding famous. Absander, and Erizias. After Erizias yearly Rulers were elected.

time of rule was shortned, and from term of this time. life reduced unto ten years, it being thought About these times also was Croton founded where the when they knew that they were afterwards companion of Archias that built syracusa. applying their times unto those years of the Olympiads, wherein the Chropological To he not only professeth himself to have taken is said they sounded Tarentum: but Justine

two of their opposites were flain; but the times; but hath noted alwaies the years of Diese by third Horatius, pretending fear, did run away, the Greeks, how they did answer unto the lie la file and thereby drew the others, who by rea- things of Rome, throughout all the continu-

In the reign of Manasses it was, that Midas. all things which he should touch might im-This is one of the most memorable things mediately be changed into Gold: by which

In this age flourished that Antimachus,

The Milesians, or, (as Eusebius hath it) the now in the infancy, shall grow to be the main | furest strength. For neither Miletus nor Athens were now of power fufficient to plant a Colony in Egypt by force.

About this time Archias and his compa-Plut & the three last Governours for ten years, who nion Miscellus, and other Corinthians, foun-

The City of Nicodemia, sometime * Aftacus, * Whence was enlarged and beautified in this age by there is These Governours for ten years were also | Zipartes native of Thrace. Sybilla of Samus, fines Ale of the race of Medon and Codrus, but their according to Pansanias, lived much about come a

likely that they would govern the better, upon the Bay of Tarentum by Mifcellus, the deh. to live private men under the command of Strabo makes it somewhat more ancient, and pagles.

Olympiads, wherein the Chronological Ta- ing of age, and banished Lacedamon, were Paul. 100 ble, following this work, doth fet them. For conducted by Phalantus into Italy; where it great care in ordering the reckoning of and Pansanias find it built before, and by

them conquered and amplified: and about ther fide of Boffborns it were a long work to ded as bind, because they chose not the o- them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

the same time, Manasse yet living, the City rehearse all that is said to have been done in Phalelis was founded in Pamphylia, Gela in the five and fifty years of Manaffes: that sicily, Interanne in the Region of the Um- which already hath been told is enough; britinow Orbin in Italy. About which time the rest being not greatly worth rememalso Chalcedon in Asia, over against Byzan- brance, may well be omitted, reserving only tium (now Constantinople) was founded by Ben Merodach, and Nabulassar, to the business the Megarenses, who therefore were upbrai- that will shortly require more mention of



CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manasses to the destruction of Jerusalem.

of Ammon and Joffas.

ten years, following the Septuagint.

caused all the Images, as well those which should inherit his grave in peace. were graven, as molten, to be stampt to powthe Sun to be burnt. Of Josias it was prophetained.

Mmon the fon of Manasse, a man | in written, the prosperity promised to those no less wicked than was his Fa- that observe them, and the forrow and exther before his conversion, resto- tirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, red the exercise of all forts of I- and commanded Helkiah, and others, to ask dolatry: for which God hardned counsel of the Prophetess Huldah, or, olda, the hearts of his own fervants against him, concerning the Book; who answered the who slew him after he had reigned two messengers in these words: Thus saith the combination years. Philo, Eufebius, and Nicephorus give him Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon the place. and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the Tofas fucceeded unto Ammon, being but a curfes that are written in the Book which they child of 8. years old, he began to feek after | have read before the King of Juda, because they the God of David his Father; and in his have forfaken me, and burnt Incense to other 2 kg 1 Kin 22 twelfth year he purged Juda and Jerusalem gods. Only for the King himself, because he 2 thro.34 from the high places, and the groves, and the was a lover of God and his Laws, it was pro- 2 Chro.36 carved and molten Images: and they brake mised that this evil should not fall on Juda down in his fight the Altars of Baalim : He and Jerusalem in his daies, but that he himfelf

Jolias affembled the Elders, caused the der, and strewed on their graves that had Book to be read unto them, made a coveerected them; and this he commanded to be nant with the Lord, and caused all that were done throughout all his Dominions. He found in Jerusalem and Benjamin to do the also slew those that facrificed to the Sun and like; promising thereby to observe the Moon, and caused the Chariots and Horses of Laws and Commandements in the Book con-

fied in the time of Jeroboam the first, when The execution done by Josias upon the he erected the Golden Calf at Bethel, that a Altar, Idols, Monuments, and bones of the child should be born unto the house of Da- false Prophets at Bethel, argueth his Domivid, Josias by name, and upon thee (faid the nion to have extended unto those Countries,) Prophet, speaking to the Altar) shall he that had been part of the Kingdom of the facrifice the Priests of the high places, that ten Tribes. Yet I do not think, that any victoburn Incense upon thee : a prophecy very ry of Josias in war got possession of these places; but rather that Ezechias, after the flight In the eighteenth year of his reign, he re- and death of Schacherib, when Merbdach opbuilt and repaired the Temple, at which poled himself against Afarhaddon, did use time Helkiah the Priest found the Book of the advantage which the faction in the North Moses, called Dentronomy, or, of the Law, presented unto him, and laid hold upon so which he fent to the King: which when he much of the Kingdom of Ifraet, as he was had caused to be read before him, and confi- able to people. Otherwise also it is not indered of the severe commandements there- probable, that the Babylonian finding him-

ria (as wanting power to raise the fiege that were far better Souldiers than Egypt of of Azotus, though the Town held out nine it felf could afford; and the danger wherein and twenty years) did give unto Manasses, Assyria stood, by the force of the Medes. together with his liberty, as much in Ifrael as which under the command of more absolute himself could not easily defend. This was a Princes, began to feel it self better, and to good way to break the amity that the Kings shew what it could do. These were great of Juda had fo long held with those of E-helps, but of shorter endurance than was the ent, by casting a bone between them, and war; as in place more convenient shall be withall by this benefit of enlarging their noted. At the prefent it feems, that either Territories with addition of more than they some preparation of the Chaldwans to reconcould challenge, to redeem the friendship of quer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs the Jews, which had been loft by injuries to make refiftance, did invite the King of done, in feeking to bereave them of their Egypt into the Countries bordering upon Euown. When it is faid, that Manasses did after phrates; whither Pharao Necho ascended with his deliverance from imprisonment, put Cap a mighty Army.

tains of War in all the strong Cities of Juda;

These two great Monarchs, having their it may be that some such business is intima- Swords drawn, and contending for the Emted, as the taking polleffion and fortifying pire of that part of the World, Tofias adviof places delivered into his hands. For fed with himself to which of thele he might though it be manifest that he took much adhere, having his Territory set in the midpains, in making Jerusalem it felf more de- way between both, so as the one could not fensible; yet I should rather believe, that he, invade the other, but that they must of nehaving already compounded with the Baby- ceffity tread upon the very face and body of lonian, did fortifie himself against the Egyp- his Country. Now though it were so that tians, whose side he had forsaken, than that Necho himself desired, by his Embassadours, he travelled in making such provisions only leave to pass along by Judea, protesting that fiar in the King of Babel his quarrel, doth without all harmful purpose against Jostan; argue, that the composition which Manasses yet all sufficed not, but the King of Israel had made with that King or his Ancestor, would needs fight with him. was upon fuch friendly terms, as required Many examples there were, which taught, not only a faithful observation, but a thank-what little good the friendship of Egypt full requital. For no perswassions could tuf- could bring to those that had affiance therefice to make Jossas fit still, and hold himself in : as that of Hosea the last King of Israel, who quiet in good neutrality, when Pharao Ne- when he fell from the dependance of the cho King of Egypt passed along by him, to Affgrian, and wholy trusted to Sabacus or war upon the Countries about the River of Sous King of Egypt, was utterly disappointed Euphrates.

with a powerful Army towards the border be gathered together or replanted. The of Judaa, determining to pass that way, be- calamities also that fell upon Juda in the ing the nearest toward Euphrates , either to thirteenth and fourteenth years of Ezechia, 2 chrs. 35 frengthen the passages of that River about whilst that good King and his people relied Carchemish, or Cercusium, for the defence of upon sethon; and more lately, the imprison-Syria (as long after this, Dioclosian is said by ment of Manasses, were documents of suffiunto the Adades Kings of Damasco.

greatly have availed the Egyptians, and ad- the countenance of fuch an Army, as did, vanced their affairs and hopes: the extra- foon after this, out-face Nabulaflar upon his

felf unable to deal with Pfammiticus in 8y- ordinary valour of the mercenary Greeks.

CHAP.XXVIII

for his minds fake. The earnestness of Jo- he directed himself against the Assyrians only, tolars,

of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his The last year of Jossas his reign it was, life and estate, which the Assyrian so rooted when as Necho the fon of Pfammiticus, came up and tare in pieces, as it could never after Ammianus Marcellinus to have done,) or cient proof, to shew the ill assurance that was perhaps to invade Syria it felf. For it fee- in the help of the Egyptians, who (near neighmeth that the travail of Psammiticus had not bours though they vvere) vvere alwaies unbeen idlely confumed about that one Town ready, when the necessities of their friends of Azotus, but had put the Egyptians in post-required their affistance. The remembrance fession of no small part of Syria, especially in hereof might be the reason why Neco did not those quarters that had formerly belonged feek to have the Jews renew their ancient league with him, but only craved that they Neither was the industry of Necko less than would be contented to fit still, and behold his Fathers had been, in pursuing the war at the passime between him and the Assertions. gainst Babel. In which war, two things may This was an easte thing to grant ; seeing that own borders, left unto the Jews, a lawful excuse of fear, had they forborn to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe that this religious and of Pharao Neco that fought with Iolias: vertuous Prince Josias, was not stirred up only by politick respects, to stop the way of Neco; but thought himself bound in Faith and Honour, to do his best in defence of the Eabylonian Crown; where Victory, Herodoius hath mention a-

from among them, and that in such fort, phus witnesseth.

mentations.

9. II.

of Jehoahaz and Jehojakim Kings of If-

unto his Kingdome was obliged, either mong the Acts of Neco. He tells us of this by Covenant made at the enlargement King, that he went about to make a Chanof Manaffes, or by the gift of fuch part nel, whereby Ships might pass out of Nilva as he held in the Kingdome of the ten into the Red Sea. It should have reached Tribes. As for the Princes and people above an hundred miles in length, and of Juda, they had now a good occasion been wide enough for two Galliesto row to shew, both unto the Babylonians, of in front. But in the middest of the work. what importance their friendship was, and an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians to the Egyptians, what a valiant Nation they should have the benefit of it, which cauhad abandoned, and thereby made their e- fed Neco to defift when half was done. There were confumed in this toylfome Some think that this Action of Josias business twelve hundred thousand Egyptiwas contrary to the advice of Jeremy the ans; a loss great enough to make the Prophet; which I do not find in the King forfake his enterprize, without trou-Prophecie of Jeremy, nor can find reason bling the Oracle for admonition. Howto believe. Others hold opinion that he soever it were, he was not a man to be forgat to ask the Counsel of God: and idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and lethis is very likely; feeing he might be- vied a great Army, wherewith he marched lieve that an enterprise grounded upon fi- against the King of Babel. In this Expedidelity and thankfulness due to the King tion, he used the service, as well of his Naof Babel, could not but be displeasing vy, as of his Land-forces; but no particular unto the Lord. But the wickedness of exploits of his therein are found recorded. the people (in whom the corruptions of fave only this victory against Josias, where former times had taken such root, as all Herodotus calls the place Magdolus, and the the care of Jolias in reforming the Land, Jews Syrians; which is a small error, seeing could not pluck up) was questionless far that Judea was a Province of Syria, and from hearkening how the matter would Magdolus or Magdala is taken to have been ftand with Gods pleasure, and much far- the same place (though diversly named) in ther from enquiring into his fecret Will, which this battel was fought. After this, Newherein it was determined that their good | cres took the City of Cadytis, which was per-King, whose life stood between them and haps Carchemish, by Euphrates, and made him- Tol. Ant. their punishment, should now be taken self Lord, in a manner, of all Syria, as Joses Jud lib.

as his death should give an entrance to Particularly we find, that the Phenicians the miseries ensuing. So Josias levying all one of the most powerful Nations in Syria, the strength he could make, near unto were his Subjects, and that by his command Megiddo, in the half Tribe of Manasses, they surrounded all Africa, setting fail from encountred Néco: and there he received the Gulf of Arabia, and so passing along all the froke of death, which lingring about the coast, whereon they both landed, as need him till he came to Jerusalem, brought him required, and sowed Corn for their susteto the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. His nance in that long voyage, which lasted three loss was greatly bewailed of all the peo-years. This was the first Navigation about ple and Princes of Juda, especially of Je- Africa, wherein that great Cape, now called 4.10. remy the Prophet, who inserted a forrow- of good hope, was discovered; which after ful remembrance thereof in his Book of La- was forgotten, until Vafco de Gama the Portingal found it out, following a centrary course to that which the Phanicians held: for they beginning in the East, ran the way of the Sun, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and streights of Hercales (as the name was

Rrr

then) called now the fireights of Gibraltar, bear to make a conquest of the Land, perhaving Africk still on the right hand; but haps upon the same reason, which had made the Portingals, beginning their voyage not him so earnest in seeking to hold peace with far from the same streights, leave Africk on it. For the jews had suffered much in the #the Larboord, and bend their course unto grptians quarrel, and being left by these their the East. That report of the Phanicians, friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, which Herodotus durft not believe, how the were driven of necessity to forsake that par-Sun in this journey was on their right hand, ty, and to joyn with the enemies; to whom that is, on the North fide of them, is a matter if they shewed themselves faithful, who of necessary truth; and the observation then | could blame them? It was therefore enough made hereof, makes me the better to believe, to reclaim them; feeing they were such a that fuch a veyage was indeed performed. people as would not upon every occasion But leaving these discourses of Neco his mag- lihist side, but endure more than Pharao, in the nificence, let us tell what he did, in matters pride of his victories, thought that any more importing his estate. The people of J_n henceforth should lay upon them: fo good da, while the Egyptians were busie at Char- a Patron did he mean to be unto them. Nechemish, had made Jehoahaz their King, in the vertheless, he laid upon them a Tribute, of room of his father Josias. The Prophet Je- an hundred Talents of filver, and one Ta-Jeras 32 remy calls this new King shallum, by the lent of gold; that so he might both reap at name of his younger brother ; alluding per- the present some fruit of his pains taken, and haps to the short reign of shallum King of leave unto them some document in the suthe ten Tribes: for Shallum of Ifrael reign- ture, of greater punishment than verbal aned but one moneth; Jehoahaz no more than ger, due to them, if they should rebel. So he three. He was not the eldeft fon of Josias departed, carrying along with him into E. Wherefore it may feem that he was fet up as |gypt the unfortunate King Johoahaz, who dithe best affected unto the King of Babel; ed in his Captivity. the rest of his house being more inclined to The reign of Jehoahaz was included in the Egyptian, as appears by the sequel. An I- the end of his Fathers last year; otherwise dolater he was, and thrived accordingly, it would hardly be found, that Jehojakim his For when as Neco had dispatched his business | successor did reign ten whole years; wherein the North parts of syria, then did he take as the Scriptures give him eleven, that are order for the affairs of Judea. This Coun-current and incomplete. If any man will try was now fo far from making any resi- rather cast the three moneths of this short france, that the King himself came from Rib- | 1 eign, into the first year of the brother, than lab in the land of Hamath, where the matter into the fathers last, the same arguments that went fo ill on his fide, that Neco did cast him | shall maintain his opinion, will also prove the into bonds, and carry him prisoner into Fg,pt, matter to be unworthy of disputation; and giving away his Kingdom to Eliakim his el- fo I leave it. der brother, to whom of right it did belong. what should please himself. Yet he did for- it, which made him insolent and cruel;

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Jehojakim in impiety was like his brother, The City of Riblah, in after times called An- in faction he was altogether Egyptian, as tiochia, was a place unhappy to the Kings having received his Crown at the hand of and Princes of Juda, as may be observed in Pharao. The wickedness of these last Kings divers examples. Yet here Jehojakim, toge- being expressed in Scriptures none otherther with his new name, got his Kingdom; an wife, than by general words, with reference ill gain, since he could no better use it. But to all the evil that their Fathers had done, however Jehojakim thrived by the bargain, makes it apparent, that the poyfon where-Pharao sped well, making that Kingdom Tri- with Ahaz and Manasses had insected the butary, without any stroke stricken; which Land, was not so expelled by the zealous three moneths before was too front to give goodness of Jossas, but that it still cleaved unhim peace, when he defired it. Certain it is, to the chief of the people, Tea, unto the Priefts a channel that in his march outward, Neco had a grea- alfo; and therefore it was not frange, that the 36.14. ter task lying upon his hands, than would Kings had their parts therein. The Royal permit him to wast his forces upon Judea: authority was much abased by the dangers but now the reputation or his good fuccess wherein the Countrey stood, in this troubleat Megiddo, and Charchemish, together with some age: the Princes did in a manner what the diffention of the Princes Josias his sons they listed; neither would the Kings for-(of whom the eldest is probably thought to bear to profess, that they could deny them have formed at the preferment of his youn-nothing. Yet the beginning of Jehojakim ger brother) gave him power to do even had the countenance of the Egyptian to grace

with Uria the Prophet: though herein also that he had work enough at home, either in the Princes do appear to have been instigated feeding or establishing that which he had tors. This holy man denounced Gods judge- gotten. Josephus gives him the honour of haments against the City and Temple, in like ving won Nineve it self, which we may befort as other Prophets had formerly done, lieve; but furely he did not hold it long. and did in the same age. The King with all the For in the times soon following, that great men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of City was free, and vanquished Phraortes the this, determined to put him to death. Here- Median. Perhaps it yielded upon some capiupon the poor man fled into Egypt: but such tulation: and refused afterwards to consiregard was had unto Jehojakim, that Oria nue subject, when the Kings, being of the was delivered unto his Embassadour and sent | Chaldwan race, preserred Babylon before it. back to the death; contrary to the custom Some think that this was the Assprian King. used, both in those dayes, and since, among all whose Captains took Manasses prisoner, but I civil Nations, of giving refuge unto ftran- rather believe those that hold the contrary, gers, that are not held guilty of such inhu- for which I have given my reasons in due man crimes, as for the general good of man-place. To fay truth, I find little cause why kind should be exempted from all privi- Merodach should have looked into those ledge.

ment possible to 'jehojakim: for the Assirian thern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, Lyon, that had not stirred in many years, be- which was until the time of Pfammiticus, agan about these times to roar so loud upon bout the end of this Kings Reign, or the bethe banks of Euphrates, that his voice was ginning of his fon. heard unto Nilus, threatning to make himself!

Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hithis King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; therto had withdrawn the house of Mero- yet is he named by good consent of Authors. dach from opposing the Egyptian in his con- and that speak little of his doings. The them together at Carchemish, where shortly much remaineth of the time that passed beafter this the glory of Egypt is to fall.

6. III.

miladventure and death, together with the cumstances alledged before. diffention between his children, prefented, Mabulaßar that reigned in Babylon after made himself King of Babylon, was eleven his Father Ben Merodach, had greater business years troubled with a powerful Enemy, A-in his own Kingdom, than would permit him

as we find by that example of his dealing medling in matters of Syria, make it plain,

parts, as long as the Jews were his friends, It concerned Pharao to give all content- and the Egyptians, that maligned the Nor-

quest of syria, require our consideration in length of his Reign is gathered by inference this place, before we proceed to commit to have been one and twenty years; for fo tween the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephews Reigns (which is a known fum) deducting the years of his Father, and of his fon Nabulassar. This (as I take it) was he that of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it had Manaffes Prisoner, and released him. He came to pass that the Kings of Babel could spedill in Syria; where Psammiticus, by the not give attendance on their business in Sy- vertue of his Mercenary Greeks, did much ria; which caused them to lose that Province. prevail. This may have been some cause that he released Manasses, and did put into his Merodach the son of Baladan, who ta-king the advantage that Sennacherib's Samaria: which is made probable by cir-

larhaddon the fon of Sennacherib, reigning to look abroad: infomuch as it may be over the Assyrians in Nineve; from whom thought to have been a great negligence or whilest he could not any other way divert over-fight of Psammiticus and Necho, that his cares, he was fain to omit all business in they did not occupy some good part of his Syria, and (as hath been formerly fliewed) to Dominions beyond Euphrates. For it was in make over unto Exechia some part of the his time, that Thraortes King of the Medes Kingdom of the ten Tribes. From this mole-invaded Assertion, and besieged Nineve; from ftation, the death of Alarhaddon did not on- whence he was not repelled by any force of ly fet him free, but gave unto him some part Nabulassa, but constrained to remove by the of Assira, if not (as is commonly, but less coming of the Scytkians, who in these ages probably thought) the whole Kingdom. did overflow those parts of the world, laying. How greatly this was to the liking of the hold upon all that they could mafter by Myrians, I will not here stand to enquire: his strong hand. Of these scythians, and the Lording reign following, and his little inter-sinp that they held in Asia, it is convenient 500

fore-hand, how the Medes; upon whom they agree both with the condition of fuch busifirst fell, were busied in the same times with ness as that Scythian expedition brought into hopes of conquering Affria.

the Medes, having by many victories enlar- The destruction of this great City is both ged his Dominions, conceived at length a foretold in the Book of Tobit, and there fet fair possibility of making himself Lord of down as happening about these times; of Nineve.

Herod lib. been a Soveraign Lady was not for faken of those ages, and hath committed no such error case, that of her self she was well enough.

feat, and made it subject as was the rest of the effect, in the final destruction of Nineve by Country, yet it found the means to fet it felf Nabuchodonofor, according to the common oat liberty: as after this again it did, when pinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Grand-child.

den violence, use to dismay any State or med Churches yield, to the book of Tobit, Country, not inured to the like: but custom, are careful, as in a matter of necessity, to of danger hardeneth even those that are un- affirm, that about these times. Nineve wastawarlike. Nineve had been the Palace of ma- ken; but they attribute (conjecturally)the ny valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it victory over it to Ben Merodach: a needless had suffered, and resisted, all the surv, where- conjecture, if the place of Eusebius be well with either Domestical tumults between the confidered. Yet I hold it probable, that Mafons of Sennacherib, or forreign war of the bulassar the son of Ben Merodach did seize Babylonians, could afflict it: and therefore it upon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, is the less wonderful, that Phraortes did about such time as the Country of Affria speed so ill in his journey against it. He and was abandoned by Cyaxares, when the segdition whereof I find no particular circum- was the Conquest wrought out ready to his stances (perhaps they undervalued their for hand; the swelling spirits of the Ninewites ces, and brought a less power than was need- were allayed, and their malice to Babylon so ful.)It is enough, that herein we may believe much affwaged, that it might be thought a Herodotus.

man of Warthan his Father, wan as much of protection: though afterwards to their con-Affa the less, as lay Eastward, from the River Itusion, this unthankful People and their King of Halys; he fought revenge upon the Affy- rebelled again, as shall be shewed in the rians for the death of his father, and besieged Reign of Nabuchodonosor. Nineve it felf, having a purpose to destroy it. I rather believe Eusebius, That he took the City, and fulfilled his diffleasure upon it, than Herodotus, That the Scythian Army came upon him whilest he lay before it. For where equal authorities are contradictory (as Eusebius, though far later than Herodotus, yet having feen other Authors that are now loft, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it best, to yield unto the best likelihoods.

to accuse him of greater improvidence than the Medes, to the Babylonians, who thereby ought to be suspected in one commended as were much disabled to perform any action a good Souldier. But to suppose that he was of worth upon the Egyptians in Syria; it is

that I speak in this place; shewing briefly a- | gerous fell upon his own Country, doth well those parts, and with the State of the Chal-Phraortes, the fon of Deioces, King of dean and Affgrian affairs ensuing.

which Book whofoever was the Author, he That City(as Herodotus reports it) having vvas ancient enough to know the flory of all her dependants; yet remained in fuch in reckoning of times, as should cause us to distrust him in this. As for the Prophecy of This makes it plain, that howfoever Mero- Nahum, though it be not limited unto any dach had gotten possession of this imperial certain term, yet it appears to have taken it had been regained by Nabulassar his conquest of Egypt, foregoing this calamity. vyhereof vve vvill fpeak in due place.Some Sharp war, and the very novelty of fud- that ascribe more authority than thereforthe most of his Army perished in that expe- thian War overwhelmed Media. Forthen great favour, if Nabulassar, appointing unto Cyaxares the fon of Phraortes, a braver them a peculiar King, took him and them in

§. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Asia eight and twenty years.

> | I. The time of his expedition.

To think that the Scythians came upon Cyaxares, whilest he lay before Nineve, were ment was given by the Affricans and fain to leave the Town, when a War so dan- time that I speak of that great Scythian exwith the Countries adjacent, in such wise, thing near to uniformity. that part of the trouble redounded evento I have noted before, that in the reign of the Egyptians themselves. Of the Scythian Ardys King of Lydia, the Cimmerians overpeople in general, Herodotus makes very ran that Kingdom, and were not expelled. large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter until Halyattes the Nephew of Ardys got the ill known, with many Fables; of this expe-upper hand of them. In these times therefore dition he tells many particulars, but ill agree- of Ardys, Sardiatics, and Halyattes, are we to ing with consent of time. Concerning his fa- find the eight and twenty years, wherein the bulous reports, it will be needless to recite Scythians reigned over Asia. Now for a smuch them; for they are far enough distant from as Pfammiticus the Egyptian had some dealthe business in hand. The computation of ings with the Scythians, even in the height of times which by inference out of his relati- their prosperity, we must needs allow more ons may feem very strange, needeth some another one or two of his last years unto this fwer in this place: lest otherwise I should their Dominion. But the beginning of Halyeither seem to make my self too bold with attes his Reign in Lydia, being three and an Author, in citing him after a manner diffe- twenty years compleat after the death of rent from his own tale; or else to be too Psammiticus, leaves the space very scant, eiforgetful of my felf, in bringing to act upon ther for the great victories of the Scythians, the Stage, those persons, which I had already necessarily supposed before they could meet buried. Eight and twenty years, he faith, that the Egyptian in Syria, or for those many losthe Scrthians reigned in Asia, before Cyaxa- ses, which they must have received ere they res delivered the Country from them. Yet could be driven quite away. To increase this he reports a War between Cyaxares and Ha- difficulty, the victorious Reign of Nabucholiattes the Lydian, as foregoing the fiege of donosor in Babylon, is of no small moment. Nineve; the fiege of Nineve being ere the For how may we think it possible, that he lived with both Cyaxares and Halyattes. But ed the violence of their oppressors. Eusebius himself refers all that business of the Scythian irruption into Palæstina to Psammiticus the Father of Necho, whom he leaves dead before the Reign of Halyattes. Therefore I dare not rely upon Herodotus , in this What Nations they were that brake into Asia 5 matter, otherwise than to believe him, that fuch things were in these ages, though not in fuch order as he fets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I find of this expedi-driven out of their Country by the Scythition scattered in divers places: a work ne- ans, invaded and wasted some part of Asia; ceffary, for that the greatness of this action and that the Scythians, not contented with

pedition, which grievoully afflicted not only | neral Hiftory; yet not easie, the consent of the Babylonians, but the Medes and Lydians, those that have written thereof, being no-

Scythians came. And further he tells, how should have adventured the strength of the the Scythians, having vanquished the Medes, Kingdom against the Egyptians and Jews, did pass into Syria, and were encountred in had he stood in daily fear of losing his own, Ralestina by Psammiticus King of Egypt, who to a more mighty Nation, that lay upon his by gifts and entreaty procured them to de- neck? To speak simply as it appears to me, part from him. These narrations of Herodotus the victories ascribed to Cyaxares and Halymay, every one of them, be true; though attes over these warlike people, were not not in such order of time, as he hath mar- obtained against the whole body of their shalled them. For Psammiticus was dead be- Army, but were the defeatures of some fore Cyaxares began to reign: and Cyaxares troops that infested their several Kingdoms; had spent half of his forty years, ere Halyat- other Princes, and among these Nabulassar tes was King of Lydia, fo that he could not, having the like success, when the pleasures of after those Lydian Wars, reign eight and Asia had mollified the courages of these hartwenty years together with the Scythians. dy Northern Lads. Wherefore we may pro-It is true, that Eusebius doth also call Psammis bably annex the eight and twenty years of the son of Pharao Neco, by the name of Pfam- the Scythians rule, to as many almost the last miticus; and this King Psammis may, by of Nabulassar's Reign, in compass whereof some strained conjecture, be thought to have their power was at the greatest. This is all been he that met with the Scythians: for he that I can fay of the time, wherein Asia suffer-

| II.

with the cause of their Journey.

Ouching the expedition it felf, Herodotus tells us, that the Cimmerians being was such; as ought not to be omitted in ge- having won the land of the Cimmerians,

removed quarters of the World, to (as it the Cimmerii (who in after times were calwere by chance) falling upon Media and E- led Cimbri) did often break into Greece and gypt, in this pursuit of men that were gone Asia; which though it be not in express another way into Lydia. Hereby we may ga-terms written, that they did with joynt-for-ther that the Cimmerians were an odious and ces, yet feeing they invaded the felf-fame base people; the Scythians, as mischievous places, it may well be gathered, that they and foolish; or else Herodotus, and some o- were companions. One journey of the Amather of his Country-men, great flanderers of zons into Greece, mentioned also by Eusebius. those, by whom their Nation had been bea- was by the streights of the Cimmerians, as we ans or Cimbrians is so well known, and their The same Author, before his entry into those of divers Nations, that the malice of the acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report Greeks is infufficient to stain them with the them to have been Wives of the Scythians, howfoever diffinguished in name, by reason they were near alies. of their divers tribes, professions, or perhaps | Now as concerning the expulsion of the North, as being far from the Sun, and cover- a new feat, and establishing the Plantation. ed with eternal darkness; certain it is that The Sarmatians also were companions he would have them near neighbours to in this journey. For the City of Novogradin Hell: for he had the same quarrel to them Russia (which Country is the same that was which Herodotus had, and therefore belike called Sarmatia) stood in their way homewould have made them seem a kind of Gob- wards, as shall anon be further shewed. So lins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as that all the North was up in Arms: and Herodotus writing his life affirms) to insert therefore it is no marvel though many Couninto his Works the names of such as lived in tries felt the weight of this great inundatihis own time, making fuch mention of them, on Such another voyage was that, which the as the good or ill done by them to himself same people made five hundred years and deserved. And for this reason it is proved by more after this, when they were encountred Eustathius, that the Cimmerians were so dis- by the Romans. For they issued from the graced by him, because they had wasted his parts about the Lake Meotis; they were was the very fame, which Eufebius noteth to above three hundred thousand fighting men, have happened somewhat before the age of besides a huge multitude of women and Homer, at what time the Cimmerians with the children; they wandred over many Coun-Amazons, together invaded Alia.

did follow them, I know not why, into far; This is certain, that both the Amazons and ten, and Ionia, more than once, grievously find in Diodore, who further telleth us, that Diodillo. ransackt. The great valour of the Cimmeri- the Scythians therein gave them affisince on many Conquests so well testified in Histories discourses of the Amazons, which himself our note of Cowards. These were the posterity and no less War-like than their Husbands; of Gomer, who peopled the greatest part of alledging the example of that Queen who our Western World; and whose re-flow is said to have slain the great Persian Cyrus. did overwhelm no small portion of Greece | That it was the manner of the Cimbri to carand Assa well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would and how desperate the courage was of those more largely inform himself of their origi- Women; the terrible descent of them into nal and actions, may peruse Goropius Becanus Italy, when Marius the Roman overthrew his Amazonica, of many things in which them, gives proof sufficient. I will not here Book, that may be verified, which the learn- enter into a discourse of the Amazons; anoed Ortelius is faid to have spoken of all Go-ther place will give me better leisure to ropius his works, that it is easie to laugh at speak of them: but seeing that they are nothem, but hard to confute them: There we ted by divers Historians to have belonged find it proved, by such arguments and au- unto the cimmerians, to the Scythians, and thorites as are not lightly to be regarded, to the Sarmatians, we may therefore the betthat the Cimmerians, Scythians and Sarma- ter approve Goropius his conclusion, That tians, were all of one Linage and Nation; these three Nations were one, at least that

dialect of speech. Homer indeed hath menti- cimmerians by the Scythians, it appears to on of the Cimmerians; whose Country whe- have been none other than the sending of a ther he placeth in the West, as near unto the Colony of them forth into Asia, with an Ar-Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the my of Scythians to help them, in purchasing

Country. Perhaps that invasion of Phrygia by then likewise affisted (saith Plutarch in the plutarch in the Amazons, whereof Homer puts a remem-most likely report of them) by the Scythians the life of brance into Priamus his discourse with Helen, their neighbours; they had in their Army Marinitries, beating all down before them; and

CHAP. XXVIII. finally, thinking to have fetled themselves in ladg of Mountains, or any deep Rivers at all to stay their march: for Iris and Halys they more easie passage thither, and were confu- had already passed. med in three terrible battels by the Roman What battels were fought between these Confuls. Meer necessity enforced these poor Invaders and the Lydians, and with what va-Nations to trouble the World, in following riable fuccess the one or other part wan and fuch hard adventures. For their Country be- loft, I find not written, nor am able to conieing more fruitful of men than of fustenance, crure. This I find, that in the time of Ardys, and flut up on the North fide with intolle- the Cimmerians got possession of Sardes the rable cold, which denied iffue that way to capital City of Lydia; only the Castle holdtheir over-swelling multitudes; they were ing out against them. Further I observe, that compelled to discharge upon the South, and whereas Herodotus tells of the acts performby right or wrong to drive others out of ed by Gyges and Ardys Kings of Lydia, before possession, as having title to all that they had this invasion, and by Halyattes and Crassus in power to get, because they wanted all, that the times following, all that Ardys did a-weaker, but more civil, people had. Their gainst the Cimmerians, and all, save burning hardness, gave them great advantage over twelve years by Sadyattes his son (who permight the sooner be rid of them; others gi- enough that they did lose all. ving them, befides paffage, victuals and . Certainly the miferies of War are never places; others hiring them to depart with or great part of it, forfaking their own feats, the more effeminate people.

> (l. III. of the Cimmerians War in Lydia.

the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had their Lands and Cattel, their houses and ftill on the right hand; leaving on the other their goods, even to the cradles of the fuckside, and behind them, the great Mountains ing Infants. The merciless terms of this conof Cancasus. These having passed through the troverse, arm both sides with desperate reso-Hand, 1.4. ry, whereon Synope, a famous Haven Town on. Most of the Countries in Europe have and open to the Cimmerians, without any memorial of the ancient inhabitants through

furdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all the Milesians Corn fields, that was done in fuch as were accustomed unto a more deli- haps had his hands so full of this business; cate life, and could not be without a thou- that he could turn them to nothing elfe) is fand superfluities. Wherefore most common-quite omitted: whereby it may seem, that ly they prevailed very far; their next neigh- neither of the two did any thing worthy of bours giving them free passage, that they remembrance in those Wars, but were glad

guides to conduct them to more wealthy fo bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, great prefents; fo as the farther they went labour to root out the established possessors on the more pleasant Lands they found, and of another Land; making room for themfelves, their wives and children. They that fight for the maftery, are pacified with tribute, or with some other services and acknowledgements; which had they been yielded at the first, all had been quiet, and no fword bloudied. But in these migrations, He first Company of these, consisting the assailants bring so little with them, that for the most part of cimmerians, held they need all which the defendants have; Land of Colchie, that is now called Mengrelli, lution: feeing the one part must either wing entred the Country of Pontus, and being ar- or perish by famine; the other defend their rived in Paphlagonia, fortified the Promonto- goods, or lose their lives without redemptiof the Greeks, was after built. Here it feems felt examples thereof; and the mighty Emthat they bestowed the weakest and most pire of Rome was overthrown by such invaunserviceable of their train, together with sions. But our Isle of Britain can best witness the heaviest part of their carriages, under the diversity of Conquests; having by the fome good guard: as drawing near to those happy victory of the Romans, gotten the Regions, in conquest whereof they were to knowledge of all Civil Arts, in exchange of try the utmost hazzard. For in like fort after- liberty, that was but slenderly instructed wards did the Cimbri (of whom I spake even therein before; whereas the iffue of the now) dispose of their impediments, leaving Saxon and Danish Wars, was, as were the cauthem in a place of strength, where Antwerp ses, quite contrary. For these did not seek now stands, when they drew near unto Gaul, after the Dominion onely, but the entire upon which they determined to adventure possession of the Country, which the saxons themselves in the purchaser. From sinop, the obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicaway unto Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, was fair ting all of the British Race, and defacing all CHAP: XXVIII

the greater part of the Land. But the Danes | Herodotus relates, I find it of little weight, Herod little (who are also of the Cimmerian bloud) and less probability. He tells of Septinans. found fuch end of their enterprize, as it may that being chased out of their Country by feem that the Cimmerians in Lydia, and Scythians in the higher Asia, did arrive unto. unto them certain Boys, to be instructed in So that by considering the process of the the Scythian tongue, and feat of Archery, one, we shall the better conceive the fortune Now it so fell out (faith he) that these serof the other. Many battels the Danes won, thians using much to hunt, and commonly yet none of fuch importance, as sufficed to bringing home somewhat with them, did nemake them absolute Conquerours: Many vertheless other-whiles miss of their game. the Saxons won upon the Danes, yet not so and came home as they went. Hereupon the great, as could drive them quite away, and King being froward and cholerick, bitterly back from hence, after they had gotten firm reviled them; and they, as impatient as he, footing. But in course of time, the long con- killed one of the Boys that was under their tinuance even of utter enmity, had bred fuch charge, whom, drefling like Venison, they acquaintance between them, as bowing the presented unto him; which done, they fled natures of both these people, made the one unto Halyattes. This Herodotus delivers, as more pliant unto the other. So their difa- the ground of a War that lasted six years greeable qualities, both ill and good, being between the Medes and Lydians; the one reduced in one mild temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons in England, where betray such men as were become his suppligreat flaughter had made large room; o- ants. To this I will say no more, than that I thers returning home, found their own see no cause that might induce the Seythians Country wide enough to receive them, as to betake themselves to either of these having diffourthened it felf of many thou- Kings unto whom their Nation had wrought fands, that were fent to feek their graves a- fo much displeasure. Particularly, they broad. And such (as I think) was the end had reason to distrust Cyaxares, for the of the Cimmerian War in Lydia; whereunto treachery that he shewed in the massacring though some victory of Halpattes may have of their Country-men that were in his Kinghastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome dom, of whom it is now meet that we should length of time feems to have done most, in speak. compelling them to defire of reft. I know not why I should fear to add hereunto my further conjecture, which is, that the matter was so compounded between the Cimmerians and Halyattes, that the River of Halys The War of the Scythians in the higher should divide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Eastern side of the River was the Country of the Amazons, that is indeed, of the Cimmerians, and other Scythian people; sea, so the Scythians and Sarmatians took the whose wives and daughters these warlike other way, and having the Caspian sea on women are supposed to have been.

faction, came unto Cyaxares, who committed King demanding these Fugitives to be delivered into his hand, the other refusing to

6. IV.

A S the Cimmerians held their course Westerly, along the shores of the Euxine their left hand, passed between it and Cauca-And hereunto the quarrel ensuing be- firs, through Albania, Colthene, and other obtween Halyattes and Cyaxares the Mede, hath scure Nations, where now are the Countries very good reference. For Halyattes (as is of Servan and Georgia, and so they entred infaid) fought in defence of certain Scythians, to Media. The Medes encountred them in upon whom the Median fought revenge. Arms, but were beaten, and thereupon glad And it stands with reason, that the Lydians to come to any agreement with them. This and Cimmerians, being much weakened with was in the time of Phraortes, whilest Pfammimutual slaughters, should have joyned in a tiem reigned in Egypt. If it were in the fixt league of mutual defence for their common year of Nabulasar's Reign over Babylon (supfafety: though otherwife it had been dan- poling him to have reigned five and thirty gerous to Halyattes, if he had permitted the otherwise we must allow to Ben Merodach Median to extend his Kingdom fo far West- what we take from him) then do the eight ward, what soever the pretences might be, of and twenty years of their Dominion end, taking revenge upon such as had spoiled one year before the great Nabuchodonosor each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the War between these two Kings, which provide securely for the invasion of Syria 3 which expedition he began while his Father | much the better, by how much the worfe vet lived, as Josephus out of Berosus relates they were pleased with the heat of a Climate the laftory.

as well as they might, from this terrible | fcorching fands whereof, the Scythians more nation, which when they had no lust to a fecond trial of the fword, refused not to undergo the burthen of a Tribute, but thought fue him through unknown ways, had they nothing dishonourable, that would serve to fought with him and prevailed, especially remove these troublesome guests into some the Kingdom of Egypt being ready to enother lodging. On the other part, the sey- tertain him vvith relief, and them with thians finding still the Countries pleasanter nevv trouble at the end of their vyeary jourand better, the further that they marched in- ney. Wherefore they were content to be into the South, did fuffer themselves to be per- treated, & taking in good part his courteous fwaded, that a little more travail would add offers, returned back to visit their acquaina great deal more to their content. For they tance in the high Countries. The Egyptian relyed so much upon their own valour, that King (besides that hee preserved his own they feared no relistance, and being the bra- Estate from a dangerous adventure, by hyrvest men, they thought it reason that they ing this great Army to depart from him) should dwell in the best Region. That Phra- found all his Coast evell repayed in the proortes perswaded them into Egypt, I do not cess of his wars in Syria, where the Nations think; Babylon was near enough; whither if beyond Euphrates had no power to molest he could fend these Locusts to graze, then him, being more than ever troubled themshould not his unfriendly Neighbours have felves with the return of their oppressors. cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift | For the Scythians, resolving novy to seek no Nabulassar made with them, or that at all he further, began to demand more than the trihad any dealings with them, I do not read. bute formerly imposed. And not conten-But it is well known that his Dominions lay | ted to fleece the Naturals with grievous exin the middest between Media and Egypt; actions, they presumed to live at discretion them provender.

care that they might not look upon Egypt. lest the fight thereof should more easily people, that in so large a space of ground, Southermost border of Palastina: whence he ken from them. never advanced to meet with the Scythians,

fo far different from their own. Plammiticus Now the Medes, defirous to fave themselves had at his back a vast wilderness, over the patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary diftempers, could ill have endured to purasalfo, that they made all those parts of Asia upon the Country, taking what they lifted Tributary; wherefore we may very well from the owners; and many times (as it believe, that they watered their horses in his vvere to save the labour of taking often) ta-Rivers, and that he also was content to give king all at once. This tyrannous Dominion they long used over the higher Asia, that is, Psammiticus hearing of their progress(like over the Country lying between the Caspithe jealous Husband of a fair Wife) took an and Red Seas: and between India and Asia the less. Happy it was for the poor detain them there, than any force or per- there was room enough for these new comers fwafion that he could use would fend them otherwise the calamity that fell, as it vvere going. Therefore he met them in Syria, pre- by chance, upon those private men, to whose fuming more on the great gifts which he wealth any Scythian did bear a fancy, would meant to bestow upon them, than on his Ar- have lighted in general upon all at one my that should keep them back. Egypt was clap, leaving few alive, and none able to rich; and half the riches had not been ill spent relieve their fellowes. Yet it seems that the in faving all. Yet Psammiticus took the most heaviest burthen lay upon Media; for it was likely course, whereby to make his part good a fruitfull Countrey, not far from their against them by strong hand, in case they had own home, and lay under a Climate well abeen so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent greeing with the constitution of their bodies composition. For he lay close upon the edge there also it was that they had the fatal of the Wilderness in Gaza (as I take it) the blow, by which their insolent Rule was ta-

Cyaxares King of the Medes, vvho in this Herod. but gave them leave to feel as much of the extremity was no better than a Rent-gathe-lib.1. scalding Sun-beams, ill agreeing with their rer for the Scythians, perceiving that his temper, as all the length of Syria could beat Land lay unmanured and waste, through the upon them. When they were come as far as negligence of his people, that were out of Ascalon, the next City to Gaza, then did he heart by daily oppressions, and that the affay them with goodly words, accompanied matter could not be remedied by open force with gifts, which were likely to work fo refolved to prove what might be done by

thus delivered in brief; That he, and his projethat they meant to come again. The Medes, seasted the better part of the Seythi- segithian women, to comfort themselves in ans, made them drunk, and flew them; reco their husbands absence, became bed-fellows vering hereby the possession of all that they their flaves. These got a lusty brood of had loft.

upon the Danes in England; but it was reven- fight with them at their return. If they were ged by their Countrymen, with greater cru- onely the children of flaves, which comelty than ever they had practifed before. pounded an Army (as Herodotus would have That the Scythians which escaped this it, who tels us, that the Scythians were wont bloody feast made any stir in Media, I do not to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it must find, neither do I read that either in revenge needs be that they were very boys, or else hereof, or upon other pretence, the Medes that the Women did very little while conwere troubled by invasion from Scythia in tinue chast. Wherefore I rather believe that

time following. my returning home out of Media, was very Histories, make that report of their Anceftrong,& encountred with opposition(as He- stors returning homewards, which I will set vice of Cyaxares to free his Countrey, took mealth. They understood by the way, that their good effect, with less blood-shed than hath Chrolopey, or Bond-slaves, whom they left at been supposed. For if he surprised all the home, had in their absence possessed their towns, chief of them, it was no hard matter to make lands, houses, wives, and all, At which news bea good composition. Many of them doubtless ing somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the in eight and twenty years had so well setled Villany of their servants, they made the more themselves, that they were desirous of rest, & Speed home, and so not far from Novograd met might be permitted, without any danger, to them in warlike manner marching against remain in the Country; many (of whom I them. Whereupon advising what was best to be shall speak anon) having done what they done, they agreed also to set upon them with no could in the business, for which they came other shew of weapon but with their horse-whips forth, were willing to return home with which as their manner is, every man rideth what they had gotten; fuch as were not withal) to put them in remembrance of their ferpleased with either of these two courses, vile condition, thereby to terrific them, & abate might go joyn with the Cimmerians in Lydia, their courage. And so marching on, and lastor feek their fortunes in other Provinces a- ing all together with their whips in their hands, mong their own Companions. Whereas all they gave the onset; which seemed so terrible the Families of the North are faid to have in the ears of their Villains, and firook fuch a been with Nebuchadnezzar, it may be under- | sense into them of the smart of the whip, which flood, that a great part of the Scythians, they had felt before, that they fled altogether like upon hope of gain, or defire to keep what Sheep before the Drivers, In memory of this they had already gained, were content to victory, the Novogradians ever since have become subject unto Nabulassar; mens love stamped their Coin (which they call a Dingoe of their wealth being most effectual, in tam- | Novogradskoy, currant through all Russia) Ju. 35.9. berty. This is certain, that Nebuchadnezzer, loft in his hand. It may feem, that all the

this of new forces.

stratagem. The managing of the business is wives behind them; a good argument to youths, that were loth to be troubled with Such another flaughter was committed Fathers-in-law, and therefore prepared to tale as it is told by the Ruffes themselves. This is the more strange, for that the Ar- who agreeing in the rest with the consent of rodotus reports it) no less than it had found down, as I find it in Master Doctor Fletcher fist conabroad. Wherefore it may be that the de- his exact discourse of the Russ Common. ing the more unquiet love of inordinate li- with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip aas ever after, so in his first beginning of war, women of that Country have fared the worse did beat the Egyptians, who in ages forego- ever fince, in regard of the universal fault: ing had been accustomed to deal with the For such a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those Babylonians after another fashion: and this slaves, curiously wrought by her self, is the new fuccess of that King may be imputed, in first present that the Muscovian wife, even regard of human means, to fuch addition as in time of wooing, fends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subjection, being Of the Scylbian Army returning out of Me- well affured to feel it often on her own loins. dia, divers authors report a Story, which But this was a Document unto the Scythians, confirms me in the opinion, that this Compa- or rather Samarians (for Novograd Stands in ny went forth to affift their kindred and the Country that was called Sarmatia) to befriends, in acquiring a new feat, and establish- ware of absenting themselves any more so ing their plantation. For these had lest their long from their wives, which after this, I find not that they did.

CHAP. XXVIII. of the Seythian expedition; not only because with death. Wherefore his Constitutions the center of our discourse.

of Princes living in divers Countries in these

Aving thus far digressed from the mat-Medes and Lydians, I have spoken as much as utter blindness. I thought needful. In Rome, Tullus Hostilius held the Kingdom until the one and twen- der, as hitherto I often have done, in purtieth year of Joss ; at which time Ancus suing of actions collateral to the History; Martius succeeding, reigned four and twenty for inserting them in their order of time. years, After him L. Tarquinius Priscus, a new- The Chaldeans will soon fall under the Percome stranger, but very rich, prevailed so sians; ere long, encounter with the Greeks; far by his graciousness among the people, the Greeks, with the Romans; the Romans, lus expelling the race of the Bacida, made that in these many ages were erected and himself Lord of corinth about these times, thrown down; as likewise many memoraand governed it in peace thirty years; lea- | ble acts were performed in Greece and elseving for successiour his son Periander, one of where, though not following one another at the feven Sages, but a cruel Tyrant: who a- any near distance; all which must have been mong other vile acts, flew his own wife, and quite omitted, or else reserved unto a very the Corinthian women stark naked, burning disposed in this method, whereof he that will their apparel, as an acceptable offering to not allow the conveniency, may pardon the her Ghost. Hereby we may perceive, that necessity. the wildom of the Greeks was not excellent in those days, when such a one as this could be admired as excelling all the Coun-

In these times also were Zaleucus and Draco famous lawgivers, the one among the Locrians in Italy, the other in the City of Athens. The Laws of Draco were fo rigorous, I whence we have fo far digreffed. In

Thus much I thought good to fet down blood : for he rewarded every small offence or me or memorable act performed a- were soon abrogated, and power given to broad by that Nation, famous in Hiltories, & Solon by the Athenians, to make new in their terrible to many Countries; but for that it stead. But the Laws of Zalencus were very appears to have been a great cause of the mild. He forbad any Gentlewoman to walk Egyptians prevailing hitherto in Syria, and abroad with more than one Bond-woman about Judea, which continues yet a while attending on her unless it were when she was drunk; or to go forth of the Town by night, unless it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dress her self up in immodest bravery unless it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleafant ordinances he effected his defire:for none would feem, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a fingular ex-Aving thus far ungrended from the Aving thus far under the fore to the ters of Juda, to avoyd all further occa- ample of justice, that when his own fon had fion of doing the like, I will here insert a committed adultery, and was therefore to note of fuch Kings, and men of mark, as were lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be between the death of Manasses, and the ruin pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to of Terusalem. Of the Egyptians, Babylouians, save the young man (who also lost one) from

Ishall not therefore need fo far to wan-

that he got the Kingdom to himself, disap- with many Nations. Concerning all these, as pointing the fons of Ancus, over whom he they shall successively present themselves, in was Tutor. He began in the fourth year of their flourishing Estate, it will be enough Zedekia, and reigned eight and thirty years. to recapitulate the most memorable acci-In this time it was, namely, in the second dents, that befell them in their Minority. year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the La- But in the long space of more than thirteen cedamonians bethinking them how to be a- hundred years, which passed between venged of the Arcadians, who gave fuccour the calling of Abraham, and the destruction to the Messenians against them in the former of Jerusalem, we find little matter, wherewar, entred their Territory, took the City in the History of Israel had any dealing with of Phigalia or Phialia, from whence their other Nations, than the very nearest bor-Garrisons were soon after beaten out, eypse- derers. Yet read we of many Kingdoms,

afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all unseasonable rehearfal, had they not been

5. VI. The oppression of Judæa, and destruction of Jerufalem by the Chaldwans.

that he was faid to have written them with the third year of Jehojakim, Nabilchodonofer

the second, his Father yet living, entred Ju- before, in the second year of his own Reign. dea with a great Army, who belieging and when the Boy was but eight years old. As for forcing ferusalem, made Jehojakim his vasial this rumour of Jehoahaz his return, the Proin despight of Necho, that had established phet Jeremy foretold, that it should prove the Church treasures; but stayed not to The Egyptians indeed, having spent all their fearch them throughly; for Necho hasted to Mercenary forces, and received that heavy the succour of Jehojakim, hoping to find Na- blow at Carchemish, had not remaining such buchodonosor in Judea: wherein this great proportion of sharp steel, as of fair gold. Babylonian had no disposition to hazard which without other help, is of little effect. himself and his Army, it being a Country of The valour of Necho was not in Pfammis A. an evil affection towards him, as also far off pres, who reigning after Pfammis, did once from any succour or sure place of retrait. If adventure to shew his face in Syria; but after he had, as may be supposed, any great a big look, he was glad to retire, without ftrength of Scythian horse-men in his Army, it adventuring the hazard of a battel. Wherewas the more wifely done of him, to fall fore this decaying Nation fought only with back, out of the rough, mountainous, and o- brave words, telling fuch frivolous tales, as ver-hot Country, into places that were more men that mean to do nothing, use, of their even and temperate. But besides all these glorious acts fore-passed, against Jossa and reasons, the death of his father happening at Jeboahaz. In this case it was easie for Jebo the same time, gave him just occasion to re- jakim to give them satisfaction, by letting turn home, and take possession of his own them understand the sincerity of his affecti-Kingdom, before he proceeded further in on towards them, which appeared in time This he did at reasonable good leisure: for more roundly. He sent a peremptory mesthe Egyptian was not ready to follow him so fage to Jehojakim, willing him not to stand

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him King, and took with him for pledges idle, faying: He shall not return thither, but June Daniel, being as yet a child, with Ananias, he shall die in the place whither they had led "in Missel, and Azarias. Also he took a part of him captive, and shall see this Land no more. the second care, of adding more unto it. following. But Nabuchodonofor went to work far, and to bid him battel, until the new upon any nice points, but acknowledge himyear came in; which was the fourth of Je- felf a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hojakim, the first of Nabuchodonosor, and the hereunto such fearful threats, as made the 1000 Me last of Necho. In this year the Babylonian ly- poor Judaan lay aside all thoughts of Pha-in-line ing upon the Bank Euphrates (his own terri- raoh, and yield to do, as the more mighty tory bounding it on the North-side) attend- would have him. So he continued in the oed the arrival of Necho. There, after a re- bedience of Nabuchodonofor three years. At folved contention for victory, Necho was this time Jeremy the Prophet cried out aflain, and his Army remaining forced to fave gainst the Jews, putting them in mind that it self; which full ill it did, by a violent re- he had now three and twenty years exhortrait. This victory Nabuchodonofor so well ted them to repentance, but because they purfued, as he recovered all Syria, and what- had ftopt their ears against him, and the rest foever the Egyptians held out of their pro- of the Prophets, he now pronounced their per Territory towards the North. The E- captivity at hand, and that they should engyptians being in this conflict beaten, and dure the yoke of bondage full seventy years. altogether for the present discouraged, Je- The same calamity he threatned to all the hojakim held himself quiet, as being friend neighbouring Nations, to the Egyptians, Moain heart unto the Egyptians, yet having bites, Ammonites, Idumaans, and the rest; made his peace with the Chaldean the year foretelling that they should all drink out of before; who contented with such profit as the Babylonian Pitcher, the wine of his fury, he could then readily make, had forborn to whom they had forfaken; and after the felay any Tribute upon Juda. But this cool venty years expired, that the Babylonians reservedness of Jehojakim, was, on both themselves should taste of the same Cup, and sides, taken in ill part. The Egyptian King be utterly subverted by the Medes, and the Journal Pfammis, who succeeded unto Necho, began Judeans permitted to return again into their to think upon restoring Jeboahaz, taken pri- own Fields and Cities. The first imprisonfoner by his Father, and fetting him up as ment of the Prophet Jeremy feems to have a Domestical Enemy, against his ungrateful been in the fourth year of this Jehojakim, at brother. Against all such accidents, the Ju- which time Barueb the Scribe wrought all dean had prepared the usual remedy pra- his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he crifed by his forefathers: for he had made fent to read them unto the People, and afterhis own fon Jechonia King with him long wards to the Princes, who offered them to

the King: but fearing the Kings fury, they him and Baruch to hide themselves.

CHAP.XXVIII.

Throne of David.

Egyptian; the mighty City of Tyre opposed a vast peice of work, even to fill up the Sea

teen years. the comming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclu-

The City of Tyre covered all the ground had first set Jeremy at liberty, and advised of an Island, that was divided from the main, by a deep and broad channell of the Jehojakim, after he heard a part of it, and Sea. The Chaldwans had no Fleet, and were perceived the ill newes therein delivered, no Sea-men; the Tyrians, in multitude of made no more adoe, but did cut the Book goodly Ships, and skill to use them, excelled in peices and cast it into the fire. All which all other Nations; and every wind, from one Teremy caused to be new written with this part or other, brought needfull provisions addition; that the dead body of Jehojakim into the City. Wherefore neither force, nor fhould be cast out, exposed in the day to famine could greatly hurt the place; wherethe heat, and in the night to the frost, and the heat, and in the night to the frost, and of neverthelesse the judgments of God (dethere should be none of his seed to fit on the nounced against it by Esay, Jeremy, Ezechiel) rested secure of all danger, as Tributary to determined to performe it. This high-mind-

had threatned the destruction; & the obsti- #fay 22. Time thus running on, while Jehojakim nate resolution of Nabuchodonosor had fully Exch. 16. the Babylonian, yet well thought of by the ed King, impatient of refistance, undertook it felf against the Chaldean forces, and upon that parted the Island from the Continent. just confidence of her own strength, despi- The City of old Tyrus, that stood opposite fed all preparation that could be made a- to the new, upon the firm Land, and the gainst her. Now forasmuch as the terme of mountain of Lybanus neer adjoyning that feventy years was prescribed unto the de- was loaden with Cedars, and abundance of folation, as well of Tyre, as of Ferufalem, and other trees, might furnish him with materiother towns and countries; it is apparent, als. Thirteen years were spent in this labothat they which referre the expugnation of rious, and almost hopelesse businesse. Which this City unto the nineteenth year of Nabu- needeth not feem strange: for Alexander chodonofor, have fure authority for their war- working upon that foundation which was rant. Whereupon likewise it followes of remaining of Nabuchodonosor's Peere, and beneceffity, that the fiege thereof began in the | ing withall affifted by a strong Fleet, was feventh of his Reign, as having lasted thir- | yet seven moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of Here I will take leave to intrude a brief the Sea was able to carry away that wherenote, concerning the feveral beginnings that | with Alexander laboured to cover a shelve; are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, with much more violence could it overturn, whereupon hath rifen much disputation, and as it were consume, the work of Nabu-The third year of Jehojakim, was the last of chodonofor, who laid his foundations in the Nabulassar, who being delivered from other bottom of the deep; striving as it were, to cares, took notice of fuch as had revolted fill the empty belly of this Cormorant from him unto Pharao Necho, and fent this whereas the Macedonian did only stop the Noble Prince his fon, with an Army into throat of it. Every man knows, God could Syria, to reclaim them. In this expedition have furthered the accomplishment of his was Daniel carried away, who therefore own threats against this place (though it had makes mention of the same year. The year | not pleased him to use, either Miracle, or next following, being the fourth of Jehoja- such of his more immediate weapons, as are kim, was the first of Nebuchadnezzar; which Earthquakes, and the like) by making at Jeremy affirmeth in expresse words; and least the Seas calm, and adding the favorafrom this we reckon all his time and actions | ble concurrance of all fecond helps. But fo that follow. In his three and twentieth year it pleafeth him oftentimes, in chaftifing the he conquered Egypt; & then began ro reign pride of man, to use the hand of man; even as a great Monarch, finding none that durst the hand of man striving, as may seem, against offend him. The fecond from this year it all relistance of nature and fortune. So in was, wherein he faw that vision, of the I- this excessive labour of the Chaldwans, Every mage confifting of fundry Metals, which did head was made bald, and every shoulder was Exek 29. prefigurate the succession of great King made bare. Yet Nabuchodonosor would not domes, that should rule the Earth, before give over till he was master of the Town.

When he was entred upon this desperate fervice; whether it were fo, that some losses fion that I find, of long disputations: but re- received, some mutiny in his Army, or (which Joseph. the feventh of his Reign. the feventh of his Reign.

courage

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courage to his evill willers, Jehojakim re- deans that were carried away captive, the nounced his subjection, and began to hope other those that stayed and were destroyed. for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For Nabuckodonosor gave him no leisure in a book all the evill that should fall upon to doe much burt: but with part of his Army Babylon, which book or scrole he gave to marched directly into Judea, where the a- Sheraiah, when he went with the King Zedemazed King made fo little refiftance (the E- chias to Babylon, to visit Nabuchodonosor, wilgyptians having left him, as it were, in a ling him first to read it to the Captive Jemes: dream) that he entred Jerusalem, and layed and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into hands on Jehojakim, whom he first bound Euphrates, pronouncing these words: Thus and determined to fend to Babylon, but Bable be drowned, and shall not rife from changing counsell, he caused him to be slain the evill that I will bring upon her. This in the place, and gave him the sepulchre of journey of Zedechias to Babel is probably an Affe, to be devoured by beafts and rave- thought to have been in a way of visitation, nous birds,according to the former Prophe- carrying some presents. But I further think. cies: leaving in his place Jehojakim or Jecho- that he had fome fute there to make, which nias his fon, whom, after three moneths and his Lordly Mafter refused to grant, and sent ten dayes Nabuchodonofor removed, and fent him away discontented. For at his return prisoner to Babylon, with Ezekiel, Mardocheus all the bordering Princes sent Messengers and Josedech, the high Priest. The mother of to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those un-Jechonias, together with his fervants Eunu- quiet courses, from which Jeremy dehorted ches, and all the ablest men, and best Artisi- both him and them. The prophet, by Gods cers of the land, were also then carried away appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of Captives. This Jechonias, following the which he wore about his own neck, others counsell of Jeremy the Prophet, made no re- he fent unto the five Kings, of Edom, Moab, fistance; but submitted himself to the Kings Ammon, Tyre and Zidon, by those Messengers will: wherein he both pleased God, and which came to visit Zedechias: making them did that which was best for himself; know, that if they and the Kings of Juda though at the present it might seem other- abode in the obedience of Babylon, they wife, to fuch as confidered the evill that be- should then possesse and enjoy their own fell him, rather than the greater evill that he countries, if not, they should assuredly perthereby avoided. This onely particular act ish by the sword, by fire and pestilence. of his is recorded, which was good. But it feems that he was partaker, at least of his Fa- | which as yet remained in Jerusalem, should thers faults, if not an inftigator, which was also travell after the reft, and at length they the cause, that his submitting himself to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so The same year Anania we read in generall words, that he did evill phet, took off the woodden Chain which in the fight of the Lord, according to all that his Fereng wore in fign of the Captivity of the Father had done. In his stead Nabuchodono- Jews, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like for established Mathania his Uncle in the manner, after two years God would break Kingdom of Inda, and called him Zedechias, the strength of Babel, and the yoke which which is as much to fay, as the justice of God. he laid on all Nations; restore Jechonias and For like as Neco King of Egypt had formerly all the Jewes, with the Veffels and riches displaced Iehoahaz, after his Father Josias was of the Temple, and give an end to all these flain, and fet up Jehojakim, the fon of another troubles. But Jeremy, instead of his woodden mother, so Nabuchodonosor slew Jehojakim, yoke, wore a Coller of yron: and in fign who depended on the Egyptians, and carry-ing his fon Jechonias Prisoner to Babel, gave hope to the people, he foretold the death of the Kingdom to this Zedechias, that was this cold Prophet, which seized upon him whole Brother to that Jeboahaz, whom Neco in the second Moneth. After this, when Zetook with him into Egypt. From Zedechias dechias had wavered long enough between he required an oath for his faithfull obedi- Faith and Passion, in the eighth year of his

rotten Grapes, the one fignifying those Ju-lonian yoke. Hereof when Nabuchodonofor

CHAP. XXVIII.

In the fourth of Zedechias, Jeremy wrote

He also foretold them, that those Vessels

The same year Ananias, the false Proence, which Zedechias gave him, and called reign, he practifed more ferioully against the living God to witnesse in the same, that Nabuchodonosor, with his Neighbours the Ehe would remain affured to the Kings of domites, Ammonites, Moabites, Tyrians, and others that were promifed great aydes of In the first year of Zedechias, Jeremy saw the Egyptians: in considence of whose resiand expounded the Vision of the ripe and stance, he determined to shake off the Baby-

and befieged it. Jeremy periwaded Zedechi-and befieged it. Jeremy periwaded Zedechi-rounded the City with moodden Tomers, to as as to render the City and himself: but being the befieged could neither fally out, nor dome of Juda fisculd be extirpate, untill the upon Mounts; from which they did fo beat comming of silo (according to the Prophe-upon the Wall with their Engines, that the 60 40.10 cy of Jacob) he despised the words of Jere defendants were compelled to forsake their 600 19.10 my, and imprisoned him. For Jeremy had Stations, Now although it were so that the told the King that the City should be taken besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like and burnt; that the King should not escape, unto these, yet the great King of Babel, who

to Babel, die his naturall death.

chaldeans removed from Jerusalem to en- dechias beholding this uncomfortable fight, counter the Egyptians, these vaunting Pa- and finding no remedy of the danger pretrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking sent, lost both his courage and his hopes at Gaza in their way homeward, returned into once; and shifted himself, together with his Egypt, as if they had already done enough, Wives, Children, Princes, and principal ferleaving the poor people of Jerusalem to vants, out of the City, by a way under

In the mean while the Jewes, who in their people to the merciless swords of their enefirst extremity had manumised their Hebren mies. Thus he, who, when Jeremy the Prophet Bond-men (as Gods law required at the perswaded him to render himself, despised year of Jubile) and made them free, there- | both the counsel of God , and the force of by the better to encourage them to fight; Nabuchodonofor, used now that remedy, did now upon the breaking up of the Chal- which Wolphius truly termeth, Trifte, turpe, &

their destined miseries.

had knowledge, he marched with his Army (as P. Martyr hath it) extruxerunt contra in the dead of Winter, toward Jerufalem, cam turrem ligneam per circuitum: They fir-

but be taken priloner, and brought to the commanded all the Regions there-abouts, presence of Nabuchodonosor; that he should and had the Woods and Rivers to obey not perish by the fword, but being carried him, found means to overthrow all the Citi-(zens endeavours; and to beat down as fast Terusalem being the following year fur- from without, as they raised from within; rounded by Nabuchodonofors Armie; the the body and foundation of his own works King of Egypt, Pharao Hophra, according to being guarded by the Walls of Jerusalem lind lib Jeremy, (Herodotus calleth him Apries) interposed; and theirs within, laid open to entred the border of Juda with his Army to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both Fafuccour Zedechias, of whose revolt he had mine and Pestilence (which commonly acbeen the principall Author. But Jeremy gave company men straightly besieged) grew on the Temes faithfull counsell, willing them fast upon them, whereby, when the number, not to have any trust in the succours of E- strength, and courage of the Jews failed, the grot: for he affured them that they should re- Chaldwans made a breach, and forcing an turn again, and in no fort relieve them lentry, their Princes did feat themselves, as And it fell out accordingly. For when the Lords of the Town, in the middle gate. Ze-

ground; leaving his amazed and guideless

dean Army, repent them of their Charity: infæliz: Woful, shameful, and unfortunate. and thinking all had been at an end, held By this secret subterrane vault, Zedechias them perforce to their former flavery. But making his ftealth, recovered (by the help of the Chaldees being returned to the fiege, the the dark night) the Plains or Defarts of Je-Prophet Jeremy, when the state of Jerusalem richo: but by reason of the train that folbegan now to grow to extremity, counsel- lowed him and his (every one leading with led Zedechias to render himself unto them; him those whom they held most dear unto assuring him of his own life, and the safety them) he was easily traced and pursued How of the City, if he would so do. But his ob- great soever the company was that attenstinate heart conducted him to that wretch- ded on him, yet, as Josephus reports it, they, ed end, which his neglect of God, and his on whose fidelity he most reposed himself, infidelity and perjurie, had provided for no fooner beheld the Chaldwans approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and fhif-Three and twenty Moneths (as some do ted themselves into the Desarts, as they reckonit)or, according to Josephus, eighteen, could. For vyhom God had forsaken, no man

the Babylonian Army laid before Jerusalem, followed, but the ministers of his vengeance; and held it exceeding straightly belieged, by vvhom Zedechias being made Prisoner, Ringers. For they built Forts against it round about, or with his Children and Princes, he was con-

think) of Nephtalim, where Nabuchodonosor then lay, as a place indifferent between Jerusalem and Tyre, with both which at once he had to do.

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Now after Nabuchodonofor had laid before Zedechias the many graces and benefits but gave comfort to all the other Jewes that conferred upon him, together with the notable falshood and perjury, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes and Friends to be flain before his face. This being done, to the end nour of his own Nation. that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last that ever he should behold in the world, he caused his eyes to be torn out of his head, and so carried him in a slavish manner to Babel, where he confumed the rest of his being followed by ten other chosen men, wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. while Godoliah feasted them in Massha or Herein this most marvellous Prophecy of Mitspa, the C ity of hisresidence, traiterously Exechiel was performed; Adducam eum in flew him, together with divers Chaldeans and Babyloniam & ipfam non videbit: I will bring Jews that accompanied him. This done he him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.

Thus in the eleventh and last year of Zedechias, which was the eighteenth of Nabu- liah with prefents, he flew the most of them, chodonofor the Chaldeans entred the City by and spared the rest, because they promised force, where sparing no sex nor age, they to discover unto him some Treasures hidden committed all to the fword that they there- in the fields during the war. He also took in found.

General of the Army, burnt the Kings Pa- This practice and intent of Ismael had been lace, and the rest of Jerusalem: and after this formerly discovered unto Godoliah by Johafire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth nan, one of the Leaders of the sew remaining day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the Jews; but Godoliah was incredulous. ground, when it had stood four hundred

thirty and one years. 2 Kin. ul., dan (not yet satiated with blood) comman- could to the Ammonites) the residue of the Priest, two Commanders of Zedechias his men readily made them answer, that if they reof War, five of his House-hold servants, and mained in Judea, God would provide for others to that number; carrying away to them, and shew them mercy; but if they Babylon the ablest of the people throughout fought to fave themselves in Egypt, that they all Judea; and leaving the poorest labour- should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithfubmit himself altogether to the Babylonian; the Sepulchre of their own Kings.

veyed to Rebla or Reblath, a City (as some) who being ordained by God to exercise his justice, was therefore reliftless. The Prophet Jeremy being left to his own choice, either to live in Chaldea, or elsewhere, he made election of Godoliah, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced feremy, were left under his charge, promifing them favour and liberty, so long as they remained obedient subjects to Nabuchodonosor, by whom he was established Provincial Gover-

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of Jerusalem, had kept himself out of the ftorm, with Baalis King of the Ammonites) made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards Godowith him a Daughter of Zedechias, committed In the next year following, Nabuzaradan to the care of Godoliah by Nabuchodonofor.

Judea being now left without a Governour (for Ismael durst not take it upon him, After this, upon a second search, Nabuzara- but retired himself, or rather sled as fast as he ded seventy and two others to be slaughte- Jews, fearing the revenge of the Chaldeans, red, which had hidden themselves from the resolved to fly away into Egypt, and belought first fury, to wit, the chief, and the second Jeremy to ask counsel of God for them: who ing fouls, with some that followed the party standing this advice, the Jews held their deof Nabuchodonosor, to till the ground : over termination ; and despising the Oracle of whom he left Governour, Godoliah the Ne- God, and constraining Jeremy and Baruch to phew of that Saphan, whom Josias had for- accompany them, they travelled into Egypt, merly employed in the reformation of Re- and inhabited by the permiffion of Pharao, ligion, who is, for his justice and equity, by neer unto Taphnes: where when Jeremy often Josephus highly commended. This man, a Jew reprehended them for their Idolatry, foreby Nation, left Zedechias, as it feemeth, in the telling both the destruction of themselves, beginning of the War: and by Jeremies de- and the Egyptians, also, he was by these his fire to live with him, it appeareth that he own hard-hearted and ungrateful Countryhad embraced the same advice which the men, stoned to death; and by the Egyptians, Prophet gave unto Zedechias; which was, to who greatly reverenced him, buried neer

THE

IRSTPART OF THE

OF THE

Intreating of the Times from the destruction of Ferulalem to the time of PHILIP of MACEDON.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the time passing between the destruction of Jerusalem, and the fall of the Affyrian Empire.

ø. I.

Of the connexion of sacred and prophane History.



things could ill be fought in those that were tion.

HE course of Time, which ignorant of the first Creation: as likewise in prophane Histories that the affairs of Kingdoms and Empires afmight rather be discern- terwards grown up, are not to be found ed through the greatest among those that have now no state nor popart of its way hitherto licy remaining of their own. Having therepassed, in some out-worn fore pursued the history of the World unto footsteps, than in any that age, from whence the memory of sucbeaten path, having once in Greece by the ceeding accidents is with little interruption Olympiads, and in the Eastern Countries by of fabulous discourse derived unto us. I hold the accompt from Nabonassar, left furer it now convenient, briefly to shew, by what marks, and more appliable to actions con- means and circumstances the History of the current, than were the War of Troy, or any Hebrews, which of all other is the most another token of former date; begins at cient, may be conjoyned with the followlength in the ruine of Ferusalem, to disco- ing times, wherein that Image of fundry ver the connexion of antiquity fore-spent, metals, discovered by God unto Nebuchadwith the story of succeeding ages. Mani-nezzar, did reign over the earth, when iffest it is, that the original and progress of rael was either none, or an unregarded Na-

Herein

Finis Libri secundi.

Herein I do not hold it needful to infift are chiefly directed, in passing from the first upon those authorities which give as it were unto the latest years of the world through by hear-fay, a certain year of some old Af- any story, with least interruption; it is very frian King unto some action or event, where- expedient that we take some pains to inform of the time is found expressed in Scripture: our selves truly of the Seventy years during for together with the end of Ninus his line which it continued, even from Nebuchadin Sardanapalus, if not before, all fuch com- nezzar unto Cyrus. putations were blotted out; the succession of Belochus and his iffue that occupied the Kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of fuch as were neither Abrief rehearfal of two Opinions touching the constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye upon. Let it therefore fuffice that the confent and harmony which fome have found in the years of those over-worn Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true, that we find the names | Captivity then began, when fechonias was of all, or most of them in Scriptures, which carried prisoner into Babylon; eleven years are recorded by prophane Historians, yet before the final destruction of Jerusalem unhereby could we only learn in what age der Zedechias. This they prove out of dieach of them lived, but not in what year vers places in Ezechiel, especially out of the his reign began or ended, were it not that fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plain the reign of Nebuchadnezzar is more pre-diffinction between the beginning of the cifely applied to the times of Jehojakim and Captivity, and utter destruction of Jerulaunder Nebuchadnezzar was the beginning of day of the month, in the fourteenth year after the Captivity of Juda, which ended when feventy years were expired; and these se- he beginneth the Captivity in plain terms, venty years took end at the first of cyrus, eleven years before the City was destroyed. whose time being well known, affords us Beroaldus is of opinion, that it began in the means of looking back into the ages paft, first of Nebuchodonofor, and the fourth of and forwards into the race of men succeed- Joskim; which he endeavours to prove out ing. The first year of Cyrus his reign in of the second of Chronicles, but more espe-Persta, by general consent, is joyned with cially out of Saint Matthew, and Daniel, the first year of the 55 Olympiad; where, that whose words afford matter of disputation, he reigned three and twenty years before but serve not to make good so much as Behis Monarchy, and feven years afterwards, roaldus would enforce. That place of Saint it is apparent, and almost out of controverMatthew, and the whole Book of Daniel fie. Giving therefore four hundred and have ministred occasion of scoffing and eight years unto the distance between the railing at the Christian Religion to that fall of Troy, and the inftauration of the wretched man Porphyrie, who, not under-Olympiad by Iphitus; we may eafily arrive standing how the sons of King Josias were unto those antiquities of Greece, which were called by divers names, as Epiphanius hath not meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling shewed at large, thought that the Apoftle St. Augustine and others may be trusted in the Sons, or, according to some Translations, ved faith and industry.

reckoned unto Alexander, and from him to written against the Christians, affirming, the battel of Astrum, it were (peradventure) that these prophecies and visions, rememin this place impertinent to fet down. But bred by Daniel, were written long after his feeing that the beginning and end of the Ba- death, and at, or near the time of Antiochus

ø. II.

beginning of the Captivity: with an answer to the cavils of Porphyrie, inveighing against S. Matthew and Daniel, upon whom the latter of thefe opinions is found-

Any Commentators, and other Historians and Chronologers find, that the Zedechia. Hence have we the first light five and twentieth year of our being in Capitalian the facred and prophane Histories. For wity, in the beginning of the year, in the tenth the whilft in fundry parts of the world, had spoken he knew not what, in reckoning fetting down their times, which they had the Son, and Nephews of that good King, by Tradition from Authors of well-appro- begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon Daniel also the same Porphyric doth From Cyrus forwards, how the times are spend the twelfth of his malicious Books bylonian Captivity, are marks whereby we Epiphanes. This fond supposition of his,

Eucebius, Apollonius, and others, have suffi- Angel, to feal up the same to the time apwards fernfalem to have destroyed it , this Daniels visions. Book of Daniel, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him; which not only flayed

his hand from the harm of that City and people; but his assurance and resolution was fo confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future peril and resistance, he conquered Darius, and the Eastern Empire, in a shorter time than Nabuchodonosor had

done one City, to wit, Tyre in Phanicia. It is true indeed, that the Fews themselves

give less authority to Daniel, than to Moles Hagiographa, or holy Writings, which they compiled after their return from Babylon. But first, that the Book of Daniel (I mean so much as is found in the Hebrew) is Canonical; fecondly, that it was written by Daniel himself, and not by Esdras and the Seniors; we may affure our felves by testimony of Councils and Fathers. For in the common. Council of Landicaa, held about the year of our Lord 368. after the death of Jovinian Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclefiaftes, Hefter, Efra, return to this place.

Nehemia, and the Chronicles. And that it But it stands indeed with little reason was Daniel, and not Estras, that wrote this that we should seek the interpretation of a

ciently answered. For, the Seventy Inter-pointed, is an unanswerable testimony. Yea. preters, who converted the Old Testament that which exceedeth all strength of other about an hundred years before Epiphanes, proof, our Saviour Christ, who citeth no did also turn this Book of Daniel out of Apocryphal Scripture, in Matthew and Mat. 24. Hebrew into Greek, as a part of Scripture Mark alledgeth Daniel the Prophet, to wit, Mark 13. received. And, were there no other argu- the last verse of his ninth Chapter. Further, 14 ment to confound Porphyrie, than that of in the fifth of John, Christ distributeth the Alexander Macedon, it were fufficient, who rilen from the dead, as in Daniel the Dan. 12.

Mar. 1-1 lived divers years before Antiochus Epipha- twelfth, verfe the fecond. Saint Paul denes. For faddus the High Priest shewed scribeth Antichrist, out of Daniel; and the that great Conquerour, when he came to- Revelation is wholly an interpretation of

s. III.

That the seventy years of Captivity are to be numbred from the destruction of Jerusalem; not from the migration of Jechonia.

Aving thus far digreffed in maintaining that authority which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now convenient, that we return unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of and the Prophets; accompting his Book these seventy years. Neither will I stand among those which they call Cetaphim, or to trouble my self and others with laying open the grounds or weakness of that fay Efdras, and the Seniors of the Synagogue | which Eufebius, and some few nameless Authors, have fometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by Beroaldus; but will forthwith enter into confideration of that opinion, which many, both ancient and late Writers, have fo earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being

Four Kings of Juda were carried away captives to Babylon: First, Manasses; then the Emperour, and after the Nicene Coun- Jehojakim, and with him among others, cil three and forty years, this Book of Da- Daniel the Prophet: Thirdly, Jeconias, and niel was received, verified and confirmed with him Ezechiel: Lastly, Zedechias, at among the other Canonical Scriptures, as in which time the City and Temple were dethe Epitomy of the same Council it may be stroyed. To the first of these Captivities, feen; and so doth Meliton the most ancient the beginning of the seventy years is refer-Bithop of Sardis number it, witness Eusebi- red by none that I have read; to the second, ms in his Ecclefiaftical History, the fourth by few, and with weak proof; to the third, Book, and five and twentieth Chapter: fo by very many, and with much confidence. doth the same Author in the Catalogue of For besides those places of Ezechiel already Canonical Books upon Origen: fo doth Hilling in his Preface upon the Plalms, and out of ferent, which may feem to make the Epiphanius in his Book of Weights and matter plain. For the Prophet, in com-Measures, &c. To these I may add St. Hie- forting the people that were carried away rom, Gregory Nazianzene, and others. For, with Jechonias, useth these words: Thus fer. 29.10 the Hagingrapha-Books or holy Writings, faith the Lord, After seventy years be accomthe Jews and Rabbines reckon to be these, plished at Babel, I will visit you, and perform Daniel, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, my good promise towards you, and cause you to

Book, Gods commandment unto him by his Prophecy out of circumstances, when the

Prophecy is such as doth sufficiently ex- been more exactly set down, than it was in pound it felf. Jeremy hath already, in the the place now last of all cited. If it be refourth year of Jehojakim, denounced the quifite that we bring more proof in fo evijudgment of God against the Land, for the dent a case, the ninth Chapter of Daniel fins and impenitency of that obstinate peo- yeelds testimony sufficient, unto this expo-Jerso 16 ple, in these words: Behold, I will send, and sition of Jeremia his Prophecy, that Jeru-17, 6 18 take to me all the families of the North, faith falem was to lye waste seventy years. For the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the King of in the first year of Darius the Mede, which Babel, my fercant; and will bring them was the last of the seventy, Daniel obtained against this Land, and against the Inhabitants of God the deliverance, that had been prothereof, and against all these Nations round mised, by prayer, which he made upon about; and I will destroy them, and make them | consideration of the time that was expired: an altonifiment, and an hilling, and a conti- as he telleth in these words: In the first year Dan sa nual defolition. Moreover, I will take from of his reign , I Daniel understood by Books them the voice of mirth, and the voice of glad- the number of the years whereof the Lord had nes; the voice of the Bridegroom, and the Spoken unto Jeremiah the Prophet, that he voice of the Bride; the noise of the mill-stones, would accomplish seventy years in the desiand the light of the candle; and this whole lation of Jerusalem. So that howsoeverthe Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, time of Daniel his own Captivity be reckonand these Nations shall serve the King of Babel ed from the taking of Jehojakim, and that Seventy years. And when seventy years are the people carried away with Jeconia, did expired, I will oilst the King of Babel. Here accompt, as well they might, the years of we see prescribed unto the Captivity the their own Captivity; yet with the general term of seventy years: which were to com- desolation of the Country, wherein were mence, neither when the Prophecy was ut- few or none of the Israelites left remaining tered; nor when Jehojakim, who then to inhabit, began in the nineteenth year of reigned, was taken by Nebuchadnezzar; nor Nabuchodonofor the great Captivity, which yet in the time of Jechonia: but with the by Gods appointment continued unto the utter defolation of the City, whereof fere- end of feventy years. my did again give notice to those that were already in Babylon, at fuch time as he fent | the authority of Josephus and others affirmthem the comfort of deliverance before re- ing the same; for a smuch as that which alhearfed. And so did the people under- ready hath been produced, is enough to laftand this Prophecy, in those times when tissie any man that hath not fully determinthey faw it accomplished; beginning the ed to hold the contrary. feventy years at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the Hiftory of Juda, where it is faid thus: They burnt the House of God, and brake down the Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the Palaces in Babylon during the seventy years. thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: And they that were left by the sword, carried he away to Babel, and they were fervants to him, and to his sons, tivity, and how long each of them did wear until the Kingdom of the Persians had rule, to the Diademe, it is a matter of no great imfulfil the Word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremia, until the Land had her fill of her Sab- their acts were notable in the age wherein fire kept Sabbath, to fulfil seventy years. But any way helpful to the concordance of

This I will not further feek to prove, by

ø. IV.

Hat Kings reigned in Babylon, during thele seventy years of the Capportance to know; forasmuch as neither baths: for all the daies that she lay desolate, they lived, nor the length of their reigns, in the first year of Cyrus King of Persia (when times, foregoing or succeeding. The conthe Word of the Lord, Spoken by the mouth of quests, recounted by Xenophon, of Syria, Ara- Xuntu Jeremia, was finished) the Lord stirred up the bia (or rather some part of it) Hyramia, was Spirit of Cyrus. We seldem find one piece Bastria, and perhaps of some other Counof Scripture, fo precifely and plainly ex- tries, may feem fruits of the victories obpounded by another as in this Prophecy, tained by Nebnehadnezzar the Great (or by to have afterwards been the subject of al- some of his Ancestors) in the former part tercation. For one can hardly devise how of his life, before he betook himself to ease, either the Desolation could have been ex- and to the sumptuous building of his great prefied more fenfibly, than it was by the Babel, for the house of his Kingdom, and Prophet, or the event of the Prophecy have | for the honour of his Majesty, where it may

stance, offered to charge them.

Now as their actions from the end of wild I. 1. Nebuchadnezzars wars, till the ruin of their cited in this case, are so repugnant one to Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; the other, and the proofs of their different fo was the distinction of their times, and reports, are so slender and unsufficient, that reign of their feveral Kings, unworthy of the fuccession of these Princes, had it not the great labour that hath in vain been ta- been thus delivered in Scriptures, but only kenin that business. For when it is granted, | fet down by some Authour of equal credit that the Captivity of Juda, ending with that | with the rest, might very well have found Empire, lasted seventy years, we may as and deserved as good belief, as any of those realonably forbear to fearch into the par- things which they have delivered in this of the ages of the Patriarchs, and their chil- from Father to Son, through five generafum.

this bufiness, upon defire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the feventy to take a little pains in collecting their opinot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings name only three Kings, Nebuchadnezzar, an ill-conditioned Boy, was at the end of Evilmerodach, and Balthafar ; Neither have nine menths flain by fuch as were about they only the filence of Daniel, who names him, and the Kingdom given to one Naboninone other, to be their warrant; but the dus, who held it by the election of the Prophecy of feremy precisely, and in a man- Conspirators, and left it unto Cyrus after 17

feem that he and his Heirs kept a great ner purposely teaching the very same. For ftate, and did very little. The idle beha- God, by the mouth of the Prophet, shewviour of the Affyrian Souldiers, in fuch skir- ing that he, being absolute Lord of all, would misses as afterwards they had with the dispose of all according to his own will, and Medes, doth argue no less. For, whereas making it known that he had put some under Nebuchadnezzar, they were so stout Countries here named, into the hands of and industrious, that (to omit other proofs) the King of Babel, faith thus: And all Na- fer. 27. 2 they attempted, and finished that hardy tions shall serve him, and his son, and his piece of work, of winning the strong City Sons Son, until the very time of his Land of Twe, by joyning unto it the Continent, come also; then many Nations and great filling up the deep and broad chanel of the Kings shall serve themselves of him. These Sea, dividing it from the main with a mole words, expressing the continuance of the or piece of earth, and other matter; the Chaldean Empire, and number of the Kings, reparation whereof, when the Sea had will hardly be qualified with any distinctiwashed it away, was the very greatest of on. But indeed I find no other necessity Alexanders works: in the times following, of qualification to be used herein, than such they became timorous, that they durst not as may grow out of mens defire, to reconcile approach nearer to the enemy than their the Scriptures unto prophane Authours. bows would carry, but were ready to turn And this defire were not unjust, if the contheir backs as foon as any, though inferiour fent of all Histories were on the one fide, in numbers, adventuring within the di- and the letter of the holy Text were fingle on the other fide.

But contrariwife, the Authours which are

ticular continuance of two or three flothful point. For some there are, who following Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant Josephus, derive that Empire, as by descent, Jo. 15, dren living in the Egyptians servitude; rest- tions, beginning with Nabuchodnosor the ing satisfied in both with the general assured Great, and giving to him 43 years; to Evilmerodach 18; to Niglifar the Son of Evil-Yet forafmuch as many have travelled in merodach 405 to Labofardach the Son of Niglifar o months; and lastly, to Balthafar (whom fosephus intimates to be of the race years, not only by the reigns of other Prin- of Nabuchodonofor, without naming his Faces, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of ther) 17 years. And this opinion (fave that the Affgrians themselves; I will not refuse he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls Balthafar the Son of Labofardach) nions, and shewing what I think may best | Saint Hierom doth follow, alleaging Berofus be held for likely, if the certain truth can- and Josephus as a fectator of Berosus, for his Authors; though Berofus, as he is cited by Josephus, report the matter far otherwise. For he tells us, that Evilmerodach the Son Jos, com; themselves, and in setting down the years of Nabuchodonosor did reign but two years, dp. 1. 1. of their several reigns. The first, and (as I take for his wickedness and lust, slain by his Siit) the furest, is theirs, who meerly follow sters Husband Niziglissoror, who occupied the authority of the Scriptures, without the Kingdom after him four years, and left borrowing any help from others. These it to his own Son Labosardach; who being

josephus, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in the taking of Babylon, while Scriptures, in number either of years, or of the King was at his drunken feaft. generations; yet the particularities which Seeking therefore diligently into all cirthey handle, have procured unto them cumftances that might give any light in this fome authority; fo that the names which obscurity, I found manifest proof, that the they have inserted are taken as it were upon time allotted unto Balthasar by Annius his trust. There is a third opinion which makes Metasthenes, was far short of the truth, the three laft Kings Brethren, and Sons of which is enough to render all suspected that Evilmerodach; and this may well enough he hath faid in distributing what part of the

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Accounty-value fails last King of Babylon was immediate succession, after which he was sick certain daies, four to his Father. But whereas the Author | but when he rose up, he did the Kings busof the Scholaftical Hiftery, who is founder ness: from which business, that he did afterof this opinion, placeth between him that wards withdraw himself, and live retired, to took Jerusalem, and Evilmerodach, another long, that he was forgotten in the Court, it Nabuchodonofor : plain enough it is that he appears plainly, both by the many words hath, out of any History facred or prophane, which the old Queen used to fet out his sufas little warrant to guide him, as we have ficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, reason to follow him. Ensebius, Sulpitius Nabuchodonofor. This is built on the fifth remembrance, were in my judgment a ve-Chapter of Daniel, wherein Balthasar (for of ry strange conceit; which rather than I Evilmerodach there is none that ever doubted) is often called Nabuchodonofor his Son. | think the whole ftory (thus related) a part And so common grew this explication, that St. Hierom called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of Jeremy before cited, proves that Balthafar was not the Son indeed, but the grand-child of that great Conqueror, though by the phrase very common in Scriges, he was called the Son.

the seventy years of Captivity, giving to Na-buchodonofor 45 years, to Evilmerodach 30 ing some, whose reigns might fill up the years, and to the three Sons of Evilmerodach, Nephews of Nabuchodonefor, fourteen years; that is, to Reg-Affar the eldest Son, three others, to Evilmerodach and Balthafar, joynyears; to Lab-Affar-Dach the fecond Son, fix years; and to Balthafar the third Son, five.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole fum of years, and in the number of generations, I have him, fashion the years of Evilmerodach in fometime subscribed; as not daring to reject this fort. They say, that the 18 years given an appearance of truth, upon no greater to him by Josephus in the tenth of his Antireason, than because the Author was of quities, should be read and numbred 28 Annius his edition. Yet could I not fatisfie years; and the two years that Berosus hath my self herein; both for that none of the allowed to Evilmerodach, should be written Ancient, and few fuch of the Modern Wri- 23. In the first number the figure of (1) is ters as deserve to be regarded, have con-mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the latfented with this Metasthenes; and for that in ter there should have been added the figure making Balthasar succeed unto his Brother of (3) to that of (2): this granted (to wit) in the Kingdom, and not unto his Father, he that Evilmerodach reigned 28 years, whereis wholly against Xenophon, whose History of five together with his Father, and 23 afof the elder Cyrus in his Affrian war I can-ter his death, and the same number of 23 ad-

years. This relation ill agrees with that of cially because it is very agreeable to the

agree with the Scripture: though I had ra- feventy years he pleafed among the reft. For Dag & Newborn ther believe Kenoplion, who faith, that the in the third year of Balthafar, Daniel faw a & w. when he came into his prefence, whether he Severus, and Theodoret, upon better ground were Daniel. Now to think that a man of Date, sub have supposed, that Evilmerodach and Bal-thasar were Brethren and Sons of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in two years have been worn out of the great could in the great could be g would entertain, I can well be contented to of Annius his impostures.

Out of these reports of Josephus, Berofus, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late Writers. For, theendurance of the Captivity being 70 years, and these years extending unto the first of ptures, and familiar in those Eastern langua- Cyrus, in which course of time Nebuchadnezzar, his Son and Grand-child, must have Annius his Metasthenes hits very rightly reigned; it hath seemed needful to supply whole continuance of the Captivity; with which the time allotted by Berofus and ed unto the years following the nineteen of Nebuchadnezzar, (wherein Jerusalem was laid defolate) are nothing even.

Therefore Mercator and others following not flightly value in many respects, and espe- ded to the 25 which Nabuchodonosor lived CHAP. I. then 4 years of Niglifar, according to Bero- by God, whose commandment he had obeyfur, nine months of Labaffar dach his Son, and ed in yielding himself to Nebuchadnezzar. 17 years of Labonidus or Balthasar, make up Indeed how long fechonia did live, it canthe number of seventy years to the first of not be proved, but plain it is hereby, that Corns. But whether by errour in figures, all his remaining daies he did eat bread beor in words, the numbers be utterly mifta- fore this King. Now that he lived not fo keninall Copies extant; upon how weak a short a while after this as two years, it is foundation do they build, who having no- more than likely; for he was but 55 years thing to help them, fave only the bare when he was fet at liberty, having been 27 names of two unknown Kings, found in Au- years in the prison, whereinto he was cast at thors manifeltly corrupted, and fuch as, if the age of 18 years; after which time it they had been entirely extant, were not feems plain that he begat Salathiel, as well worthy to have the place of Feremy called into dispute, in regard of their authority?

ø. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion the Babylonian Kings.

somer, from the transportation of Jechonia. of him to pass it over with silence. But hereof enough hath been faid already.

he gives to Evilmerodach is very short, and any Author, as affected with the love of more precifely agreeing with Berosus than truth) but to shew that he himself, having in with the Scriptures. For we find in Ferent, some points disliked those Writers, whom in that this Evilmerodach in the first of his general he approveth, might with greatet reign, shewing all favour to Jechonia, did, reason have wholly reformed them by the ** st.33, Portion was a continual portion given him whom Berofus calls Nabonidus, was the fame

after the destruction of Jerusalem, make 48. | this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort sent by the age of Zerobabel, who is faid to have been but a young man, and one of Darius his Pages, threefcore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it

Of Belfazer, to whom Scaliger gives the touching the number, persons, and reigns of next five years, naming him also Laborosoardoch, I should wonder why he calls him Nebuchadnezzars daughter's fon, were it not Ther suppositions, little different in that herein I find him very careful to help Jubstance from this of Mercator, I pur- out Berofus, by shifting in his Niriglissorour, as polely forbear to rehearle, as falling under husband to Nebuchadnezzars daughter, and the same answer. That of Foseph Scaliger I Protector of his son four of these years; by may not forget, as deferving to be confider- | which means there remains about one year ed apart from the rest. He gives to Nebu- to Belfazer alone, agreeing nearly with the chadnezzar 44 years, to Evilmerodach two, nine months affigned by Berosus to the son to Belfazer 5. and to Nabonidus 17. So that of Niglifar. But Teremy hath told us, that it from the 19 of Nebuchadnezzar, in which was to Nebuchadnezzar, and to his fon. and Ferufalem was destroyed, unto the time of to his sons son (not to his daughters son) that Cyrus, he accounteth only 59 years; begin-the Empire was promifed: which difficulty, ning (as many do) the Captivity 11 years if scaliger could not help, it was well done

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others That which we are now to consider, is his (desirous to reconcile Berosus to the Scripdistribution of the time running between tures) have judged to be all one with Balthe 19 of Nebuchadnezzar, and the fall of thasar, is by Scaliger thought to be Darius of the Chaldean Empire: wherein if he have the Medes. But herein Scaliger is no firm Beerred, then is all further inquisition frivo- rosan: for Eerosus makes him of the same ftock or race, a Babylonian. I speak not this Concerning the length of Nebuchadnez- to difgrace the travel of that most learned zara reign, I shall hereafter upon better oc- man (for it highly commends his diligence casson deliver my opinion. The time which and judgment, that he was not so wedded to among other things, take order for him at Scriptures, wherein can be no errour. Two his table; and that he did continually eat things there are which chiefly did breed or bread before him all the daies of his life. His confirm this opinion in scaliger, that he of the King of Babel, every day a certain, all whom Daniel had called Darius of the the daies of his life until he died. The very Medes: First, the phrase of Scripture, found of these words (which is more to be which fignifies unto us, that Darius took the esteemed than the authority of Berosus, were Kingdom, not saying that he wann it by he perfectly extant) imports a farr longer force of arms: Secondly, a fragment of Metime than two years, wherein Jechonia, under gafthenes found in Eusebius, wherein this Na-

bonidus is called the Median. Touching the word of the Original, or of the Greek translar for judicious, industrious, and deeply learned word of the Original, or of the Greek translar for judicious, industrious, and deeply learned word of the Original, or of the Greek translar for judicious, industrious, and deeply learned word of the Original for the Original lation, which, expressing no force of arms, in setting down repugnancies. doth only fignific that Darius took or re-ceived the Kingdom; I fee no reason why we should thereupon inferr, that the next King there is no appeal. And herein it feems that entred by Election: feeing Daniel relateth Scaliger, well knowing his own fufficiency not the means and circumstances of Baltha- hath been little careful to satisfie men that nor the hearts and circumstances or many large death, but only the fwift accomplishment of his own Prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been faid (if Daniel the Kingdom of Balthafar was divided). had cared to use the most expressive terms) and given to the Medes and Perstans; either that Darius of the Medes, breaking into the we must think that Darius of the Medes was City, did win the Kingdom; feeing this was not Nabonidus, or elfe we must bethink our performed by Cyrus in the absence of Darius, selves what Persun it might be that shared though by his forces, and to his use. Now the Kingdom with him. For it is not more concerning the fragment of Megasthenes, true certain, that Balthasar lost his life and Kingit is, that in Eusebius his works printed at Ba- dom, than that his Kingdom was divided fil, in the year 1559. I find only thus much and given to the Medes and Perfians, Neither of Megasthenes, cited out of Alpheens; That did the Medes and Persians fall out and Nabuckodonosor was more valiant than Hercules; that he subdued all Lybia, and the rest of Asia, as far as to the Armenians; and have done; but these two Nations did that, as the Chaldwans report, being return- compound the body of that Empire, and ed into his Kingdom, and rapt with a divine were accounted as Lords over all the hybject fury, he cryed with a loud voice: O Baby- Provinces; infomuch that the Greek Hiltolonians, I foretell ye of a great calamity that rians did commonly call those wars which shall come upon you, which neither Bell, nor Darius, and after him Xerxes, made upon any of the gods shall avert: There will come Greece, The wars of the Medes. Yea, to upon you: and that, this and the like when fembles that King, with whom Alexander he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I sought, unto a Ramm with two horns, calbelieve little or nothing, faving that Nabu- ling him the King of the Medes and Persans. chodonofor knew before-hand, that his Em- Wherefore the whole Nation of Chronologers pire should be translated, as Daniel had fore- were not to have been condemned by fortold, from the golden head, to the filver feph scaliger, for maintaining upon fuch breast. But that he wan all Africa or Lybia, good grounds, that Darius of the Medes I do hold it neither true nor probable.

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more perfect, out of which Megasthenes tells ther was Josephus to be the less regarded, us, that Nabuchodonofor wan both Africk and for affirming that Balthafar was destroyed Spain, I believe the fragment so much the by Darius of the Medes, and his Nephew less; and am as little moved with the au- Cyrus; though herein he varied from Berothority of it, where it calls a Median, the Jus and others, whose authority elsewhere pride and confidence of the Affyrians; as he gladly citeth. For Josephus had no reawhere it tells of Nebuchadnezzar his own va- fon to believe any mans faith or knowledge nishing away. Indeed that same title (of half of those times half so well as Daniels, whom an Ass by which he calleth cyrus, makes me I believe that he understood as far as was to suspect the fable, as cunningly forged out needful in this case. Lawful it was for him of Apollo his Oracle, wherein he termeth him to alleage all Authors that had any mention, a Mule, because his parentage was more though unperfect, of the same things that noble on the Mothers fide than on the Fa- were contained in the writings of the Jews, thers; as Mules are begotten by Asses upon to whose Histories thereby he procured re-Mares. And thus much in answer of the two putation in the Roman world, where they principal foundations whereon this opinion were frangers, and might feem fabulous is built. As for the concinnity and cohe- Even so do Eusebius and other Writers wilrence which it had within it felf, I eafily all lingly embrace the teltimonies of Heathen low it. But this proves nothing; for meer books making for the truth in some partitions: neither can any man believe that one in general by the felf-same Ethnick Philoso-

fight for it, as, by supposing Nabonidus to have been Darius, they should be thought to a Persian, half an Ass, that shall bring slavery clear this point, even Daniel himself re-Dassia was partner with Cyrus, in his victories, and If Scaligers Copy of Eulebius were the not a Chaldwan King by him fubdued. Neifictions have not wanted these commenda- culars; yet will they not therefore be tryed

then very great.

ø. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Ferfons and Times of Nabuchodonofor his successors.

find how the seventy years of Captivity are twenty years of the Seventy, that were alto be divided among them which reigned most wholly spent when his Son began to in Babylon, though I find that the distribu- reign. tion made of them, in such wise as already is rehearfed, be ill agreeable to the holy mainder of the feventy years were divided Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly fay with between the Kings ruling in Babylon until Pererius, that we ought liberally to pardon the first of Cyrus. A question more difficult (as those whose feet have failed them in the I said before) than greatly needful: the flippery waies of Chronology, wherein both whole fumm being certain, and the diffinlearning and diligence are subject to take a ction of times affording no benefit in knowfall at one time or other, by ignorance, for- ledge of their actions, who were flothful getfulness, or heedless reckoning. Yet will I Princes. Neither can any man the more the judgment of Lyra and others (holding whole seventy years, for that the distributhose only to have reigned over the Chalda- tion of some part of them is only conjectural; ans, whose names are found in the Scri- seeing that none who gives any other terms ptures) appears more conformable to reason to their beginning or end, hath refused to no good colour be maintained) but only to truth. fhew that the Kings by him cited, are likely

a King. a. tain truth.

wanter it is, that the 19 year of seem-Research year of Jechonia his Captivity; the reign of who reigned so long, and Balthasar to have Inst.31. Zedechia occupied all the mean space, being been one. But nothing moveth me so much

phers, but leave them where they are of 11 years. This is generally agreed upon. against the truth; as Josephus in this case so that it needs no further proofs: As for the hath left Berofus. And thus much I thought beginning of his successor Evilmerodach, it ramet to fay of scaligers opinion in this was in the seven and thirtieth year of Tecopoint; holding nevertheless in due regard nia his Captivity; fo that Nebnehadnezzar his learning and judgment, which if in some after his eight year (which was the first of things it had not failed, the miracle had fechonia his bondage) reigned 35 whole years, and peradventure a good part of the fix and thirtieth, forasmuch as Jechonia was inlarged with so great a favour, not until the end of the year. Subtracting therefore out of these four and forty, which Nebuchadnezzar's reign did well-neer occupy those eighteen years of his which passed TT now remains that I freely acknow- away before the Captivity of Juda, and ruin ledge mine own weakness, who cannot of the City, we have remaining fix and

It is is now to be confidered, how the readventure to deliver my opinion, wherein justly suspect the beginning or end of the and account of time, than any of the other follow both unlikely and desperate con-Sentences or Conjectures before rehearfed, | jectures in dividing them. I will therefore Not that I will take upon me to defend Ly- | be bold to do as others have done; knowing rahis Conjectures, when he supposeth by well before-hand, that whosoever shall dif-Niglifar and Labofardach to be meant the cover my error, must do me the pleasure fame persons which are called in Scriptures | (which I could rather wish in a case more Evilmerodach and Balthafar (for this can by material) of making me to understand the

Of the four and forty years remaining in to have occupied the whole time of seventy | account of Nebuchadnezzar's death, we are years. First therefore let us consider the to take away the last, which was the first of reign of Nebuchadnezzar, in whose eigh- Darius the Mede, and then having authoriteenth year Jerusalem was taken and fackt, ty good enough to warrant us from blame but in his nineteenth laid utterly desolate. of presumption in giving us seventeen years Most of Writers have given to him 43 to Balthafar, we find left in our hands to beyears of reign, following therein Berofus. | flow upon Evilmerodach fix and twenty There are who have added one year more; | years. Of the year belonging unto Darius and some have made it up 45. To dispute the Mede, I have already spoken what I about the certainty were needless: for in thought sufficient, in delivering my opinion shewing by what length of time the Scri- of the beginning and continuance of this ptures measure him, we shall shew the cer- | Captivity. That Balthafar did reign seventeen years, we have the authority of Josephus, Manifest it is, that the 19 year of Nebu- before cited in express words : We have also chiasas also that his eighth year, was the first Writers, interpreting Berosus his Nabonidus,

to believe this Tradition, as first those evil ill written, if some crooked hand, or other Das. 3... dent places in Daniel, shewing that in the michance not unusual, had omitted the first 10 Bass. General parts of Ealth far he followed the stroke of the former letter, or added a dash 65. 9. 113 Kings buffines, and yet was forgotten ere the to the latter, which might cause them to end of his reign, (a proof fufficient of no feem not two different figures, but the one few years, palling under this man, especial- a correction of the other, which how it ly seeing it is no where found that Daniels | could be supposed in by standing for 23, I employments took end either that year or do not well perceive. As for the Arithmethe next.) Secondly, the confideration of tical figures now in use, they were, long after Crus his wars against the Affrians, which the time of Josephus brought in by the Arabeginning with the death of this mans Fa- | bians, and therefore do not appertain unto ther, and being alwaies prosperous, could this business; unless we should guess that hardly have occupied any longer time; his works were corrupted in that unlearned though we make large allowance to his age, which following the Saracen-conqueft, deeds in the lower Afia, which fell out in was little occupied in the studies of humathe mid-way: I have already fliewed, that | nity, but in a fort wholly given over to the there appears in the Scriptures likelihood doccrine of Aristotle. If this will serve to enough to make it credible, that the reign make Berosus our friend, so let it be; if not, of Evilmerodach was not short, and that men I will not purchase the favour of his authoof great judgment have found it most pro- rity, by forsaking Jeremy and Daniel when bable, that he was a King three and twenty | they feem to be his Opposites. years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the defire of farisfying Berefus caused them to rest content with this. And furely it were greatly to be withed, that Books of fuch autiquity, as those of Berofus, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yield in many dark passages of Antiquity. I will yet confess, that were his works never so excellent, and in all things elfe unquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend unto him in some one point, wherein the Scripeures were his open enemy: How much it felf was, and is yet, fought to be abridgless ought I obey a broken fragment of his, ed, as not having left sufficient matter to containing only seven or eight lines, and witness the length of it. But by such an arpart even of the title corrupted, as they believe that follow him in the reft? The Scriptures have told us, that God gave the Em-Jer. 27.7 pire to Nebuchadnezzar, to his Son, and to the beginning and last end of it, hath in his Sons Son: How long each of them held fome flothful age rather dreamt away the it, we find not expressed; yet would we time, than spent it. It is therefore no margladly know it of Berofus, or of any other |vel, if the posterity of Nabuchodonosor, findthat would teach us; provided alwaies, that | ing all things ready to their hand, which not thereby the general truth. More words | themselves to their ease and pleasures, think-

VII.

of the victories which Nabuchodonofor obtained between the destruction of Jerusalem, and conquest of Egypt.

Ith what actions this time of seventy years was entertained by the Babylonian Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure have been some cause that the time gument we might as well deny to many people even their Being. For every Nation (I know not whom I should except) between helping us in a particularity, he destroyed their hearts could have desired, betook are needless. It is enough to say with ing perhaps, like the prodigal Sons of greethers, that Berosus, or Josephus who cited dy Fathers, their own wisdom greater, him, hith been wronged by the carelefness which knew how to enjoy, than that of their of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those | Ancestors, which wearied away their dates Scribes to erre in writing two for fix and in the reftless travel of purchafing: Though twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps indeed the reign of Nabuchodonofor was fo more casie. For the emission of the second divided, that his youthful and stronger figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5, fignifying 6, arms, no finall part of his life was remaining hath a nearer resemblance of & that stands to be spent in establishing what was gotten, for 2, than hath 7 which is used for 3. So and gathering the fruit of his worthy lathat the numeral notes \$6.5, expressing 26, bours past. The nineteenth year of his were not fafe enough from being militaken reign it was, when destroying utterly the in the true Copy, and might be altered, as great and mighty City of Jerujalem, he enjoyning Regions, which God had exposed invincible. ploying all his power to their subversion.

CHAP. I.

table, which Ezekiel condemneth as the common wholly stand at his devotion, or at least be even in the nineteenth year of Nabuchodono-

mischief.

Harrist Efay, which appoint unto this defolation of followed the Chaldwan Army, to feed upon

riched himself with abundance of spoil, and head was made bald, and every shoulder was terrified all that would offer to refift him, made bare, yet had be no wages, nor his Army; by that fearful example. From that time but was fain to rest contented with the Hoforward, he, until his three and twentieth nour of having destroyed that City, which year, laboured in the conquest of those ad- in all mens judgments had been held

unto his fword, and commanded to wear. The destruction of these two great and his voke; namely, the Edomites, Mashites, powerful Cities, having made the name of Ammonites, Tyrians, Sydonians, and Egypti- the Chaldwans dreadful in the ears of all the ans; though some of these were already be- Nations thereabout, Nabuchodonosor used come his followers, and ferved under him, the advantage of that reputation which he when Jerusalem was beaten down and burnt. had obtained by victories already gotten. But the Tyrians, whose City was founded on to the getting of more, and more profitable, an Illand, fafe enough from any danger of a with less pain. The Kingdom of Egypt was Land-army, and whose Fleet was fo strong, the Mark at which he aimed; a Country so that they needed not to fear any enemy at abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of might well have tempted any Prince, findtheir neighbour-Cities, nor with the obstilling himself strong enough, to seek occasion nate resolution of this mighty Prince, im- of quarrel against it; and so farr an enemy to the Crown of Babylon, that, had it been That the City of Tyre was rather well poorer, yet either it must have been subdupleased, than any way discouraged with ed, or the conquest of Syria could ill have the fall of ferufalem (which had held the been established. Nevertheless it was needsame course that Tyrus did, and endured all ful, that before he entred into this business. that might be in the same quarrel against the Countries adjacent should be reduced the common enemy) it appears by the words unto fuch terms, that either they should voice of Tyrus; Aha, the gate of the people is unable to work him any displeasure. And broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing sle is desolate, I shall be replenished. Yet at length, all prosperous enterprises, with reason of State. For, the people of Moab, Ammon, for, that great work of his, whereof we have Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Hazar, and other already spoken, began to appear above the adjoyning Regions, whom God for their sins waters, and threaten them with inevitable had condemned to fall under the Babylonian fwords, were fuch, as regarding only their But those Prophecies of Jeremy and of own gain, had some of them, like Ravens, Tyre the same term of seventy years, that was the karcasses that fell by the cruelty thereprescribed unto the reign of the Chaldwans, of; others taking advantage of their neighdo plainly shew, that she followed ferusalem, bours miscries, occupied the Countries the same mineteenth year of Nabuchodonosor, which were by his victories belonging to in the fame, or a very like fortune. The parti- Nabuchodonofor: all of them thinking, that cularities, which doubtless were memorable when the Affirian had satisfied his fury, he in the iffue of fo great and laborious a fiege, should be fain to forfake those desolate are in a manner utterly loft. Thus much we parts, and leave the possession to those that find, That the Citizens perceiving the could lay hand upon it. Particularly the Exchas. Town unable to hold out, embarked them- Edomites and Philiftims had shewed much 12. 5 15. solves, and fled into the Isle of Cyprus. malice to the Jews when their City was ta-Nevertheless, it seems that this evasion serv- ken. What good service they had done to ed only the principal men, who escaping the Chaldwans, I find not; if they did any, with their goods, abandoned the poorer it is likely to have been with reference to fortunto the enemies fury. For, not only their own purposes, wherein they were disfuch people of Tyre as dwelt on the Conti- appointed. The Ammonites were not connent, (who are called her Daughters in the tented to rejoyce at the fall of ferufalem, but Exek 25.3 field) were put to the fword; but the like presently they entred upon the Country of fw. 49. 1. execution was done in the streets, into Gad, and took possession, as if not the Assistance which, with excessive labour, the Assyrian rians, but they had subdued Israel. Neither made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus can I perceive what other ground that pra-Nabuchodonofor caused his Army to serve a cice had of Baalis King of the Ammonites,

great service against Tyrus, wherein every when he sent Ishmael, a Prince of the blood

King of Eabel had left Governour over diment unto his proceeding, or take advanthose that remained in Ifrael, and to carry tage of any misfortune; then did he forthcaptive into the ammonites Country the with take in hand the conquest of Egypt people that abode in Mirabab, than a defire himfelf, upon which those other Nations January of embroiling Natuchadanofor, with fo many had formerly been depending. Of this Expedition, and the victorious iffue thereof, Jo. 28. into his own Country, and abandon those the three great Prophets, Flay, Jeremy, and wasted Lands to himself and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the it altogether needless to look after more aulike policy the Moabites did exercise, thority, or to cite for proof half of that whose pride and wrath were made frustrate which may be alleadged out of these. Neby God; and their diffimulation condem-

ned, as not doing right. All these Nations had the art of ravening. which is familiar to fuch as live or border upon defarts; and now the time afforded unto fuch a fenfe, as gives to Nabuchodonofor them occasion to shew the uttermost cun-little more than the honour of having done ning of their the with wits. But Nebuchadnez- fome spoil in Egspt, omitting the conquest of zar did cut funder all their devices by that Land by the Babylonian, and referring tharp and fudden war, overwhelming them the death of Apries or Hophra to a Chance with unexpected ruin, as it were in one long after following, which had no cohe-16:36.14, night; according to the Prophecies of Efoy, rence with these times or affairs. So prelittle difference of words, the greatness and take in the means and second helps condufwiitness of the milery that should come cing to their purpose, that oftentimes they upon them. With which of them he first do preferr the Commentator before the began, I find not; it feems that Moab was Author; and, to uphold a fentence, giving

ø. VIII.

of the Land of Juda.

That Egypt was conquered, and the King thereinreigning flain by Nabuchodonofor, contrary to the opinion of most Authors: who following Herodotus and Diodorus, relate it otherwife.

bordering Arabians, in fuch wife, that no sistem Captain of the rebels, and was enemy to himself, nor friend to the Egyptian, by them chosen King. Finally, the whole

of Jula to murther Gedalia, whom the was left at his back, that might give impe-Ezekiel, have written so plainly, that I hold vertheles, we find many and good Authors, who following Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, are well contented to frrain these Prophecies with unreasonable diligence fereny, and Ezekiel, who foretold, with posterous is the delight which many men the last which felt his hand: for so do many testimony to one clause, do carelessy overgood Authors interpret the Prophecy of throw the History it felf, which thereby Efay, threatning Moab with destruction af- they fought to have maintained. The reter three years, as having reference to the ports of Herodotus and Diodorus, concerning third year following the ruin of Jerusalem; the Kings of Egypt, which reigned about the next year after it being spent in the these times, are already rehearsed in the Egyptian Expedition. This is manifest, that former Book: but that which they have all the principal Towns in these Regions spoken of Apries, was purposely reserved were burnt, and the people flain, or made unto this place. Herodotus doth affirm, that flaves, few excepted, who being preferved he was a very fortunate King, but wherein by flight, had not the courage to return to he telleth not; (unless we should under better the courage to return to he telleth not; (unless we should under better the courage to return to he telleth not; (unless we should under better the courage to return to he telleth not). their habitations over-haftily, much less to stand that he was victorious in the War, attempt any thing against Nabuchodonofor; which he is said to have made upon Tyrus but lived as miserable Out-laws, or at least and sydon); that he reigned five and twenty oppressed wretches, until the end of seven- years; and was finally taken and put to ty years, which God had prescribed unto death by his own Subjects; who did set up the desolation of their Countries, as well as Amasis, as King, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the Egyptians he imputeth to a great loss which they received in an Expedition against the Cyrenians, by whom almost their whole Army was destroyed. This calamity the people of Egypt thought to be well pleafing to their King, who had fent them on this dangerous Expedition, with a purpose to have them confumed, that so he might with greater security reign over fuch as stayed at home. So Hen by a long course of victory, Nather who escaped, and the friends of such as were slain, rebelled against Apries, who jection all the Nations of Spria, and the fent Amalis to appeale the tumult; but Ama-

Land confented unto this new Election; all the people. Certainly, if that notable Siden, wann the other Towns of Phanicia, as is before rchearfed, when he had reignftruction of Egypt by the Babylonian, foretoldby the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater traditions of Egyptian Priests (which the phonomer in the Bayerian Priefts and notably deluded Herodotis with lyes, men so unable to defend themselves.

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force indeed, but by the uniform confent of death of Apries can no way be approved, as

whereby Apries was driven to trust unto his place of Jeremy, wherein he foretelleth how forcin Mercenaries, the Ionians and Carians, the Jews in Egypt should see Pharaoh Hophra Je. 44.20 of whom he kept continually in readiness delivered into the hand of his enemies, as Jer. 45.10 thirty thousand good Souldiers that fought Zedekia had been, were to be referred unto valiantly for him, but were at length van- the time of that rebellion, whereof Herodoquished by the great number of the Egypti- tus hath spoken, as the general opinion hath an forces, amounting unto two hundred and over-ruled it; then was it vainly done of tiffy thousand, which were all by birth and the same Prophet (which, God forbid that education, men of War. Apries himself be- any Christian should think, seeing he did it ing taken prisoner, was gently entreated by by the appointment of God himself) to hide Amalis for a while, until the Egyptians, ex- in the clay of a Brick-hill, those very stones. claiming upon him, as an extreme enemy to upon which the Throne of Nabuchodonofor the Land, got him delivered into their should be set, and his Pavilion spread Yea hands, and strangled him, yet they gave then was that Prophecy no other than false, him honourable burial. Such is the report which expressed the end of Pharaoh thus : 301.46.25, and See of Herodotus, with whom Diodorus Siculus Behold, I will visit the common people of No. 5 26. doth nearly agree; telling us, that Apries did and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with their gods, and vanquish the Cyprians and Phanicians in their Kings, even Pharaoh, and all that trust battel at Sea, took by force and demolished in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of those that seek their lives, and into the and the Isle of Cyprus, and finally perished, hand of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babel, and into the hands of his servants. The ed two and twenty years. This authority clearness of this Prophecy being such as were enough (yet not more than enough) could not but refute that interpretation of to inform us of Apries his hiftory, if greater | many other places, which referred all to the authority did not contradict it. But the de- rebellion of Amasis, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the Greek Historians. Wherefore lookforce to compel our belief, than have the ing upon Junius, who had in another place Junius Jetaken the enemies of Pharaoh Hophra to be v. 36. Greek Historians followed) and greater Amasis and his followers, I found him here probabilities to perfwade those that look acknowledging that the Egyptian Priests cied long before of the shameful Captivity | coyned upon a vain-glorious purpose of hiof the Egyptians, whom the King of Affair ding their own difference and bondage. And should carry away naked, young and old, furely, it may well be thought, that the hiin such wise, that the fews, who fled then story of Nebuchadnezzar was better known for deliverance from the Affyrian, should be to the Jews, whom it concerned, than to ashamed of their own vain confidence in the Greeks, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why But Ezekiel and Feremy, as their Prophe- we should not rather believe Josephus, recies were nearer to the time of execution, fo porting that Nabuchodonofor in the three and they handled this argument more precifely. twentieth year of his reign, and the fifth For Exekiel telleth plainly, that Egypt year of the destruction of Jerusalem, did conshould be given to Nebuchadnezzar, as wages | quer Egypt, kill the King thereof, and apfor the service which he had done at Tyre: point another in his stead, than Herodotus Also he recounteth particularly all the chief or Diodore; who being meer strangers to Cities in Egypt, faying, That these by name this business, had no great reason to labour 30 should be deftroyed, and go into Captivity; in fearching out the truth, but might rest yea that Pharaoh and all his Army should be contented with any thing that the Priests flain by the fword. Wherefore it must needs would tell them. Now if setting aside all adbe a violent exposition of these Prophecies, vantage of authority, we should only consiwhich by applying the islue of such threat- der the relations of Josephus, and of the nings to an infurrection and rebellion, con- Greek Historians, as either of them might cludes all, without any other alteration in be verified of it felf by apparent circumstan-Egypt, than change of the Kings person, ces, without reflecting upon the Hebrew wherein Amasis did succeed unto Apries, by Prophets, or Egyptian Priests; methinks the

having been wrought by confent of the fuch as did more enlarge his Dominion. people, but affords great matter of fuspici- than all the former Wars had done, it may on; yea, though no man had opposed the re- easily be gathered out of Exckjel, who ports of Herodotus and Diodore. For the reckoneth up in his 30 Chapter (besides great love and honour which the Egyptians the whole Country of Egypt) Phut and Lud, did bear unto their Kings, is notorious by with other Nations, that may feem to have the uniform testimony of all others that reached out into Mauritana, as people subhave handled the matters of that Country, dued by this great Babylonian. The circumas well as by the report of Diodore himself. Stances of these Wars are in a manner utter-How then can we think it probable, that ly loft; but that the victory was easie and Apries having wonn great victories, did for fwift, any manshall find, who will take the one only loss fall into the hatred of all his pains to conferr the places, wherein the people? or, which may ferve to perswade us, that a King of Egypt would feek, or so demean himself, that he might be thought to feek the destruction of his natural subjects? As for that Army of thirty thousand fouldiers, Carians and Ionians, which the King of Egypt, whom Amasis took prisoner, is said to have kept for his defence: Doth it not argue that he was a foreiner, and one that all his friends and adherents in Syria. For, armed himself against the Egyptians, wishing as the labour of this buliness did more harthem few and weak; rather than any of the Pharaohs, who accounted the force of the Country, as affuredly their own, as the ftrength of their own bodies ? It were more tedious than any way needful, to use all Arguments that might be alleadged in this cafe. The very death of this supposed Apries. which the clamours of the people obtained of Amasts, who sought to have kept him them (as may justly be thought) in the time alive, doth intimate that he was some forein Governour, not a natural Prince; otherwise the hearts of men fail, when those helps the people would have defired to fave his fail, in which they had reposed more conlife, and Amasis to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove the Kingdom of Egypt had flourished under that opinion, whereunto I should not have the rule of the Pharaohs, about a thouland yielded, though it had flood upon great ap- | five hundred and fourfcore years; but from pearance of truth, confidering that the this time forward it remained forty years voice of truth it self cries out against it; but without a King, under the subjection of the leave the circumstances, proving the Con- Babylonians; and then at length it began to quest of Egypt by Nabuchodonosor, to be ob- recover by little and little the former greatferved where due occasion in course of the ness; yet so, that it was never dreadful unftory following shall present them.

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chadnezzar,

That his Victories following the Conquest ried Captives theree to Babylon the Jews of Syria, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were whom he found in that Country. Now con-

three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I think worthy of more particular observation; that Pharaoh, who (as is already noted in the former Book) thought himself most safe in Egypt by the well defenced fituation of his Country, did very unwifely in fuffering his enemies to fweep the way clean unto his own doors by confuming den, than weary the Chaldaan Army; fo the confidence and vain fecurity of the Egyptians, relying upon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make thorow the Arabian defarts, and the much advantage which the great River of Nilus would afford unto themselves, did little avail them in provision for the War, and much astonish of execution: it being usually seen, that fidence, than in their own virtue. Hitherto to others; God having faid of that people, to others; God having laid of that peoples Exchin rule the Nations. For, whereas it hath been 13.1 faid of Pharaoh: I am the Son of the Wife, 11 and the How Egypt mer fubdued and held by Nebu-am the son of the Ancient Kings: And Event observers. whereas he had vaunted, The River is mine, and I have made it; the Princes of T is a great loss, that the general History Egypt now became fools, the River failed of the World hath suffered by the spoil them, the King himself was taken and slain, and waste which Time hath made of those and that ancient linage quite extinguished. Monuments that should have preserved the This came to pass in the first year after the memory of fuch famous actions as were ac- destruction of Jerusalem, and the three and complified by this mighty Prince Nabucho-twentieth of Nebuchadnezzar; at which for the donofor; wherein, whether this Virtue, or time (faith Josephus) He slew the King then, 114, Fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. reigning, placed another in his room, and cardifference is only about a name, it being with them. once granted, that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life and Kingdom by the Assprians. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that Apries, of whom Of the fundry accounts drawn from fundry acts the Greek Historians wrote, could not be the Deputy of Nebuchadnezzar, feeing that he was the Grand-child of Pharaoh Necho, and made war (as they report) upon the Phanicians; who were, before the Egyptians, become subject unto the Crown of Babylon.

cerning the time which Josephus gives unto and Carians, I hold them to be none other this buliness, and the buliness it felf. I have than the garrisons of mercenary souldiers already shewed, that it is warranted by all which were lest by the Assyrian for the the Prophecies which infinuate the same. As guard of his Vice-roy, and custody of the likewise the last destruction of Jerusalem, & new subdued Province: as likewise the carrying away those unto Babel; who inha- company returning from Cyrene and Barce, bited the miferable ruins of that great Ci- who, together with the friends of fuch as ty, which was in the same three and twen- were slain in that Expedition, remembred tieth year of Nebuchadnezzar, is not unpro- before out of the Greek Historians, deposed bably thought by good Authors to have and flew Apries, I take them to have been been at the return from this Egyptian Expe- the Egyptian fugitives, which then recovered dition. But whereas Josephus tells us, that their own Country. Sure it is, that this there was another King put in the room Prophecy of Ezekiel was verified; At the Ezek 30. of Apries by Nebuchadnezzar, we must un- end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians 13.3 14. derstand, that he was only a Vice-roy, and from the people where they were feattered, and not (as some have mistaken it) think that I will bring again the Captivity of Egypt, and this was Amasis. For to place the beginning mill cause them to return into the Land of Paof Amalis his reign in the three and twen- thros, into the Land of their habitation, and tieth of Nebuchadnezzar, were as well re- they shall be there a small Kingdom. If the pugnant unto the Prophecies before al- Egyptian Priests alluded hereunto in the tale leadged, as to all Chronology and History. Which they made of Amalia obtaining the Some there are, which to help this inconve- Kingdom, then are they to be helped with nience, imagine that there were two fuc- this or the like interpretation; if they deceffively bearing the name of Amalis; others, vifed matter that had no shadow of truth, that there were two Apries, the one flain only to keep the Greeks from knowledge of by Nebuchadnezzar, the other by Amalis; their Countries diffrace, then are they little a question of small importance, because the to be regarded, since we know the truth

ø. X.

of Nebuchadnezzar, and of the destruction of Ninive, by him; the time of which action is uncertain.

"Hese victories brought the greatness I of the Asyrian Empire to the full, and I might add, perhaps, that he whom Nebu- from them was reckoned the time of Nebuchadnezzar left as Governour of Egypt, was chadnezzar's reign in fundry places of Scrimore likely to have had some Chaldwan or pture. To speak any more of the questions Affyrian, than Egyptian name; unless we arising about the supputation of Nebuchadshould think that he had been a Traitor to nezzar his times, might seem to be the overhis natural Prince, and so rewarded by the handling of one Argument: Yet thus much Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the I will note, that whereas Daniel was car-Country: about which it were but frivo- ried captive in the third year of Jehojakims lous to dispute. Thus much in brief we reign (which ran along with some part of ought to believe, that Nabuchodonofor made Nebuchadnezzar's first year) and was kept an absolute Conquest of Egypt; that he was in diet three years more, before he was not fo foolish as to give it away, any man brought into the Kings presence; it could may guess; that he appointed one to rule not be the second of Nebuchadnezzar's Kingthe Country, it is confequent unto the for- dom, wherein he interpreted the forgotten Dam. 1.2. mer, and hath authority of Foscobus; that dream of the great Image, fore-shewing the his Governour (or some Successiour of his) success of Monarchies, but the second of his was afterwards taken and flain by Amalis, Empire. The same or the like may be said I fee probability enough to perswade my of divers places which referr fundry matters felf, and yet can well be content that others unto their fet years; as that of Ezekiel beuse their liberty, and believe what they list. fore cited, where he fore-tells, that Egypt As for the Army which this Egyptian King should be given in reward for the service Apries is supposed to have kept of tonians done before Tyrus, dating his Prophecy in

Daniel, placing the erection of the golden bylon, wherewith he pleased himself so well. Image in the eighteenth year: for these that he brake out into those glorious of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the might of my power, and for the honour of my Captivities, but had reference to some memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and are by Josephus rehearled of him out of Betherefore not easie to be found, nor worth rosus, and Megasthenes, he might well delight the labour of uncertain fearch.

after fuch time as he returned from the Con- faid, That he fortified Babylon with a triple quest of Egypt, I do not read: excepting wall; that, besides other stately works, he that against Nineve, the destruction whereof raised those huge Arches wherewith were was fore-told by the Prophet Nahum. Ni- born up the high Orchards, hanging as it neve had long before been taken by Mero- were in the Air, and equalling the tops of dach (as in due place hath been shewed) Mountains; which most sumptuous Frame, and together with the rest of Asyria made that out-lasted all the remainder of the As subject to Babylon. Yet was it left under a Syrian, and all the Persian Empire, is said to peculiar King, who, rebelling against the have been reared, and finished in fifteen Chaldean, as Jehojakim and Zedechias, tri- daies. butary Kings of Juda, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destru- we find little else recorded, than that ction of Nineve followed the Conquest of (which indeed is most profitable for us to Egypt, it appeareth by the compariton which confider) his over-valuing of his own great-Nakum the Prophet made between this Ci- noss abased him unto a condition inseriour ty, that was to fall, and the City of No in to the poorest of men. And not undeserved-Egypt, that was fallen already. But, how long ly fell these judgments of God upon him. after this came to pass, it is (methinks) im- For, whereas God had honoured him, not poslible to find out. For, whereas it is found only with many victories, and much happiin an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the ness in his own life, but with a discovery of first of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, the place of things to come after him, yea and had ap-Nahum 3.3 Nahum last cited, is enough to disprove it. proved the certainty of his dream, by the Whereas it is referred by some unto the first miraculous reducing of it into his memory, of his Monarchy, which began at the end of and interpretation thereof by Daniel the

other, argueth strongly, that there was a seen and acknowledged, that he caused a longer space of time intercurrent. So that golden Image to be set up and worshipped; to enquire into the very year of this destru- ordaining a cruel death as reward unto them ction, or other circumstances of the War, that should dare to disobey his Kingly will whether managed by Nabuchodonosor in per- and pleasure, which was utterly repugnant fon, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat to the Law of him that is the King of Kings. like unto the vain curiofity of Tiberius Ca- Hereof St. Hierom hath well noted; Velox far, enquiring who was the Mother of Hecu- oblivio veritatis, ut qui dudum ferum Dei ba; or to the like idle pains which he should quast Deum adoraverat, nunc statuamsibi siert take, who would feek to learn what woman jubeat, ut ipse quasi Deus in Statua adorarethat Huzzah Queen of Nineve was, whose Iur: A hasty forgetfulness of the truth, that he

ø. XI.

buildings, madneß, and death.

find among the Prophecies of Daniel. Among their bands; and finally called out with

the feven and twentieth year; and that of these we may reckon his great works of Bayears held no dependance upon either the words: Is not this great Babel that I have beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's Kingdom, or built, for the house of the Kingdom, by the himself with the contemplation of such Of any War made by Nebuchadnezzar, goodly and magnificent buildings. Forit is

But of all this, and other his magnificence, the Egyptian Wars; the whole Prophecy of Prophet; he nevertheless became so forget-Nahum, which went between the one and the ful of God, whose wonderful power he had woful Captivity the same Prophet Nahum who so lately had worshipped (Daniel) the servant of God, as if he had been God himself, should now command a Statua to be creffed unto himself, wherein himself might be worshipped as God. From this impiety it pleased Of the latter time of Nebuchadnnezzar; his God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderful delivery of those blessed Saints out of the fiery furnace; who being thrown F the time which this great Monarch into it bound, for refusing to commit Ido, Ifpent in quiet, I think there are no latry, were affifted by an Angel; preferved Monuments extant, fave those which we from all harm of the fire; loofened from mer honour, by the King: who amazed at them with a fullen and unfeeling difpolition. the miracle, made a decree tending to the Yet as all humane affections, wherein due the manager of God, which by erection of his reference to God is wanting, are no better Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of than obscure clouds hindring the influence Mebachadnezzar, was not fo rooted in him, of that bleffed Light, which clarifies the foul that it could bring forth fruit answerable to of man, and predisposeth it unto the brighthis halty zeal. Therefore was he forewarn- nefs of eternal felicity; fo that infolent joy, ed by God in a dream of the terrible judg- which man in the pride of his vain imaginament hanging over his head, which Daniel tion conceiveth of his own worth, doth expounding, advised him to break off his fin above all other passions blast our minds, as it by righteoufness, and his iniquity by mercy to were with lightning, and make us to reflect wards the poor, that there might be an healing our thoughts upon our feeming inherent of his errour. Hereby it feens that inju- Greatness, forgetting the whilst him, to lice and cruelty were the faults, for which whom we are indebted for our very Being. he was threatned: but this threatning fuf- Wherefore these Mala mentis gandia, The fixed not unto his information. For, that fo | eviljoyes of the minds were not unaptly, by great a Monarch flould be driven from the Prince of Latin Poets, bestowed in the among men (according to the tenor of the entrance of Hell, and placed further inward dream and interpretation) 5 yea, compelled than forrows, cares, and fears 5 not far from to dwell with the beafts of the field, and the Iron Cabbins of the Furies. And cermade to eat grass as the Oxen, was a thing tainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance foincredible in mans judgment, that easily near at hand, when these unreasonable it might be thought an idle dream; and flushes of proud and vain joy, do rage in a much more easily be forgotten at the years mind, that should have been humbled with end. One whole years leifure to repent, a just repentance, and acknowledgment of was given to this haughty Prince: which ill deferving. respite of the execution may seem to have bred in him a forgetfulness of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelve months, ampled. For he ran among beafts in the walking in the royal Palace of Babel, he was foover joyed and transported with a vain lived, not only as a falvage mau, but as a contemplation of his own feeming happiness, that, without all fear of Gods heavy ended, when a voice from Heaven, telling him that his Kingdom was departed from him, rehearfed over unto him the fentence again, which was ful filled upon him the very fame hour.

That Salomon, and many other Princes, and great ones, have taken delight in their own buildings; it cannot any way be doubted; yet I do not remember that ever I have Nebuchádnezzar.

things wherewith God hath bleffed us; but he was the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and Dan. 4.33,

gracious words, and reftored to their for- a note of much unthankfulness to entertain

This was verified upon Nebuchadnezzar, whose punishment was fingular and unexfields and woods, where for leven years he salvage beast; for a beast he thought himfelf, secundum suam imaginationem, as Thomas L. z. de judgment pronounced against him, he ut- noteth, and therefore fed himself in the same Res. pri. tered those lofty words before rehearsed, in manner, and with the same food that beasts vaunting of the Majestical works which he do: Not that he was changed in figure exhad reared, as well beferming his Majestical | ternal, according to Mediana, insomuch as med 1.2.de Ferson. But his highspeeches were not fully he appeared a Beast to other menseyes, as Reda in St. Hierom in the life of Hilarius (how true c. 7. God knows) fpeaks of a woman that appeared to all other mens fight a Cow, but to Hilarius only a woman; neither was he changed as Iphigenia the daughter of Agamemnon was said to be, into a Hind; nor made a Monster, as Dorotheus and Epipha. Dor. in nius dreamed: but, according to St. Hierom's Ep. in vit. exposition of these words, At the same time Das. read of any, that were punished for re- mas my understanding restored unto me, &c. joycing in works of this kind (though it is Quando dicit (laith St. Hierom) Sensum sibi hard in joy, or any passion of the mind, to redditum, oftendit non forman se amissse, sed keep a just measure) excepting only this mentem; When he saith that his sense was restored unto him, he shewed that he had not lost The like may be faid of David: for other | his humane shape, but his understanding. Seven (and some very godly) Kings have mustred years expired, it pleased God to restore all their forces to the very last man; but few Nabuchodonofor, both to his understanding, or none have been known to have been and his estate, for which he acknowledged punished as David was. Surely I not only and praised God all the rest of his life, conhold it lawful to rejoyce in those good fessing his power, and everlasting being; that wrought 34.

in both; that his works were all truth, and mate the King of the Medes, to deal with his waies rightcous. Which gave argument Evilmerodach, as with a Prince greater in to many of the Fathers, and others, not to fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed doubt of his falvation; namely St. Augu- valour of his people, than in prefent forces: fine, Theodoret, Lyra, Carthufianus, and or, whether (as I rather think) fome foil reothers. And for that place of Efty the ceived by the Affrian invading Media, emfourteenth, out of which his perdition may boldened the Egyptians to rebel against him: be gathered, the aforenamed Authors ap- I will neither undertake, nor feek to define. ply the fame to Balthafar; because Esay, both Xenophon tells, that the first service of young Xenophon tells, the year of the in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters, Cyrus in war, was under Aftyages King of the speaketh of the King, and the destruction Medes, his Grand-father, in a prosperous of Babylon joyntly.

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ø. XII. of Evilmerodach.

Aving already spoken what I could of the succession and years of Nebuchadnezzar's posterity; the most that may be faid of him, is faid of Evilmerodach, which I war began more early between these Nawill not here again rehearfe.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdom burning in a war that confumed it to ashes. He loft Egypt by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which was forty years after his Father had conquered it. him a troublesome neighbour, to stand up-But this agrees neither with the account of on prouder terms with the Affrians, thanin Herodotus, who allows to Amalis four and his flourishing estate they durst have used. forty years of reign; nor with that of Dio- | Howfoever the quarrel began, we find that dorus, who gives him five and filty, faying, that he died in the third year of the three fore and third Olympiad, when Cambyfes too proud to digeft the loffes which he redid conquer Egypt. There were indeed but feven and thirty years, which passed be tween the second year of the sour and sisting and all the people of the lesser Assa, with the Lydians, and all the people of the lesser Assa, with gifts and all the people of the lesser Assa, with gifts eth Olympiad which was the nineteenth of and ftrong perswasions, hoping so to over-Evilmerodach, and the first of Amasis) and the whelm his enemies with a strong Invasion, fifth of Cambifes his reign, wherein he wann whom in vain he had fought to weary out Egipt; of which feven and thirty years it with a lingring War. is credibly held, that Flammiticus, the Son of Amasis, reigned three: so that Amasis could ges, who left the world in the nineteenth be no longer King than four and thirty year of Evilmerodach, at which time Amasis reign. This is the plain answer to this objection. For to fay, either that the numfet down instead of four and thirty; or that the far more mighty Persian. Amasis did temporize a while with the Afbecame again a Kingdom) I hold it a super- feremy. fluous excuse.

wrought without refistance what he pleased | Whether these Egyptian-troubles did anifight against the Affyrian Prince, who did set upon him; at which time, Cyrus was fifteen or fixteen years old. If therefore Cyrus lived Xample, threefcore and three years (as he is faid to 100 pt. 13). have died well stricken in years) which is held to be the ordinary term of no flore life, then was this encounter in the third year of Evilmerodach his reign. Yet by the fame reckoning it should follow, that the tions, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances infinuating as much, are found in the fame place of Xenophon. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of Nabuchodonofor gave courage unto those that had felt

years. But seeing that these two Greek Hi- took possession of Egypt. So that the Affristorians have been abused by Egyptian an having his hands already full of business, Priests in the substance of that which was which more earnestly did affect him, seems spoken of Amasis, it is no marvel though thereby to have given the better means unthey were also deceived in the length of his to the Eyptians, of new erecting their Kingdome, which, by long distance of place, did fundry times find occasion to rebel in afterbers were mif-written, and four and forty ages, and fet up a King within it felf, against

The issue of these great preparations made Syrians, and not bear himself as absolute by Evilmerodach against the Medes, was King of Egypt, until the nineteenth of Evil- such as opened the way until the fulfilling merodach (at which time, and not before, it of those Prophecies, which were many years hath been proved out of Ezekiel, that Egipt before uttered against Babel, by Esay and For,

CHAP. I. For, the Affprians and their Confederates, the great Ones of the Kingdom, for fetling who, trufting in their numbers, thought to the Government, whilft the King was thus dihave buried the Medes and Persians under stracted, we shall find it most likely, that his their thick showers of arrows and darts, Son and Heir did occupy the Royal Throne, were encountred with an Army of front and with condition to restore it unto his Father, fight, by whom they were beaten in open In this his rule Evilmerodach being to supply battel, wherein Evilmerodach was flain. So, the utter want of understanding in his Fathat great frame of Empire which Nabucho- ther, as Protectors do the unrigeness of it donofor had raifed and upheld, being shaken in young, but reasonable Kings, might easily way of falling.

ø. XIII.

The quality, and death of Balthafar.

was the Son, and immediate Successor to Brothers mil-government, used practices to Evilmerodach, yet confidering earnestly the get the rule into her own hands, and afterconjectures of those Writers, which follow- wards, as a Mother, to leave it unto her ing Berofus, insert Niglifar, or Niriglifforoor, ungracious Son. Other time than this, Berofus divides betwixt Evilmerodach, and people. I will not here use many words to the two next Kings, agrees with the years confute that which Berofus hath further let in which Nebuchadnezzar lived wild among down of Evilmerodach, telling us that he brute beafts in the open field: Secondly, was flain by his Sifters Husband: for the that the fuddenness of this accident, which plain words of the Scripture, naming the came in one hour, could not but work year-wherein he gave liberty to fechonia, do much perturbation in that State, wherein plainly testifie that he out-lived the three doubtless the honour of so noble a Prince or four and fortieth year of his Fathers was highly regarded, his calamity pitied, reign, which was the last of his life. and his restitution hoped; the prediction of

well-trained men, weightily armed for close when God should enable him to reposses it. and grievously crackt under his unfortunate cither commit the infolences, or fall into the Son, was left to be sustained by his unwor- troubles, incident to such an office. That he thy Nephew; a man more likely to have had in him very small ability of Governoverthrown it, when it was greatest and ment, it appears by his ill maintaining the ftrongest, than to repair it, when it was in Empire, when he held it in his own right, That his Sifter Nitocris (if Nitocris were his Sifter) was a woman of an high spirit; it appears by that which Herodotus reports Herodotil. of her, faying, That the was more cunning". A private conjecture of the Author; serving than Semiramis, as appeared in her magnito make good those things, which are cited ficent and useful works about the River of out of Berofus, concerning the Successors of Euphrates, and her fortification of Babylon Evilmerodach, without wrong to the truth, against the Medes, who had gotten many Towns from the Affyrians, and amongst them Nineve. Wherefore it were not unrea-Hough I have already (as it feems to fonable to think, that fuch a woman, feeing me) fufficiently proved that Balthasar how the Empire went to decay through her and his Son Labaffardach between them; as wherein Nitocris could have reigned, we do allo that which I find in Herodotus of Nito- not find; but we find in Berofus (as Josephus cris, a famous Queen of Babylon, who great- hath cited him) that Nigliffar, who got the ly adorned and fortified that City; I have Kingdom from Zvilmerodach, was his Sifters thought it not superfluous here in this place Husband; which argues this to have been to shew, by what means it was possible, that the same woman. As for Labassardach the fome errour might have crept into the Hi- | Son of Nigliffar, if at the end of nine months flory of those times, and thereby have reign he were for his lewd conditions slain brought us to a needless trouble of search-by the Nobility, as the same Berosus reporting out the truth, as it were by candle-light; eth; it feems that God prepared hereby the in the uncertain fragments of lost Authors, way for Nebuchadnezzar's restitution (whose which we might have found by day-light, term of punishment was then expired) by had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First raising such trouble, as should make him the therefore I observe, that the time which more defired, both of the Princes and the

This may fuffice to shew, that they who Daniel finding reputation in that clause are said to have succeeded Evilmerodach in which promited his recovery, as being ve- the Kingdom, might indeed have so done, rified in that which had been more incre- though not when he held it in his own right. dible. Now if we do in common reason Of Balthasar, who was his Son and Heir, judge, what course was like to be taken by we find, that he had such conditions, as

God permitted to be in a King for the ruin him in on every fide, and when death arof the people. He was from his young years rested him by the hands of those whom he of a mischievous nature; having in his Fa- had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end thers time flain a Noble young man that of him was base and miserable; for he died should have married his Sister, only for as a fool taken in unexcusable security, yet foight and envy to see him kill two wild had not that happiness, such as it is, of a death beafts in hunting, at which himself having free from apprehension of fear, but wasterthrown his Javelin had missed them. Ano- rified with a dreadful vision; which had ther great Lord he had gelded, because a shewed his ruin not in many hours before. Gentleweman commending his beauty, said, even whilst he was drinking in that wine, It were a happy woman that should be his which the swords of his insulting enemies wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many drew out of him, together with his latest which had loved his Father (as a good and | blood. It is therefore in this place enough gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to to say of him, That after a dishonourable revolt from him unto the enemy as foon as reign of seventy years, he perished like a he was King. Neither do I find that he per- beaft, and was flain as he deferved. The reft formed any thing worthy of recordabut as a that concerneth him in question of his time. coward and a fool he loft all; fitting still, hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of and not once daring to give battel to them his affairs, shall be handled among the acts that daily took somewhat from him. Yet of cyrus, to whose story, that of Balthasar is carelefly feafting when danger had hemmed but an appendix.

CHAR

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

Of the original and first greatness of the Persians?

That the Medes were the chief actors in the subversion of the Babylonian Empire.

far, the Empire of Babylon, occasion in due place to intreat. and of Affyria, was joyned then was governed by Cyaxares, or Darius had Kings soon after the Flood, Lastantius Medus; after whom Cyrus, became Lord and and Diodorus have found record; For La-Monarch, both of Affria, and of Media it stantius remembreth an ancient King of the

ten Kings besides himself, and of Arbaces as Assyrians in the beginning of their Empire. many are found by Metasthenes. These two Provincial Governours having cut down first, that freed his Nation from the Allirithe last branch of Ninus in Sardanapalus, di- ans, I take the list and number from Eusebivided between them the Eastern Empire. us, adding Darius Medus: of whom I have Cyaxares (whom the Scriptures call Darius spoken in their proper places heretofore; and Medus) the last of the race of Arbaces, dy- they are these: ing about two years after that the Line of Belochus was ended in Balthafar; the Dominions as well of the Conqueror, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to Cyrus of the house of Achamenes; the Princes of which blood reigning in Persia, had formerly been dependants on the Medes, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

HE Line of Belochus being | Of the Family of the Achamenes, and Line now extinguished in Baltha- of the Persian Kings, we shall hereafter find

The Nation of the Medes descended from first to that of Media, which Madai the third Son of Japhet. That they Medes called Hydafyes, and Diodore speaketh Of the race of Phul Eelochus there were of Pharnus with his feven Sons, flain by the

But of these who succeeded Arbaces the

£28 years. Arbaces Sorfamus 30 years. 40 years. Medidus 13 years. Cardiceas reigned 3 years. Diocles 24 years. **P**hraortes 32 years. Cyaxares 38 years. Aftyages Darius Medus And

quest of Babylon to Cyrus alone, yet the Scri- Strabo, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, and before prires teach us, that Darius was not only them Caftor, Thallus, and Phlegon; who do King of Media, and had the Persians his fol- not find any such Successor. Neither do Talowers, but that the Army victorious over tianus, Theophilus Antiochenus, Julius, Afri-Balthafar was his; as the Affyrian and Ba- canus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, belonian Empire also was, during his own Lastantius, Eusebius, St. Hierom, or St. Aulife. For we find in Daniel, that Darius of gustin, make report out of any faithful Authe Medes took the Kingdom being three- thor by them read, that hath given other fcore and two years old: And further, what | Son or Successor to Astyages than Cyrus. Officers it pleased him to set lover the Kingdom. And fo was it prophefied by Esay long ab authoritate negative, doth never inforce before: Behold, I will fir up the Medes confentive may be the bolder (all this great with the media for the manufacture of the bolder (all this great with them. One And by Foreme. The Lord life of bolds With against them, &c. And by Fereny; The Lord list of noble Writers by him alleadged notbath raised up the Spirit of the King of the withstanding) to affirm, that either Aswages Medes: for his purpose is against Babel to de- himself must have been Darius of the frog it; and in the eight and twentieth Medes, which cannot agree with his place Verse, Prepare against her the Nations, with in the course of time; or else to give him the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the some other Successor, according to Tolephus Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Do- and Xenophon, the same whom Daniel calleth Zon. L. T. minion. These Scriptures Julius Africanus Darius. For it is manifest, and without dif for day le doth well open, who taking authority from pute, that the King of the Medes commanded 10, 113, Diodore, Caftor, Thallus, and others, delivering in chief, and was absolute Lord of that Xen, 1.8. eth that Babylon was taken before Cyrus be- Conquest; Cyrus during his life, being no gan to reign; which also agreeth with Stra- other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and bo, where he faith, That as the Medes were subject to his authority; the strength of subjugated by the Persians, so before that, both Nations, to wit, the Medes and Perboth the Babylonians and Assyrians were sians, with other the Vassals of Darius, bemastered by the Medes. And therefore the ing joyned together to compound it. reports of Justin and Herodotus are not to be received, who attribute the taking of Babylon to Cyrus alone.

ø. II.

the Medes to the Persians.

Daughter Amytis. But I find the relations of carried far off. Ctesias often cited, and seldom followed, and wilful untruth.

fonsthat Affigues had no fuch Son as Cyaxa-ters of his Prophecy, makes it plain, that res, or Darius Medus; and to confirm this himself not only lived a great Officer under

And though the Greeks ascribe the Con- opinion the more, he citeth Diodore, Justin,

Yet feeing that this manner of argument

But it is very certain, that the honour of that great victory over Babylon was wholly given to Cyrus, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himself for this action, but for the delivery of his Church, a greater work not only in the By what means the Empire was translated from eyes of God, than the subversion of any State or Monarchy how powerful foever.

And it may well be thought, that the Who Kingdom of the Medes fell in-to the hands of Cyrus, it is a doubt not ther ascribe the glory to him that was the fufficiently cleared by Historians; but ra- best man of war, than to the Median, who ther their different relations of his begin- was greatest in riches and power. All which nings have bred the former opinion of those also falling upon cyrus by succession, and who give the Conquest of Babel to the Per- continuing in his posterity, did much augstans only. For some there are who deny ment the same of his vertue; which among that Aftyages had any other Successor than prophane Historians over-grew altogether Cyrus his Grand-child by Mandane. Where- the honour due to Cyaxares, both because he as Ctefius on the contrary fide affirmeth, that was old, and did nothing in person; as also Cyrus was no way descended from Astrages because he soon after quitted the world, (whom he calleth Astigas or Apania) but on- and left all to Cyrus, who was possest of ly that having vanquished him in battel, and whatsoever belonged to Darius, before the confined him to Bactria, he married his fame of any fuch King or Conqueror was

And for the Greek Historians, they took himself sometimes very justly reproved of all things from the relation of the Persians, who gave to Cyrus all the praise of a most Viginier, a diligent and learned historian excellent Prince, making none his equal. of this age, produceth many probable rea- Only Daniel in the first, fift, and fixt Chap-

estate to the first of Cyrus; which being self of a great part of the lesser Asia; at which the year of Daniel's death, could not have time it was, as I take it, that Crassus himself been distinguished from the reign of Darius, | was also made prisoner. if they had begun together and reigned joyntly: Neither can it be imagined that after, the Army lying before it being paid Darius held the Kingdom by Cyrus permif by Darius, whom Xenophon calleth Cyaxares, fion, confidering that Cyrus began after him. and led by Cyrus his Sifters Son, prevailed

o. III.

Xenophon's relation of the War with the Medes and Persians, made with joyntforces upon the Assyrians and others.

yet made more open to our understanding, by that which Xenophon hath written of these Wars: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the Affrian had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all syria, and many other Countries; he began to hope that if the Medes could be brought under his subjection, there should to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of not then be left any Nation adjoyning, able to make head against him. For the King of the Medes was able to bring into the field threefcore thousand foot, and ten thousand | Putting therefore apart the Moral and Pohorse, to which the forces of Persia being litick discourse, and examining but the Hijoyned, made an exceeding strong Army.

Lydia, a Prince very mighty both in men | face thereof, he hath not in any fort corand treasure, and with him other Lords of rupted the body. Asia the less, to his assistance, alledging, that those Eastern Nations were very powerful, and fo firmly conjoyned by league, and many alliances, that it would not be easie, no not possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthned with great Presents, he drew to himfelf fo many adherents, as he compounded an Army of two hundred thousand foot and threefcore thousand horse; of which, ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot rebellion against Sardanapalus, and that were led by Crafus, who had great cause of enmity with the Medes, in regard of the for himself the Dominion of those Coun-War made by them against his Father Alyattes: But this great Army was by Cyaxares thered forces were allo feattered by Cyrus, of, there reigned in Affria mighty Princes,

King Darius, but that he continued in that | who following his advantage, possess him-

The attempt of Babylon following foon against Balthasar, as in due time shall be set

Those Persians which followed Cyrus, and by him levied, are numbred thirty thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common fort were Archers, or fuch as used the Dart or "Hese Testimonies of the Scriptures, Sling: So far Xenophon. Of whom in this arwhich need no other confirmation, are gument, as it is true, that he described in Cyrus the pattern of a most Heroical Prince. with much Poetical addition: fo it cannot be denied, but that the bulk and gross of his Narration was founded upon meer Historical truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like Writers, that in every speech and circumstance he hath precisely tyed himself the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. story of things done, it will easily appear, The Affrian considering the strength of such a Neighbour, invited Crassus King of subject in such fort, that by beautifying the

ø. IV.

The estate of the Medes and Persians in times foregoing this great War.

Or it is commonly agreed upon, that Achamenes, the Son of Perfes, being Governour of Persia, did associate himself with Arbaces, who commanded in Media, in that each of them after the victory obtained, held tries, which he had formerly ruled for the Assyrians; as also that they conveyed over King of the Medes, and by Cyrus General of the fame honour and power to their posterithe Persian forces, utterly broken: Upon ty: which in Media was not absolutely Rewhich defeat the Affyrian King being also gal, but with some restraint limited, until flain, so many of the Affrians revolted, as luch time as Deioces took upon him the full Babylon it self could not longer be assured authority and majesty of a King. From the without the succours of Mercenaries, waged death of Sardanapalus to the reign of Deiowith great fumms of mony out of Asia the ces, are usually accounted about an hunless, Egypt, and elsewhere. Which new ga- dred and forty years in the last fixty wheredertake any offensive war against those vi- strength and eminent virtue. ctorious Kings, it being also probable, that had formerly fhared the Empire.

the first of Asyages, there past above nine- great King Kerxes in the height of his profvictories greatly enlarged their Dominions, vasials of any other King or Monarch. and commanded many parts of Asia, it had been but an unadvised enterprize of the Af-Grians and Babylonians, to have wasted themselves against the Syrians, and Egyptians, leaving so able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the Medes had done nothing upon the South parts of Fersia; and that the Persians themselves were not Mafters of Susiana in Nabuchodonosor's time; it is manifest in Daniel, who was then Governor chief City thereof. It it true indeed, that the by the learned Reineccius. Medians, either under Cyaxares, or Aftyages, or both, had quarrel with Halyattes the Father of Crafus, which after some fix years of Persia. dispute, was compounded.

How the affairs of Persta stood in so many Country which they then poffest, with the Daughters. confederacy which they continued with the Medes, gave them more fecurity than fame: For if their Kings, being the posterity of Achemenes, had done any memorable acts, dis, flain by his Brother Cambyfes. the greatness which they afterward obtained, would not have fuffered any forgetfulagreeable to the relation of many other Hystaspes, King. good Authors; fo it appears, that the race nophon, who affirmeth, That Cambyfes the Josephus, Elymi.

namely, salmanassar and his Successors; it was more likely, that upon such a Prowhose great atchievements in Syria and phecy his love to his Grand child should elfewhere, witness, that the Medes and Per- have encreased, and his care been the grea-Gans found it not for their advantage to un-

Yea, the same Herodotus, who is the first the league continued as yet between these Author, and, as I think, the deviser of the the fuccellors of Belochus and Arbaces, who mischief intended against Cyrus by his Grandfather, doth confess, That the line of Now from the beginning of Deioces to the Achamenida was fo renowned, that the ty years, in which, if Herodotus have written perity, did thence derive himself, and vaunt truly, that Phraortes conquered Persia, and of it: which he would never have done, had how he and other Kings of Media by many they been ighoble, or had they been the

> For in this fort Xerxes in the feventh of Herodotus deriveth himfelf:

(Achamenes, CTeispeus. ZAriaramnes. ZDarius. 2 Cambyses. Carsamnes. Xerxes. Cyrus.

Of the Achemenide there were two races: of the first was Cyrus the great, whose issuemale failed in his two Sons, Cambyles and for the Babylonian in Susa, or Susan, the Smerdis. This royal family is thus set down

> Achamenes, the Son of Perfes, first King Darius.

Cyrus, the first of that name, had Cambyages. I do not find any memory. It feemeth les, and Atoffa, who, married to Pharnaces, that the roughness of the mountainous King of Cappadocia, had Artystona and other

Cambyfes had

Cyrus the Great: Cyrus had Cambyles, who fucceeded him, and Smer-

Of the fecond, were those feven great ness thereof. But as we find all Xenophon's Princes of Persia, who having overthrown reports, both of these Wars, and the state the usurped Royalty of the Magi, chose of those Countries to be very consonant and from among themselves Darius the Son of

This Kingdom of Persia was first known of Achemenes held the Principality of Persta by the name of Elam, so called after Elam from Father to Son for many descents. And the Son of sem, and the people therein intherefore we may better give credit to Ze- habiting, Elamitæ; by Elianus, Elymæ; by

Father of Cyrus was King of Persia; than to Suidas derives this Nation sometimes from those that make him a mean man, and say, Affir, sometimes from Magog, of whom that Afrages gave him his Daughter Man- they were called Magufai; which Magufai, dane in marriage, to the end that her Son according to Ensebins, are not to be taken Eng. 1. 6 %. (Whose nativity he feared) might be disabled for the Nation in general, but for those that 8.de Prap. from any great undertaking by his Fathers were afterward called the Magi, or Wile-Evang. men. So do the Greeks, among many other For, what cause of grief could it be to their sayings of them, affirm, That the Per-Asyages, that the Son of his Daughter should sans were anciently written Artei, and become Lord of the best part of Asa? No, that they called themselves cephenes. But

Ges. 10. that they were Elamite, Moses and the same which Antiochus, for the great riches 1/a11,21, Prophets, Efay, Jeremy, Ezekiel, Daniel, and thereof, twice attempted, in vain, and to his Jer 25.29. Esdras, in many places confirm: Which also great dishonour. And yet this City, now cal-**Dan. 8. teth, upon Daniel the eighth, and also in Alexander, at the request of Thais the Hardman & mon Flamite Principles (Park).

**Dan. 8. teth, upon Daniel the eighth, and also in Alexander, at the request of Thais the Hardman & mon Flamite Principles Parkline Flam.

**Dan. 8. teth, upon Daniel the eighth, and also in Alexander, at the request of Thais the Hardman & mon Flamite Principles Parkline Flam. Ext. 35 St. Hierom upon Jeremy the five and twen-led Siras, was not the old Perfelbis; for Pant, by non-David the cighth and alfa in Alexander at the request of Their half Elam, à quo Elamite Principes Persidis; Elam,

fecond Book of the Maccabees calleth Perfe- nias, and joyned with him in the war against polis, is by the Author of the first called those Arabians, who was afterward extin-Elemais, but is now called Siras, being the guilhed by the forces of Abraham.

of whom were the Elamites Princes of Per- follow the current of Authors interpreting the fourteenth Chapter of Genesis, was che-And that City which the Author of the dorlarmer, who lived with Amraphel or Ni-

සිලිසියිට ම ශිලිපි ම දිල්ලි වී ම ම ම ම පිළිති සිලිසියි සිලිසියි ම සිලිසියි ම ම ම ම ම දිල්ලියි වී ම දිල්ලිද් සිල නතුන්තන සහනානයන් නතුන් වන සිල්ලිද්රිය ම සිල්ලිද්රිය ම සිල්ලිද්රිය ම සිල්ලිද්රිය වී ම දිල්ලිද්රියි ම සිල්ලිද්රි

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus.

Of Cyrus his Name, and first actions.

Strabil. 153

Strabo laith, That the same five and fiftieth Olympiad. was taken from a River which

tuled by the people. excellent virtues he was indeed called a Fa- volt. Wherefore I like better in this partither; but that the Name of Cyrus had any cular to believe with Herodotus, whom the fuch fignification, I think it be mistaken.

wit. Artax. That Cyrus is as much to fay as the Sun, in bylon. the same Language. Howsoever it be, yet the Prophet Esay, almost two hundred years before Cyrus was born, gives him that Name, Thus faith the Lord unto Cyrus his Annoint- of Croclus the King of Lydia, who made War ed, &c.

Before the Conquest of Babylon, the victories which Cyrus obtained were many and great: among which, the Conquest of Lydia, and other Provinces thereto subject, soof those Kings which governed Lydia in together with the taking of Crass himself, more ancient times: of which the first (to are not recounted by Eusebius, Orosius, and prophane Authors known) was Lydus the others, but placed among his latter atchieve- Son of Atys: which Family extinguished, ments : whose opinion for this difference of the Kingdom was by an Oracle conferred time is founded upon two reasons; namely, upon Argon, descended from Hercules, That of the Median there is no mention in whereof there were two and twenty Genethe last war against Crass; and that the rations, Candaules being the last, who by obtaining of sardis is referred to the eight | shewing his fair wife naked to Gyges his faand ifftieth Olympiad; and the glorious vi- vourite, he was by the same Gyges (thereto

S touching the Name of Cyrus, ctory which Cyrus had over Babylon, to the

The former of which might have been watereth Persia; this great used (and was by the Greeks) to exclude the Prince having Agradatus for Medes from the honour of having won Babyhis proper Name: But the great Cyrus was lon it felf, which in due place I have answernot the first of that Name. Herodotus, other- ed. The latter seems to have reference to wife; and that Cyrus fignifieth a Father in the second War which Cyrus made upon Lythe Persian-Tongue, and therefore so inti- dia, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former Conquest, as after It is true, that for his Justice and other that time these Nations never offered to remost of Chronologers follow, and find the Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, enterprize of Sardis to precede that of Ba-

ø. II.

upon Cyrus.

Have in the last Book spoke somewhat of Crassis, of his race and predecessors, as al-

Queen) the next day flain. Which done, fia, or of his own Lydia. Grees enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdom of Lydia, and left the fame to Atys his Son, who was Father to Sadyattes, the Father of Halyattes (who thrust the Cimmerians out of Afta) and Halyattes begat Cra-Which five Kings, of a third race, enand feventy years. Halyattes the Father of Crasus was continued a War against Cyaxares the Median, a Prince very powerful, and maintained it fix years, a peace was concluded

upon equal conditions between them. Astrages the Son of Cyaxares, and Grandfather to Cyrus, thought himself greatly honoured by obtaining Aryenes, Crafus Sifter, whom he married.

But Crasus so far enlarged his Dominions after his Fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King or Monarch and the Lydian: only Nabuchodonofor, after he had joyned Phanicia, Palastina, and dily conceived. Egypt to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his own life.

Abe, Li4 rodotus witnesseth: Moreover, Athenaus that then lived.

out of Berofus (which also confirmeth) makes he performed in fourteen years.

marvellous rich gifts) what fuccess he might beginning of glory to the other. hope for against Cyrus, if he undertook him: from whom he received this riddle; merchandize of both fide alike, and might and advancement of either Nations: and as

urged upon peril of his own life by the be inverted either way; to the ruin of Par-

ø. III.

Croefus his Expedition against Cyrus.

TEreupon Crassus being resolved to stop I the course of Cyrus fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments used by an undertaking Prince, and after he had Sandanes to the contrary, who defired him to fore-think, That he urged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region ; a people not covered with the fost filk of Worms, but with the hard skins of Beafts; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of Water, not of Wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant, and profperous; over whom, if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himfelf in nothing but fame, in which he already excelof that age: Of which, about that time there | led : and if by them beaten, and subjected, were four in effect of equal strength; to wit, | so great would his loss appear of all things the Median, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, which the world hath in account, as the fame could neither hastily be told, nor rea-

Notwithstanding this folid counsel, Crefus having prepared a powerful Army,he led But Crafus, notwithstanding the men and the same toward Media, but in his passage treasure spent in the quarrel of the Babylo- he was arrested at Pterium, a City of great nians, he yet mastered Zolis, Doris, and strength in Cappadocia; which while he Ionia, Provinces possest by the Greeks in Asia | sought by all means to surprize or to force, the less, adjoyning to Lydia; gave Law to Cyrus came on, and found the Lydians enthe Phrygians, Bithinians, Carians, Mysians, camped before it. That each was inferiour Paphlagonians, and other Nations. And to other in strength or opinion, I do not find: that he also inforc'd the Ephesians to ac- for, out of doubt, Crassus, as he excelled any knowledge him, notwithstanding they com- | Prince of that age in riches and ability; fo Bill. 1.5. passed their City with Diana's Girdle, He- | was he not under any interritory and fame

But, as Cratippus of Mitylene answered report of a Signal Victory, which Crafus | Pompey when he complained against the obtained against the Sackans, a Nation of gods, because they favoured a disturber and the Scythians, in memory whereof the Ba- usurper of the Common-weal against him bylonians his allies did yearly celebrate a who fought for the Roman-liberty, That Feast, which they called Sacaa: All which Kingdoms and Common-weals had their encrease and period from divine Ordinance: And being now confident in the continu- fo, at this time was the Winter of Crafus ance of his good fortune, and envious of cy- prosperity at hand, the leaves of his flourishrus fame, doubting also that his prosperous ing fortune ready to fall, and that of Cyrus undertakings might in the end grow peril- but in the flower and first spring. The God lous to himself, he consulted with the of all power, and not Admetis Herdman, Oracle of Apollo (whom he presented with Apollo, had given a date to the one, and a

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of di-Croesus passing over the River Halys, shall vers skirmishes, the Persians and Lydians bediffolve a great Dominion. For the Devil be- gan to joyn in gross troops: supplies from ing doubtful of the success, payed him with both Kings thrust on upon the falling off,

Yyy

day, fo when the dark vail of night had courses of their lives might well be accounthidden each Army from the others view, ed fortunate, but no man could differn him-Crafts doubting what success the rising Sun self for happy indeed, till his end. would bring with it, quitted the field to would bring with it, quite the companies, informed, remembring the changes of form in bour commanded myfeight and taking the next way into Lydia, reconting the next way in the next way in the vered Sardis his first City and Regal Seat, his Ministers of Justice to withdraw the fire shared without any pursuit made by Cyrus to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting cyrus approach, or any other War for that Winter, he dismissed the Souldiers, and fent the troops of his fundry Nations to their own Provinces, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of five months, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the War at the time appointed.

ø. IV. The Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus.

order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and feet at. at their heels, as to be discovered. But having good intelligence of Crassus hispro- ed between that behaviour which we call ceeding, he so measured his marches, as he beneficium latronis, and gratiam Principis: presented not himself before sardis, till A thief sometime sparing the life of him fuch time as Crafus had disposed his Army which is in his power, but unjustly: A King to their wintring garrifons; which being that giveth breath, and a continuance of altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he being, to him that was the cause and author furrounded sardis with his Army; Where- of his own evil. in Crassus having no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinary Guards, after cyrus did friendly entertain crassus at the fourteen dayes fiege the same was entred by | first fight, not mentioning that which Heroassault, and all executed that resisted. Cre- | dotus delivers, and is here already set down, In commu fus having now neither arms to fight, nor that he should have been burntalive. It may ni catami- wings to fly, Sardis being on all parts ftrong- very well be, that Xenophon pourtraying (in tate firm ly encompassed, thrust himself into the heap | Cyrus) an heroical Prince, thought an intent quique and miterable multitude of his vallals, and fo cruel, fitter to be forgotten than rehearf metus peri- his, who had been dumb all his life (by ex- of alliance might with-hold Cprus (had he mis: timos, tremity of paffion and fear enabled) cryed been otherwise vicious) from so cruel a overself out to the Souldiers to spare Crassus. Who purpose against his Grandmothers brother. tum, &c. thereupon being taken and imprisoned, de Howsoever it was, the moral part of the spoiled of all things but the expectation of Story hath given much credit and reputatideath, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and on to the report of Herodotus (as to many set on the top of a great and high heap of the like it often doth) and made it pass for wood, to be confumed to affees thereon. To currant, though the trust reposed in crassus

with the Athenian Law-giver, he thrice cried

the Persians had somewhat the better of the | him, That many men in the race and

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Of which answer Cyrus being speedily Homoga with all diligence, to fave Crafus, and to in, of conduct him to his presence : Which done. Cyrus demanded of him, Who it was that had perfwaded him? or what felf-reason had conducted him to invade his territory, and to make him of a friend an enemy? To whom he thus answered; It was thy profperous, and my unprosperous destiny (the Grecian god flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inventers and condu-Ctors of Crafus War against Cyrus.

Cyrus being pierc't with Crassus answer, and bewailing his estate, though victorious over it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him ever after as a King and his True in the following morning finding companion, shewing therein a true effect of the Lydians departed, put his Army in mercy indeed. Que non causam, sed fortunam

And herein is the real difference discem-

The report made by Xenophon, is, That which when the fire was fet and kindled, afterwards may feem to argue, that Cyrus remembring the discourse which he had did not use him inhumanly at the first.

For, as Herodotus himself telleth us, when out on his name, Solon, Solon, Solon: and Cyrus past with his Army over Araxes into being demanded what he meant by that in- scothia, he left Crassus to accompany and vocation, he first used silence; but urged advise his son Cambyses, Governour of the again, he told them, That he had now found | Empire in his absence, with whom he lived it true which solon had long fince told all the time of Cyrus, and did afterward folescared his tyrannous hand. What his end fame and reputation that it held, as being was, I do not find.

and cressus.

How Cyrus won Babylon.

Affyrian war, but rather to have been spent guards upon all quarters. in fetling the Estate which he had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be re- circuit of those walls which they were to was delivered for the other.

was fully established.

fore-hand, that nothing thould be able to Trenches. divert him, or to raise that siege, and make Now Balthasar, finding neither any want frustrate the work upon which he did set all or weakness within, nor any possibility of his rest. And great reason there was, that he approach for his enemies without, prepared should bend all his care and strength unto an exceeding sumptuous Feast, publick

low Cambyles into Egypt, where he hardly the taking of that City, which beside the head of an Empire thereon depending, was But in this time the races of three of the fo strongly fenced with a treble wall of greatest Kings in that part of the world great height, and surrounded with waters rookend; to wit, of the Babylonians, Medi- unfoordable, fo plentifully victualled for ans, and Lydians ; in Balthafar, Cyanares, many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their beliegers.

The only hope of the Medes and Persians, who despaired of carrying by assault a City fo well fortified and man'd, was, in cutting Fter this Lydian War, enfued the great off all fupplies of victuals and other necessia-Conquest of Babylon, which gave unto rics: whereof though the Town was said to typus an Empire fo large and mighty, that be stored sufficiently for more than twenty. he was juftly reputed the greatest Monarch years, yet might it well be deemed, that in then living upon earth. How long time fuch a world of people as dwelt within those the preparations for this great action took gates, one great want or other would foon up, it is uncertain; only it feems, that ten appear, and vanquish the resolution of that whole years did pass between his taking unwarlike multitude. In expecting the sucthose two Cities of Sardis and Babylon; cess of this course, the Besiegers were likely which nevertheless I do not think to have to endure much travel, and all in vain, if been wholly occupied in provision for the they did not keep streight watch and strong

This was hard to do, in regard of the vast

ferred that which Ctessas hath in his frag | gird in, with numbers neither great enough, ments of a war made by *Cyrus* upon the *Scy*-nor of men fufficiently affured unto their thians, though related as foregoing the vi-Commander: The confideration whereof ctory obtained against Crassus. He telleth us, ministred unto the Babylonians matter of That Cyrus invaded Scythia, and being vi- good pastime, when they saw the Lydians, xemph.cy-Corious over that Nation, took Amorges Phrygians, Cappadocians, and others, quar-roped.1.7. their King prisoner: but being in a second tered about their Town to keep them in, battel overthrown by the wife of Amorges, who having been their ancient friends and Sparetha, and therein taken, the one King allies, were more likely to joyn with them, if occasion were offered, than to use much Likewise it may be thought, that no small diligence on the behalf of cyrus; who had, part of those troubles which arose in the as it were yesterday, laid upon their necks lower Afia, grew foon after the departure of the galling yoak of servitude. Whilft the the victorious Army, before the Conquest | besieged were pleasing themselves in this deceitful and vain gladness, that is the or-For after Cyrus was returned out of Asia dinary fore-runner of sudden calamity, Cythe less, many Nations, conquered formerly | rus , whom the Ordinance of God made by Crass, and now by Cyrus, revolted from strong, constant, and inventive, devised, by him; against whom he employed Pattias, so many channels and trenches as were and then Harpagus, who first reduced the sufficient and capable of Euphrates, to Phocians under their former obedience, and draw the same from the walls of Babylon, then the rest of the Greeks inhabiting Asia thereby to make his approach the more the less, as the Ionians, Carians, Edians, facile and affired: which when by the and Lycians, who relolvedly (according to labour of many hands he had performed, the strength they had) defended them- he stayed the time of his advantage for the selves. But in the attempt upon Babylon it execution: for he had left certain banks or felf, it is not to be doubted, that Cyrus em- heads un-cut, between the main river ployed all his forces, having taken order be- which furrounded the City, and his own

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Playes, and other Pastimes; and thereto in- banquetting, she came in upon the bruit of vited a thousand of his Princes or Nobility, the miracle, and to comfort the King in his besides his Wives, Curtizans, and others of distraction. And whereas Daniel was forthat trade. This he did either to let the be- gotten and neglected by others both of fiegers know, that his provisions were either | younger years and times, this old Queenrefufficient, not only for all needful uses, but membred well what he had done in the even for jollity and excess; or because he daies of Nabuchodonosor, Grandfather to this hoped that his enemies, under the burthen Balthafar, and kept in mind both his Reliof many distresses, were well near broken; or gion and divine gifts. in honour of Bell his most reverenced Idol; or that it was his Birth or Coronation day; presence, who acknowledged those excellent or for many or all these respects. And he graces wherewith God had enriched him, was not contented with fuch magnificence he prayed him, together with promiles of as no Prince else could equal, but (using Da- reward and honour, to read and interpret niel's words) he lifted himself up against the those words miraculously written; to whom Lord of Heaven: for he and his Princes Daniel made answer in a far different style Wives and Concubines, made carowing cups from that he used towards his Grandfather: of the Vessels of God, in contempt of whom, for, the evil which he foretold Nabuchodomohe praifed his own Puppets, made of Silver | for, he wished that the same might befall his and Gold, of Brass, Iron, Wood, and Stone; Quanta fuit stultitia in vasibus aureis bibentes, lignees & lapideos deos landare? How great a fooliflines was it (faith St. Hierom) drinking in golden Cups, to praise gods of Wood writing anto the King, and shew him the interand Stone & While Balthafar was in this fort Pretation . Which, before he had performed, triumphing, and his brains well filled with he gave him first the cause of Gods just vapors, he beheld a hand, which by divine | judgment against him, and the reason of power wrote on the wall opposite unto him, certain words which he understood not: all his Wise men were utterly ignorant. wherewith so great a fear and amazement feifed him, as the joynts of his loyns were loofed, and his knees smote one against the other. Which pattien, when he had in some obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect part recovered, he cried out for his Chaldaans, Aftrologians, and Southfayers, promiting effact and understanding, so upon the acthem great rewards, and the third place of knowledgment of Gods infinite power he honeur in the Kingdom to him that could reftored him to both. This King, notwithread and expound the writing: but it ex- | ftanding, lifted himself up against the same ceeded their Art. In this diffurbance and God; and prefuming both to abuse those astonishment, the Queen hearing what had vessels dedicated to holy uses, and neglectpast, and of the Kings amazement, after re- | ing the Lord of all power, praised and worverence done, used this speech: There is a shipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Brass, man in thy Kingdom, in whom is the spirit of Iron, Stone, and Wood : and therefore those the holy Gods, and in the daies of thy Father, words, from the Oracle of a true God delifayers, because a more excellent spirit, and his Empire was divided and given to the knowledge, and understanding, &c. were Medes and Persians. found in him, even in Daniel, &c. Now let Daniel be called, and he will declare the in- wherein Balthafar feafted and perished, Cy-

Org. on mother; Origen and Theodoret, for the Mo- fign he followed in this War, found the time ther of Balthafar; either of which may be and opportunity to invite him: and therefep. Am. true: for it appeareth, that she was not any fore while the Kings head, and the heads of of the Kings Wives, because absent from the his Nobility were no less filled with the va-

When Daniel was brought to the Kings enemies; but to this King (whose neglect of God, and vice, he hated) he answered in these words, Keep thy rewards to thy felf, and give thy gifts to another; yet will I read the this terrible lentence, whereof the King and Which being written at large in Daniel, hath D.M.S. (3) this effect, That forgetting Gods goodness 19,10. to his Father, whom all Nations feared and of those benefits, as he deprived him of his light, and understanding, and wisdom, like the vered, (to wit) Mene, Tekel, Upharsin, gave wisdom of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King knowledge, that God hath numthe King Nebuchodonofor, thy Father, the bred the time of his Kingdom, and finished King (Isay) thy Father made chief of the In- it; That he was weighed in the ballance of chanters, Aftrologians, Chaldwans, and south- Gods Justice, and found too leight; and that

The very evening or night of this day, rus, either by his espials, according to Xeno-This Queen, Joseps takes for the Grand- phon; or inspired by God himself, whose enfeast; and being past the age of dancing and pors of Wine, than their hearts with the fear Army made their entrance, finding none to fore any thing attempted. disturb them. All the Town lay buried (as

cp.47.5 tion of his judgments was mixt with a rigo- an hundred Gates of Brass, with posts and thine hand: thou didft frew them no mercy, Kingdoms. but thou didft lay thy very heavy yoke upon the Tank antient. I will rife up against them, saith the

Inimus. Lord of Hofts, and will cut off from Babel the dath and Name, and the Remnant, and the Son, and thi ly houses, and her whole Territory, with all Nephew. And in the thirteenth, Every one the richestherein contained, among his Soulthat is found, Mall be firicken thorow: whose diers; but bestowing the inhabitants themever joyneth himself, shall fall by the sword, their selves as bond-slaves upon those that had tachildren also shall be broken in pieces before ken possession of their goods. their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their Wives Touching the reign of Cyrus, and the

of Gods judgment, he caused all the banks | that received the report from others truly and heads of his trenches to be opened and as it was, that could better leave the fame to cut down with that diligence, as by them he posterity after it happened, than Esay hath drew the great River of Euphrates dry for done in many places of his Prophecies, the prefent, by whose chanel running, his which were written two hundred years be-

The greatuess and magnificence of Babythe Poet faith) in fleep and wine: fuch as lon, were it not by divers grave Authors fet came in the Persians way, were put to the down, might seem altogether fabulous: for. fword, unless they faved themselves by besides the reports of Sain Hierom, Solinus. flight, as some did, who ran away crying, and Orosius, Aristotle in the third of his Poand filling the streets with an uncertain tu- litticky of the second Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the City Such Affyrian Lords as had revolted from knew not that the rest was taken three daies Died. 1.3. Balthafar, and betaken themselves to the after. Which is not impossible, if the testiparty of Cyrus, did now conduct a selected mony of Diodorus Siculus may be taken a company to the Kings Palace, which having who finds the compass thereof at three eafily forced, they rushed into the Chamber | hundred and threescore Stadia or Furlongs. where the King with his Princes were ban- which makes five and forty miles: the walls quetting, flew both him and them without whereof had so great a breadth, that fix any mercy, who strugled in vain to keep Chariots might pass in front thereon. And those lives which God had newly threatned of height, according to Ctessus and Clitracus. to take away. And now was the Prophecy three hundred threescore and five foot garof Jeremy fulfilled, and that of Esay, two nished with an hundred and fifty Towers. hundred years before this subversion; who in | Strabo in the beginning of his sixteenth his seven and fortieth Chapter, and else- Book of Geography, gives it a greater cirwhere, writeth this destruction so feelingly cuit, adding five and twenty Furlongs more and lively, as if he had been present both at to the former compals, reckoning the same the terrible flaughter there committed, and at three hundred fourfcore and five Furhad feen the great and unfeared change and longs, which make eight and forty mile and calamity of this great Empire; yea, and had one Furlong, but finds the wall far under allo heard the forrows and bewailings of that which Diodore reports: and fo doth every surviving foul thereunto subject. His Curtius measure their thickness but at two Prophecy of this place he beginneth in these and thirty foot, and their height at an hunwords; Come down, and fit in the dust, o dred cubits, which is also very much; every Virgin Daughter of Babel: fit on the ground, cubit containing a foot and a half of the there is no Throne, &c. And again, sit fit!!, and get thee into darkness, o daughter of the of the City he gives the same with siculus, Chaldwans, for thou shalt no more be called the and eight Furlongs more. Herodotus finds a Lady of Kingdoms. For though it cannot be greater content than Strabo doth, namely, doubted, that God used Nabuchodonofor, and four hundred and fourscore Furlongs circles the Chaldwans, to punish the Idolatry of the the thickness of the wall he measures at fif-Judeanszyet Esay teacheth us in this place ty cubits, and the height at two hundred of That he did not yet forget, that the execu- the same regal cubit. For entrance, it had Her. I. 1. rcus extremity. For (faith Efay) in the per- Hooks to hang them on of the same metal: fon of God, I was wroth with my people, I have and therefore did the Prophet Efay rightly polluted mine inheritance, and given them into intitle Babylon, The Princess and Glory of 1/2. 47.13.

> But when Cyrno had wonn her, he stript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a flave; dividing not only all her good-

ravished. So as there is no Historian who time which he enjoyed in rest and pleasure, was either present at this victory of Cyrus, or I can say no more of it, than that it is gene-

rally agreed by all Chronologers to have in his own City of Pafagardes, which himlasted only seven years: in which time he self shad built, and where his Epitaph was to made such Constitutions as differ little from be read in his time; which is said to have the Ordinances of all wife Kings that are de- been this: Ovir, quieunque es, & undecunfirous to establish a Royal power to them- que advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignofelves and their posterity.

The end of Cyrus.

great King Cyrus, is diverlly written. my body is covered.

Herodoius and Justin deliver, That after the This Tomb was o Massagetes, a very warlike Nation of the treasure, supposed to have been buried with Scythians, governed by Tomyris their Queen: him (or upon defire to honour his dead boand that in an incounter between the Fer- dy with certain ceremenies) in which there Gans, and these Northern Nomades, Tompris | was found an old rotten Target, two Seglost her Army, and her Son spargapises that thian Bows, and a Sword. The Cossin wherecommanded it: In revenge whereof, this in his body lay, Alexander caused to be co-Queen making new levies of men of War, vered with his own garment, and a Crown his body, and cast the same into a bowl of rogate much from Herodotus, who leaves his blood, using these words; Thou that hast all body in the hands of Tomyris. thy life time thirsted for blood, now drink thy fill, and satiate thy felf.

ing the strength and multitude of those maining forces into Egypt, so far off from that frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate quarter; the Scythian Nation then victoritheir fury by some for cible invasion and de- ous, and bordering Media: neither had population, because in the time of Cyaxarcs | Cambyses been able in such haste to have un-Father to Aftyages, those scythians invaded dertaken and performed so great a Con-Media and Asia the less, and held the same quest. Wherefore I rather believe Xenoin a fervile subjection eight and twenty phon, saying, That Cyrus died aged, and in

myrique, lasted (saith he) six years, and took unto him his Nobility, with his two Sons, end at the end of Cyrus.

nier, that this Scythian War was rather the wherein he affured himfelf, and taught fame which Cyrus made against the Sacians, others, of the immortality of the Soul, and of before the conquest of Lydia, according to the punishments and rewards following the Ctessas before cited, who calleth Tompris, good and ill deserving of every man in this sparets, though he deliver the success of life; he exhorted his Sons by the strongest that War otherwise than Herodotus doth: arguments he had, to a perpetual concord Vig prim. The rather (faith Viginier) because Strabo in and agreement. Many other things he utpar. Eib. his eleventh Book reciteth, that Cyrus fur- tered, which make it probable, that he reprized the Sacians by the same stratagem by ceived the knowledge of the true God which Justin faith, he defeated the Son of from Daniel, when he governed susa in Percie. L. 15. Homyris. And the same Clessas also reporteth, Jiu; and that Cyrus himself had read the bift. part. That the last War which Cyrus made, was Prophecy of Esty, wherein he was exprelly

three daies after. Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried work that ever Cyrus performed. For in

ravi: Ego fum Cyrus qui Perfis imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur Corpus mihi ne invidens ; O thou man, whofoever thou art, or whence foever thou comest; for I was not ignorant that thou should ft come: I am Cyrus that founded the Persian Empire, do He last War, and the endrof this not envy unto me this little earth, with which

This Tomb was opened by Alexander, as Conquest of Afathe less, Cyrus invaded the Qu. Curtius reporteth, either upon hope of 9. Care and following the War against Cyrus, in a of Cold to be set upon it. These things well fecond battel beat the Persian Army, and considered, as they give credit to the re-Zantia taking Cyrus prisoner, cut off his head from ports of Xenophon and Zonaras, so they de-20.

And furely, had Cyrus loft the Army of Persia in Scythia, it is not likely, that his Son It should hereby feem, that Cyrus know would so foon have transported all his repeace : and that finding in himself, that he This War, which Metasthenes calleth To- | could not long enjoy the world, he called Cambyles and Smerdis; or, after Xenophon, But in this particular I believe with Vigi- Tanaoxares: and, after a long Oration, against Amorrhaus King of the Derbicians, a named, and by God (for the delivery of his Nation (as the rest) of scythia; whom people) preordained. Which act of deliverthough he overcame, yet he then received ing the Jews from their Captivity, and of the wound of his death, which he fuffered reftoring the holy Temple and City of Jeru-Salem, was in true confideration the noblest other actions he was an inftrument of Gods begun. And whereas some Authours make power, used for the chastising of many Nadoubt, that whatsoever Cambyses did when Esd. 2, 16. Grace to be an instrument of Gods goodness, solve themselves out of Efdras. That by the heaven and earth shall perish.

CHAP. III.

ø. VII.

of God in Jerusalem.

Aving therefore fpoken of his great Victories, mentioned by fundry Hifforians, the glory of all which was a reward verned under him, as when himself became of this his fervice done unto him that was fole and Soveraign Monarch, we shall find House of God in Jerusalem, having now endured and finished the threescore and ten merly done in the times of other Kings. years captivity, by the Prophets foretold. bed the Temple.

out of Chaldaa under their Leader Zoroba- which they did to Sennackerib, Nabuchodo-1261.1. Out of Chalacca under their Leader 2010 to nefor, and other Kings of Babylon. For, as it is Extension, bel, the fon of Salathiel, and Nephew to nefor, and other Kings of Babylon. For, as it is Extension. Josadak, were about fifty thousand; where, of the house of Israel. as foon as they arrived, they built an Altar 1 Eld. 3. according to their own law, and afterward to whom the Counfellors and Governors of

for the rebuilding of the Temple. But no focner did the Jews begin to lay in the fixth and seventh Chapters of Efdras other Idolatrous Nations adjoyning, gave nors (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did all the impediment they could. So did the not withftand the building of the Temple, in no fort favoured the Jews, nor the labours and by the Kings answer, it is evident. nor purposes they had in hand. And not Also in the fixt of Ezra, the fourteenth only those which were but Provincial Lieu- verse, the Kings are named in order as they 16, tenants, and other officers of less place, but Coverned, and Artaxerxes written after Da-

power, the draw the establishing of a Government himself had obtained the Empire, yet during tions, and the establishing of a Government himself had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of Government the life of Government himself had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of Government himself had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of the in those parts of the world, which was not the life of Cyrus there was no such impedilong to continue. But herein he had the ment or prohibition: they may herein re- 1 Est 4.5. and a willing advancer of his Kingdom up- conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations, on earth; which must last for ever, though the building was hindred all the time of King Cyrus life, &c. And therefore it is true, what the Jews themselves affirm as it is written in the fecond of John, That the Temple was 46. years in fetting up, having received of Cyrus his Decree for building the Temple | fo many hinderances from the first foundation to the fecond of Darius. And if we feek the natural and politick

Authour of them and of all goodness: I them in that Epistle remembred by Esdras, hold it meet at length to speak of the De- written by Belemus, Mithridates, and the cree made in the first of his Reign, being rest Presidents and Counsellors in Phanicia, perhaps the first that ever he made after wherein they complain that the Jews were his possession of the Babylonian Empire: evermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; Estat. 64. That the captive Jews should return again that their City being once built, they would into their own Territory, and re-build the | then refuse to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had for-

But that which for that prefent feemed For the accomplishing whereof, he gave the most forcible impediment, was, that order to his Treasurers to furnish them with | Cambyses having it in his resolution to invade all things necessary and wanting. He also | Egypt, and that it was a common opinion, restored unto them five thousand four hun- That the Jews were descended of those Nadred threescore and nine Vessels of Gold tions, because they issued thence under Moand Silver, whereof Nabuchodonofor, the Jes, when they conquered Judea; their City Grandfather of Balthafar, had formerly rob- being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give The number of the Jews which returned | the same disturbance to Cambyses Conquest, King Jeconias, and Jesus or Josua the son of written in Ezechiel, Egypt was the confidence

But it is to be understood, as Codoman to the living God, and facrificed thereon, and others have observed, that Artaxerxes, Eld 4 bethought themselves how to prepare ma- Phanicia complained against the Jews, did not precede, but succeed Darius Hystaspes, as any one stone, than the Samaritans and it is made plain: and also that those Gover-Governours of those Provinces under Cyrus but the fortifying and enclosing of the City, altogether countenance the diffurbers, and as by the reasons given in the said Epistle,

Cambyfes himself; who having the charge rius; as: And they built and finished it (to wit of the whole Empire, while Cyrus was buli- the Temple) by the appointment of the God of ed otherwise, countermanded the building Israel, and by the commandement of Cyrus

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Lastly, in the seventh of Ezra it is written; old Translation calleth a Macedonian) had Now after these things, in the reign of Artah- against the Jews, though the opinion of Tothafte King of Persia: which was as much as feplus be more probable, who finds Amanto to fav, after the finithing of the Temple in be an Amalchite. But it is hard to be un-Darius time. And therefore Artaxerxes in derstood, how Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, the fecond of Efdr.is is there named by an- should have been Efther, whose History ticipation, not in his own time and place.

ing of the City and Temple of Hiernfalem. of Hystaspes, or of Xerxes. The desire of Which action though prospered by the hand Atoffa to have Greece brought under the of God, was very flowly purfued by the men yoke of Persia, was partly grounded upon whom it most concerned, but first set on the honour which thereby she thought her foot by cyrus. The other Ordinances of husband might obtain, partly upon a femi-Cyrus, with his form and manner of Govern- nine humour of getting many brave Dames, ment, are to be found in Xenophon. At his Corinthians, Athenians, and others of that death he bequeathed the Empire unto his Nation to be her bond-woman. Wherefore eldest son Cambyses, appointing Smerdis or I cannot give affent to the opinion of Codo-Tanaoxares his younger fon to be Satrapa, or man, who upon the near found of the two Lieutenant of Media, Armenia, and Cadulia; names, Atossa and Hadassa, (by the latter of and then died, after he had reigned (faith which Efther was also called) makes them to Herodotus) one and thirty years, or (accor- have been one person. For though it be true ding to Justine) but thirty.

ø. VIII.

Of Cyrus his issue: and whether Atossa were . Same with Queen Helter.

Meroe, and Artystona: Ctesias addeth to derstood the truth: who nevertheless did so these, Amytis. Atossa and Meroe their bro- well know the parentage of Atossa, that for ther Cambyfes married; Artystona, Darius her sake, as being daughter of Cyrus, her son Hystaspes obtained; so did he Atossa, Cam- | Xerxes was preferred to the Kingdom before byfes being dead: who (as some Writers his elder brother, against whom also he have supposed) inflamed both her husbands, could have pretended a very weak claim. Darius, and Xerxes after him, to invade But of these things more hereafter in fitter Greece, to be avenged of the whole Nation place.

and Darius, and Artahshaste Kings of Persia. | for the cruel intent that Aman (whom the feems rather to appertain to the time of Ar. And thus much concerning the rebuild- taxerxes Longimanus, than of Darius the fon that Efther concerning her parentage, awhile might be taken for a great Lady; yet Codomans inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare unto her, be thought his daughter, or (as some think) were the the daughter of cyrus. Certain it is, that Esther did at length discover her Kindred and Nation 5 whereby, if Histories could be kept Trus had iffue two fons, Cambyfes and free from this errour, yet the people, and smerdis, with three daughters, Atoffa, especially the Nobility, must needs have un-

CHAP. IV.

The eflate of things from the death of Cyrus to the reign of Darius.

6. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian Kings.

the continuance of the Persian Cyrus alone. Empire, there are many opi- Priscus Artaxerxes. nions : As that of Metasthenes, Darius Longimanus. who hath numbred the Persian Darius Nothus. Kings, and their times as followeth.

F the fuccessors of Cyrus, and Darius Medus, and Cyrus joyntly. >years Ataxerxes Mnemon

Artaxerxes Ochus. 4 | years. Arses, or Arsames. Darius, the last, conquered by Alexander.

To which Philo agreeth; which number of years added, make in all an hundred ninety and one. But in this Catalogue Meta-Theres hath left out Cambyfes and Xerxes, and names Artaxerxes Affuerus, for the immediate successor of Cyrus; in place (saith Melanthon) of Darius the Son of Hystaspes: doth not account Cambyfes in the Catalogue, v. 7 because his reign was confounded with that of Cyrus.

There is a second Opinion, though ridiculous, of sedar Olam, who finds but four of that Empire.

the North Latins follow, and fo doth Krentzheim, who ing with his own Sons. hath fully answered; and, as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from following the Greeks, apply the beginnings that account. For in this fort do the Greeks and ends of every Perstan King with their marshal the Persian Kings with the times of Acts, to some certain Olympiad; As the War their reigns.

Melanelhon gives Cyrus but 19.	Cyrus in all. Cambyses with the Magi.	8) 80)
	Darius Hystaspes.	36
Melmet.	Xerxes.	21
but 10.	Artaxerxes Longimanus.	40 years
	Darius Nothus.	19
Melanet. but 40	Artaxerxes Mnemon.	43
Melantt.	Artaxerxes Ochus.	23
16. Milavil. 4.	Arfames.	3
satisfier, 4.	Darius the last.	61

all two hundred and thirty.

ra I. ch. I. verf. I. and often elsewhere.

upon the Geneva understands that place; fall out right with each computation. but, under correction, mistakes the matter For Ptolemy reckons the time answerable greatly, when he faith in the fame note, that to two hundred and four and twenty Julian Darius Hystaspes was an enemy to the people years, and an hundred and forty dates from

favour and liberality to the Jews being elsewhere proved.

Thirdly, Is Darius Hystaspes found in Ezra the first, c.4.v.5, who in the fixth verse is also named Abassuerus.

Fourthly, In the eleventh of Daniel, verse the fecond, Xerxes is plainly foretold and described, and the great War which he should make against the Greeks by Daniel remembred.

Fifthly, Artaxerxes Longimanus in Ezra the fourth, verse seven, who is also called for Metasthenes, as Melantthon conjectureth, Arthasastha, c. 4. l. 1. Ezra v. 7. and chap. 7.

> Sixthly, Darius Nothus, Ezra cap. 4. v. 24 and cap. 5. v.6. Nehem. cap. 12. v.22.

Seventhly, Artaxerxes Mnemon in Nebem. cap.2. v. 1. who was Father to Artaxerxes Persian Kings from the beginning to the end Ochus, and Arsames: for Darius the last, he was of another Family, the Line of Cyrus Genebrard, Schubert, and Beroaldus, have the Great ending in Ochus, who descended also a differing account from the Greeks; from Xerxes the Son of Atolla, Cyrus his whom nevertheless Eusebius, and most of the Daughter; and the issue male of Cyrus fail-

> But to proceed, Eusebins, with the Latins of Aftyages (Cyrus his maternal Grandfather) and Alyattes (Crassus his Father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of Cyrus reign, to the beginning of the five and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of Sardis by Cyrus to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The invalion of Egypt by Cambyles to the third year of the threefcore and third Olympiad, and to of the rest. Which reference with good agreement between feveral forms of computation, add the more credit unto

Again, this historical demonstration is Alm 1/3. Which numbers put together, make in confirmed by the Astronomical computation of Ptolemy, who referrs the death of This account (as I have faid) the most Alexander the Great, who died the 12. of Chronologers, and the best learned approve. | November, in the beginning of the hundred These Persian Princes, being all warranted by and fortieth Olympiad, to the four hundred the authority of the Scriptures, as Pencer and four and twentieth year after Nabonafin his historical Animadversions, hath ga- Jar. And the Era of Nabonassar began on the thered the places; finding first Cyrus in the six and twentieth of February: which, confecond of Chronicles, ch. 36. vers. 22, 23 Ex- ferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth month of the first year of the eighth Olym-Secondly, Cambyses in the eleventh of Da- piad; So that whether we follow the acniel, who may indeed be well esteemed for counts of the Olympiaids, as do the Greek Hione of those three Kings in the second verse storians, or that of Nabonassar with Ptolemy, named, and so the Marginal Commentator we shall find every memorable accident to

of God, and stood against them: his great Nabonassar to the sixteenth of July in the

CHAP, IV.

seventh year of Cambyses.

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lus, place the taking of Egypt by Cambyfes in marriage, Amasis presented him with Nitetis the fecond or third year of the threefcore the Daughter of Apries his predecessor. and third Olympiad, and the beginning of which Cambyses distained. Cambyses seventh year, in the first of the threescore and fourth Olympiad: which first byses gathered an Army sit for such an enof the threefcore and fourth olympiad runs terprize, and caused the same to march. along with part of the two and twentieth But before they entred Egypt, Amalis died. of Nabonassar. The like agreement is conse- and lest Psammenticus, whom Ctessus calquently found about the beginning and end led Amyrieus, his successor; who enjoyed of Cyrus.

fucceeded Cambyfes, is according to Ptolomy though other Chronologers give him fix the two hundred and fix and fortieth of Na- | years. bonaffar, which (observing the differences of Nabonassara and the Olympiad, viz. eight in one battel he lost it, and was himselftaand twenty years) agrees with the third of ken prisoner. the threefcore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the Greeks. In this Josephus agrees with the Greeks throughout, faving life to the conquered King, but that he also that he joyneth Darius Medus, whom Xenophon calleth Cyaxares, with Cyrus in the destruction of Babylon; which is true, and not contrary to the Greek computation, but may very well fland with it.

Lastly, The disagreement and confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the Persian Kings formerly rehearfed, doth give the greater credit to this of the Greeks, which being constant in it self, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewife with the holy Scriptures.

6. II.

of Cambyfes, and the conquering of Egypt

TE will therefore, according to the truth, give the Empire of Persia to Cambyfes, the Son of Cyrus, though degenerate in all things, faving the defire to increase the greatness of his Empire: whereof it with Carrion. others give him a longer reign than agreeth Her. 1. 3. Plin. 1. 6. c. 54. Stra. & Jul. 1. 1. Pag. 87, 88. Her. 1. 3. Stale with the Gracian accompt before recei-

Lib.2; c. 2. In the fifth year of his fole reign, and in Her. 1. 3. the third year of the threescore and third pag. 83,84, Olympiad, according to Diodore and Eusebiw, he invaded Egypt, and having overthrown the King thereof, Pfammeniticus, he not only caused him to be slain, but also did put constrained Evelthon King thereof to acto death all his kindred and dependants, knowledge him, who before held that Island with the most of his children,

Herodotus and Ctesias give for cause of this

tion of Cambyfes) that when he fent to Ama-The Greeks, and namely, Diodorus Sicu- Is King of Egypt, to have his Daughter in

Howfoever it were ; true it is, that Cam-Egypt after his Father (according to thebell Copies of Herodotta) but fix months,

But how long foever he held the Crown,

It is faid that Cambyfes, following therein the example of Cyrus, did not only spare trusted him with the Government of Egypt, and that, upon some revolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered. But the race of this King was not lo extirpated, if we may believe Herodotus and Thucydides, but that he left a Son called Inarus, who caused the Egyptians to revolt both from Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

That Psammeniticus was at the first entreated gently by Cambyfes, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he fo much hated Amalis the King of Egypt, who died before his arrival that he caused his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custom both of the Egyptians and Persians. For the Egyptians used to powder their dead bodies with falt, and other drugs, to the end the worms might not devour them. The * Fersians durst not New confume them with fire, which they efteem-did the A ed as a God, and therefore feared to feed confunt

he was possest in his Fathers time, while Cy- till the time of Sylla Dictator, who caused his own to be devoured rus made war in the North. Ctessas with that element, fearing the Law called Talionis, or like for like, beam himself had untombed the carkass of Cains Mirius after his den

ø. III. The rest of Cambyses bis Acts.

Fter this victory obtained in Fgypt, Cambyfes fent an Army into Cyprus, and of the Egyptians.

While Cambyses yet bussed himself in War(being no other indeed than the Ambi- Egypt, he so much detested the Idolatry of that Nation, as he caused the Images them | cestuous match, to be slayed alive, for an Oratory, raised such a Tempest of Sand, ment. wherewith the greatest part of the Country is covered, as the Persians were therewith choaked and over-whelmed.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, Go, faith the King; Stay, faith the Tide.

with child, because she bewailed the death report. Her. B. So. of her Brother Smerdis. I find it written of this Cambyfes, That because his Predecessors | cifed, till at the last, according to the phrase observed religiously the Ordinances of their of our Law, he became felon de foy. For when red of them, whether there were any Law dis the Magi (Cedrenus writeth them sphenamong the Persians that did permit the Bro- | danes and Cimerdius) Ministers of his dother to marry his own Sifter; it being his meltical affairs, taking advantage of the alwaies either Lawstor distinctions in store Kings Brother, and Smerdis the Magus, poscerned not the Kings private satisfaction, he | gi governed, while he was absent. caused sisamnus, one of his Judges, and per-

felves, with the Temples wherein they were unjust judgment given, and the same his hide worshipped, to be torn down and defaced. to be hung up over the judgment-seat. Af-This done, he directed a part of his Army inter which, bestowing the Fathers Office on to Lybia, to overturn the Temple of Jupiter his Son, he willed him to remember that the Ammon; but the Devil, in defence of his same partiality deserved the same punish-

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercifed against the Son of his beloved Praxaspes, was very strange and ungrateful. For when he defired to be truly informed by Herodotus and Seneca report, that, difdain- him what the Perfians thought of his condiing to be refifted, he prepared the rest of his tions, Praxaspes answered, That his virtues Army, which himself meant to conduct into were followed with abundant praise from those parts; but that finding a beginning of all men; only it was by many observed, that those incommodities, which his first-tent he took more than usual delight in the tast troops had tryed, he changed his purpole. of Wine: with which taxation inflamed, For though conquering Kings have power he used this replication: And, Are the over men, yet the Elements do not obey Persians double-tongued, who also tell me, them; according to that old English Proverb, that I have in all things excelled my Father Cyrus? Thou Praxafpes shalt then witness, After his return from the attempt of whether in this report they have done me Ethiopia, he caused Apis the Egyptian Bull, right: for, if at the first shot I pierce thy worshipped by that Nation as God, to be Sons heart with an Arrow, then is it false flain: a deed very commendable, had it that hath been spoken; but if I miss the proceeded from true zeal, and been execu- mark, I am then pleafed that the fame be ted as in fervice of him that only is, and accounted true, and my subjects believed. liveth. But soon afterwards, when in a This being spoken, he immediately directed dream it feemed unto him that Smerdis did an Arrow towards the innocent child, who fit in the Royal Throne of Persia (which ap- falling down dead with the stroke, Cambyses parition was verified in Smerdis the Magus) commanded his body to be opened, and his he gave it in charge to his favourite Praxaf- heart being broched on the Arrow, this pes, to murther Smerdis his Brother. And monftrous Tyrant greatly rejoycing, shewed having married his own Sifters, contrary to it to the Father, with this faying instead of the Persian Laws, he committed a most cause- an Epitaph: Now Praxaspes, thou mayst reless and most detestable murder upon the Solve thy felf, that I have not lost my wits with one of them called Meroe, then by himself | Wine, but the Persians theirs, who make such

Many other barbarous cruelties he exer-Empire, he affembled his Judges, and enqui- he was informed, that Patizites, and Smerown intent fo to do: The Judges (who had great refemblance between smerdis the to fatisfie Kings and times) made answer, self themselves of the Empire, he made all That there was not any thing written allow- haste towards Persia; and in mounting haing any fuch conjunction, but they not with- Itily on horse-back, his fword dif-sheathing standing found it in their customs, that it peirced his own thigh, wherewith deadly was alwaies left to the will of the Persian wounded, falling into an over-late and re-Kings, to do what best pleased themselves; mediless repentance of the slaughter which and fo, as Nanclerus terms it, invenerunt oc- he had executed upon his own Brother, he cassionem: that is as much to say, The Judges soon after gave up his wicked ghost, when found a shift to please the King, and to see he had reigned eight years, accounting cure themselves. And yet, where it con-therein those seven months in which the Ma-

In Cambyfes the Male Line of Cyrus failed. chance one of those which favoured his in- For he had no issue either by Atossa or Zzz 2

CHAP. V.

Zon. Com. 2. Meroe : yet Zonaras out of Hierom gives him upon the Laws of their Country; take other a Daughter called Pantaptes, and a Son mens wives by force, and destroy whom called Orontes: who being drowned in the they please without judgment. River Ophites by Antioch, the fame was afterward, in memory of the Princes death, cal- firming that the tyranny of a multitude was

led Orontes.

the place where Latopolis was formerly fea- judgment, run into bufiness and affairs with ted, and that of Meroe in the Island of Ni- precipitation, like raging and over-bearing lus, calling it by the name of his Sifter | floods.

ø. IV.

of the Inter-regnum between Cambyses and from excellent men.

one of the Magi, the counterfeit of Smerdis, ever happen that the discord of many Ruthe Princes, or Satrapa's, or Provincial Go-lers hath enforc'd the election of One Suvernors of the Empire (to wit, Otanes, In. preme. It were therefore, faith Darins, taphernes, Gobrias, Megabyfus, Alphatines, Historia far fafer to observe the Laws of our Countage of the Co darnes, and Darins, who were all descended try, by which Kingly Government hath from Achamenes the first Persian King) ha- been ordained. ving discovered the fraud of this imposture, joyned their forces together, furprized and rius, and agreed to continue the same Imperooted out the Confpirator with his Com- rial Government, by God established and panions and Affiftants. In which action made prosperous. And, to avoid partiality, (faith Justin) Intaphernes and Asphatines it was accorded, that the morning followwere flain: but Herodotus otherwise, that ing these seven Princes should mount on they were only wounded; for he avoweth, Horfe-back, and on him the Kingdom should the election following.

it was not fafe to give all power to any one, rius for their Lord and King. feeing greatness it self, even in good men , Plato in the third of his Laws affirmeth, doth often infect the mind with many vices, that in memory of the feven Princes, and that liberty and freedom in all things is whereof Darius himfelf was one, that dedo commonly use the service of wicked Governments; Herodotus saith, into twenmen, and favour them most; they usurp ty Satrapies.

Megabysus was of another Opinion, afthrice more intolerable than that of One. He built the City of Babylon in Egypt, in For the multitude do all things without

> He therefore thought it fafest to make election of a few, and those of the best. wifest, and most vertuous; because it is ever found, that excellent Counsels are ever had

Darius gave the third judgment, who perswaded the creation of a King, because Trus and his two Sons being now dead, even among few diuturnity of concord is and the Kingdom in the poffession of seldom found, and in great Empires it doth

The other four Princes adhered to Dathat all the feven Princes were present at be conferred, whose Horse, after the Sun-Hadden rifing, should first ney or bray. In the even- 100,101, For the Empire being now without a Go- ing, after this appointment was made, it is vernour, these Princes grew into a consul- said, that Darius consulted with the Master tation how the same might be ordered from of his Horse Oebarus, who, in the Suburbs of thenceforth. Otanes (one on the Seven) did the City, where the election was resolved not fancy any election of Kings, but that of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the the Nobility and Cities should confederate, morning Darius was mounted, to cover a and by just Laws defend their Libertie in Mare, who, as soon as he came into the same equality, giving divers reasons for his Opinion, being, as it seemed, greatly terrified Whereupon the other six Princes descended by the cruelties of Cambyses: As first, that from their Horses, and acknowledged Da-

most apt to infult, and to commit all man-livered the Empire from the usurpation of ner of wicked outrage. Again, that Tyrants the Magi, he divided the whole into leven

CHAP. V.

Of Darius the fon of Hystaspes.

ø. I.

of Darius his Linage.

Arius was descended of the antient Persian Kings, to wit, of the Achemenide, of which, Cyrus the Great was the lineal fuccesfor. For in this fort Herodotus derives him as before;

> Cyrus the first, who had Teispins, who begat Ariaramnes, who was father of Arsamnes, the father of Hystaspes, the father of Darius, firnamed Celes, the father of Xerxes.

Hyltaspes accompanied Cyrus the Great, in the wars against the Scythians : at which time Cyrus being made jealous of Davius by a dream of his own, caused him to be sent into Persia; others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of Cyrus he was delivered, and made Governour of the Persian Magi. He afterward followed Cambyfes into Egypt; he then joyned with the rest of the Princes against the Magi, and either by the neying of his horse, or, as others affirm, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more affured to himself by taking two of Cyrus Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wives.

Hystaspes, according to * Herodotus, had, 137 befides Darius, these three sons, who were great Commanders in the War which Darius made in Asia the less, Thrace, Macedon, and Greece; Atarnes, Artaphernes, and Artaba-190, ms, who diffwaded Xerxes, from the fecond n.l.6.p. Grecian war. Hystaspes had also a Daughter 186. married to Gobryas the Father of Mardoni-190, 115, who commanded the Army of Darius in 179. Macedon, and married the Daughter of Da-

104. rius, artosoftre, his Cofen german. Reineccius gives to Hystaspes five sons, Darius who succeeded Cambyses, Artabanus, 154. Artaphernes, Otanes, and Atarnes, with two Daughters.

o. II.

Of Darius his Government, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.

Arius devised equal laws whereby his Subjects might be Governed, the same being formerly promifed by Cyrus. He gave access to all his Subjects, and behaved himfelf so mildly to all men, that many Nations defired and offered themselves to become his Vaffals: Only he laid divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not been accustomed in Cyrus time, to the value of fourteen thousand five hundred and threefcore talents, faith Herodotus.

The war which Cambyfes made a far off in Egypt, and the contention between the Magi and the Princes of Persia, for the Empire, gave heart to the Babylonians to recover their liberty, and to shake off the Persian yoke; whereof Darius being advertised, he prepared an Army to recover that City and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult work, he used the service of Zopyrus, who for the love he bare Darius, did cut off his own Ears and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to fly to the Babylonians for fuccour, to whom he accused the cruelty of Darius: who for having given him advice to give over the siege of their City, had in this sort dismembred and deformed him; whereupon the Babylonians gave him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and commandement of their greatest forces: which when Zopyrus had obtained, after fome fmall colourable over-throws given to the Persians upon fallies, he delivered the City into Darius his Her. 1.2 hands, who had Iven before it twenty

CHAP.

ø. III.

the Temple.

Hierusalem should go on, and commanded because they joyned themselves to Darius. that the same should be finished at his own But the scythians more elegantly termed charge, and out of the revenues of the them good flaves, for as much as they would Crown. And whereas the Governours of not run away from their Master, but were those Provinces which are fituate between more mindful of doing their duties, than of Euphrates and the Phenician, and midland shaking off their bondage, when they were Sea (whom Ezra calleth the Captains be- presented with as fair an occasion of liberty vond the River) had hindred the work in as could have been defired. For the great Cambyles his time, Darius gave commande- Army of Darius entring the defart Country ment that they should not thence-forth called Bessarabia, found in it neither people come neer unto Jerusalem, to give any im- to relift them, nor any sustenance to relieve pediment to the building, but that they them. For the Seythians were then, as are should withdraw themselves, and get them the Chrim Tartars, their posterity, at this far off till all were finished, and at an end. day, all horse-men, using the Bow and Sword, In the old Latine it is written, Procul recedite | They were not Plough-men, but Grafiers, ab illis; With-draw your felves far from them; driving their Heards from one place to ano-In our English, Be je far from thence, to wit, ther, as opportunity of Pasture led them. from the City and Temple now in build-Standing Towns they had none, but used

thenceforth hinder the fetting up of the good order, making Streets and Lanes in the Temple of God, that his house should be manner of a great Town, removeable at torn down, and the disturber hanged on the their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour Gallows made of the timber thereof. He also himself, called now the great Chrim, any Eggi6.11 in the fame Decree maketh invocation to other City than fuch as Agora, (as they God; That hath caused his Name to dwell there name it) or Town of Carts. When as there-(to) destroy all Kings and people that put their fore Darius had wearied himself, and wasted hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God his provision in those desolate Regions, which is in Jerusalem, &c. In four years af- wherein he found neither wayes to direct ter which Decree (the Jews being really him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, furnished with money and all things neces- fruitful trees, or living creatures, nor any fary from Darius) the Temple was in all thing at all, which either he himself might finished, to wit, in the beginning of the make use of, or by destroying it might Spring, in the fixth year of Darius Hyftaspes, grieve his enemies, he began to perceive his and in the two and fortieth after their first own folly, and the danger into which he

ø. IV.

of Darius his Scythian War.

ded the Scythians, whose King Justin him Earth and Water, which the Perstans Jaf. 1.2. calleth Lauthinus; and faith, that Darius used to demand as a fign that all was yielded undertook this war against him, because he unto them. To this challenge the scythian refused him his Daughter in marriage. The returned an Hieroglyphical answer; sending better to convoy his Army into Scothia, he a Bird, a Frog, a Monfe, and five Arrows: ver Ister or Danubius, and gave the custody own wish, thought that he did yield all the of the same in charge (among others of Asia Elements wherein those creatures live, and whom was Militades, who perswaded the bryas, one of the seven Princes, who had

Asian Grecians to break down the bridge, to the end Darius might not return thereby, of Darius his favour to the Jews in building and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the same was refisted by Histians Prince of Milet, a City of Ionia. N the fecond year of Darius, he gave or which Nation, being a Colonie of the Greeks, der that the building of the Temple at Diodorus calleth Traytors to their Country, Dialing for Houses the Waggons wherein they car-He also made a Decree which concerned ried their wives and children. These Waghis own Subjects, That who oever should gons they place at every Station in very had brought him. Yet fetting a good face upon a bad game, he fent brave messages to the Scythian, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make trial of his valour and fortune in plain battel; Or, if he acknowledged himself the weaker, then to yield by A Fter the recovery of Babylon he inva- fair means, and become his Subject; giving built a bridge of small Vessels over the Ri- which dumb shew Darius interpreting by his the less) to the Ionians and Aolians, among his weapons withal into his hands. But Goflain the Magi, construed their meaning upon their greatness and many Victories, bethey returned from Ister to seek him out.

ø. V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian War.

Arius having thus escaped out of Scy-I thia, determined the invasion of The first occasion of the War which Darius Thrace and Macedon, in which War he employed Megabasus, who mastered the Paonians, and transplanted them, and possess Perinthus, Chalcedon, Byzantium, and other places, being also foon after subjected, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the merchine Civy in from the Persian, who having now rethuat duced under his obeyfance the best part of worst brunt of Darino invasion on that side with of Thrace, did fend his Embassadors to Amintas the Sea, with admirable success. Neither do Gry upon raignty over that Kingdom. Amintas business as gave fire to those wars, which nehas, at Embafiadors with gentle words, and after- the ruin of this great Persian Monarchy. Perwere well filled with wine, and prefumed Athens.

aright, which was thus; O ye Perfians, get gan to use such embracings, and other lasciwings like Birds, or dive under the water, vious behaviour towards those Noble Laor creep into holes in the earth, for else ye shall dies, as Alexander the Kings fon, great not escape our arrows. And this interpreta- Grandfather to Alexander the Great, diftion was foon verified by the Scythians daining the Persians barbarous presumption. themselves, who assailed the Fersian camp, befought his Father to with-draw himself drave the horse-men into the trenches, and from the assembly, continuing notwithvexed the Army with continual Allarums standing all honourable respect towards the day and night; were fo fearless of this great Embassadors, whom withall he entreated Monarch, and so little regarded him, that that the Ladies might refresh themselves for within his hearing, and even in his fight, a while; promifing their speedy return. they did not forbear the pastime of cours- This being obtained, Alexander caused the ing a Hare, which they had started by like number of well-favoured young men chance. By this boldness of theirs, Darius to clothe themselves in the same garments, was so discouraged, that he forsook his and to use the same attires which the Ladies Camp by night,making many fires, and leaving all that were fick and weak behind him,

That when the Perfiant offered to abule and so with all speed marched away towards them, they should forthwith transpierce the River Isler. He was pursued hardly by them with their long knives, of which they the scythians, who mist him, yet arriving at were provided for that purpose, which was the Bridge before him, perfivaded the *Toni*accordingly performed. Charge was foon
ans to depart, affuring them that the *Perfam*after given by *Darius* for a fevere revenge King should never more be able to do them of this murder. But Alexander somewhat either good or harm. Which words had before the death of Amintas, gave his fifter certainly been proved true, had not Hystiæ- Gygea in marriage to Bubaris, a principal us the Milesian prevailed with his people, to Commander of Darius forces on that side, attend the coming of Darius, whom the who perswading her husband how helpful Soythians did likewise fail to meet, when the Alliance of Macedon would prove for the invalion of Attica intended, so prevailed, as Alexander escaped that tempest, which threatned to fall upon him very fuddenly; the war of Asia the less, called Ionick, falling out at the lame time.

ø. VI.

made upon Greece, with a rehearfal of the government in Athens, whence the quarrel

70w the better to understand the reaon and motives of that great War, fon of sysamnes, whom Cambyses had excori- which followed soon after, between the ated for false judgment. So were the Ci- Persians and Grecians, it is necessary to ties of * Selybria, and a Cardia likewise taken make a short repetition of the state of King of Macedon adjoyning, demanding of I hold it any impertinency to be large in him by the Earth and Water, the Sove- unfolding every circumstance of so great a doubting his own strength, entertained the ver could be throughly quenched, untill in wards invited them to a solemn and magni- sepolis the Capital City of the Empire, was at ficent feast; the Persians greatly defired that the request of an Athenian Harlot consumed the Macedonian Ladies might be present: with a flame, as dreadful, as in the pride which being granted, the Embassadors, who of their greatness, the Persians had raised in

Now

CHAP. V.

Now therefore as out of the former books | Abfander. it may be gathered, how Athens and other Erixias was the last Archon of the decennial parts of Greece, were anciently Governed, the same being already set down, though fcatteringly, and in feveral times, among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Eastern Emperours, and the Kings of Judea; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two last changes in the State of Athens. As for the Lacedamonians, they maintained still their ancient polity under Kings, though these also after some fifteen descents were bridled by the Ephori.

Codrus King of the Athenians, in the former books remembred, who willingly died for the fafety of his people, was therefore fo honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former Government from Monarchical to Princes for term of life, of which Medon the Son of Codrus was the first, after whom they were called Medontida; and of these there were twelve Generations besides Medon, to Rome created for that purpose) reduced in-

wit, Agestus.

Archippus, in whose times the Greeks transported themselves into Ionia, after Troy all other Chronologers (fuch as foland forty.

Thersippus. Thorbas.

Laws to the Spartans.

Pheredus. Ariphron.

Arbaces.

ding to Eusebius) were erected in Laceda-

first Archon, was

charops, then Æsymedes. Elvdicus. Hippomenes. Leocrates.

Governours, which form continuing threefcore and ten years, was then changed into annual Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of which Theseus was the first, according to Paulanias; others find Leoftratus; and then Anthofthenes.

Archimedes. Miltiades. Damasias.

Draco. Megacles.

solon, and others, who are the less to be regarded, by reason of the yearly

change. This solon being a man of excellent wifdom, gave Laws to the Athenians, which were published, according to Gellius, in the three & thirtieth year of Tarquinius Priscus. and were in after-ages derived unto the Romans, and by the Decem-viri (Magistrates in to Twelve Tables, which were the ground of the Roman Laws. But these goodly ordinances of solon, were in his own dayes violated and for a while almost quite extinguishan hundred and fourfcore years, accor- ed. For whereas they were framed unto the cording to Eugebius: which migration practice and maintenance of a popular Government; the state of Athens was very low Enfebius herein excepted) find in foon changed into a Monarchy by Pifffrathe year after Trey fallen one hundred | two the fon of Hippocrates : who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof Megacles and Lycurgus, two Citizens of Noble Families, were become the heads, took occasion by their contention Diogenetus, in whose time Lycurgus gave and insolency to raise a third faction more powerful than the other two, and more plaufible, for that he feemed a Protector of the Citizens in General. Having by Theispeus, in whose time the Assyrium Em- this means obtained love and credit, he pire was overthrown by Belechus and wounded himfelf, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been flain for his love to the good Citi-159. **Efchylus, in whose time the Ephori (accor- zens; he precured a Guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the State-house, or Cittadel of Athens, he made Alcamenon, the last Prince for life, after himself Lord of the Town; Hegelistratus bewhose death the Athenians elected De- ing then Governour. But the Citizens, who cennial Governours: the former Princes in every change of Government had fought for life having continued in all three to remove themselves further and further hundred and fixteen years. The first of from the form of a Monarchy, could so ill those that Governed for ten years, or the brook this usurgation of Pifftrains, that he was driven for lack of help, to fly the Town, as soon as Megacles and Lycurgus (joyning their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his Tyranny, founded upon the diffention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; fo was it

foon after well re-edified by the new break- 1y favoured by Darins, to whose Son Hypoagreement held not long; the Alemaonida, and especially Megacles, being incensed Bril 12 against Pilistratus for his misdemeanour to-Esizes, by with the Souldiers of the Town, proceeding

wards his Wife. Wherefore they practifed | banished Almaonida, together with an Army theis calin their treason so secretly, and so far, that napaant, piliftratus (upon the first discovery of their puterolisis, intent) perceived no other remedy for his Restild. affairs, than to withdraw himself to Eretria, Elianus, but, ast Justin hath it, four and thirty; accounting the time belike as well before, as after his feveral expulsions. Herodotwo gives the Father and the Son fix and thirty years; Aristotle five and thirty. But Thuhad refigned his estate.

cydides affirmeth, that he died very old, lea-

ving for his Succeffors, his two Sons, Hippias

with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineal fucceflors of a natural Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and some three years before Hippias was expelled out to conquer Greece, was one, but not the of Athens, his Brother Hipparchus was murdered by Harmodius and Aristogiton. The cause why, and the manner how performed, Thueydides hath written at large. And, though Hipparchus was charged with unnatural lust after Harmodius, yet Plato in his Dialogue, intituled Hipparchus, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent virtues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers, and authors of that scandal. Hippias fearing ing out in Asia about the same time. The that this enterprize upon his Brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-

Harmodius and Aristogiton, by a Harlot of 500 years, even from the Ionick migration, theirs called Lemnia: who, because she to the time of Crass, were by this Lydian City of would not reveal her Companions, did cut King made Tributaries, and afterwards as Figure out her own tongue. Then did Hippias, the Balls, better to ftrengthen himself, enter into a Grans, and left as hereditary Servants to the frait amity with **Eantides*, Tyrant of the Grown of Person.

ing out of the old factions. For when Mega- clus he gave one of his Daughters in marcles found the power of Lycurgus to grow riage. But some three years after the death greater than his own, he did (as is the usual of his Brother, doubting I know not what practice of the weaker fide) call in the common enemy Pififtratus, to whom he gave his use the Citizens with great severity, which Daughter in marriage; by which alliance neither Pifftratus the Father, nor Hippius the Family of the Alemeonide, whereof Me- himself had ever exercised, during their gacles was chief, became very powerful, yet usurpation till this time. And therefore the to, that Pilistratus by their power was made Athenians fearing lest that this disease might Master both of them and all the rest. But this rather increase, than diminish in Hippias. they stirred up clistines, one of the noblest and best able of their City, to practise their delivery: who, calling to his affiftance the of the Lacedamonians led by Cleomenes their King, fo affrighted Hippias, as by his compofition he gave over his estate, and the posfession of Athens, and from thence imbarking himself, took Land at * Sigeum, whence * Sigeum, a where he remained eleven years. Which time he went to Lamp sacus in Mysia governed by promontobeing expired, having hired Souldiers out of Antides, who presented him to Darius. He ty opposite many parts of Greece, he again recovered the was deprived of his estate, as Herodotus and of Tenedos, Thoughton principality of Athens: after which third Thucydides agree, twenty years before the which Aobtaining his estate, he governed Athens battel of Marathon: all which time he con-Animal feventeen years, according to Aristotle, and tinued, partly with Eantides, at other times calls ide reigned in all thirty and three years, faith with Artaphernes Lieutenant for Darius in promontori-Sardis, the Metropolis of Lydia; perfwading and practifing the enterprize upon Athens which Darius in the end to his great dishonour undertook, twenty years after Hippias

Thus far I have digressed from Darius, to the end the Reader may conceive the betand Hipparchus, who governed the Athenians ter the causes and motives of this War: whereof the hope that Hippias had to be restored to Athens by the help of Darius, which made him folicit and perswade the Persians most urgent.

ø. VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principal cause of the Wars ensuing between Greece and Persia.

A Nother, and a strong motive to this Lexpedition, was the Ionick War, break-Colonies transported out of Greece into Alia. first sought to discover the further intents of coast, having enjoyed their liberty about

That a unity with Zeantiaes, Tyrant of the Colombia as it is the cultom of Nations halfconquered CHAP. V

upon every advantage and opportunity: fo that might befall him, as one that had wadid the Ionians, and other Grecians, both in steed the King's treasures to no good pur-Cyrus his life, and after him, feek by all means pofe.

possible to free themselves. to four them into Rebellion, as had by the Country of Ionia into the same course persian been given unto them for bridles to which he determined to run, he abandoned hold them in subjection. Every one of those his tyranny, and did set Miletus at liberty. Towns had a Lord to rule it, whom they This plaufible beginning wan unto him the (abhorring the Government of one man) hearts of the Milestans: and his proceeding called their Tyrants. These Lords were ve- with other Ionian Tyrants (of whom some ry true to the Persian, by whose only might he took and fold as slaves to their Citizens, they held the people in subjection. And this others he chased away) caused the whole their dutiful affection they had well decla- Nation to be at his command. The Persan red, when Darius, being in great extremity, Fleet, whereof he lately had been Admiral they used all means to deliver him and his in the enterprize of Naxos, he had surprized Army (that otherwise had been lost) out of in his first breaking out, together with the the Septhians hand. Of this great piece of principal Officers, and Captains; fo that now fervice Hilliaus the Tyrant of Miletus ex- he thought himself able to deal with the pected the chief thanks, as having been chief great King's forces, lying thereabout, either Author of their expecting Darius, when the by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the rest, either perswaded by the Scythians, or power of all Asia would shortly be upon his carried away with their own defires, were neck, and crush both him and his affishants ready to have abandoned him. But it came to pieces, unless he were able to raise an Arfo to pass, that Darius being more fearful of my that might hold the field, which the the harm that Histiaus (being powerful and Ionians alone were infusficient to perform, crafty) might do to him in the future, than Therefore he took a journey to sparta, mindful of the good which he had already where having affayed in vain with many arreceived at his hand, found means to carry guments, and the offer of fifty Talents, to him along to sufa, where he detained him win to his party Cleomenes King of the Lacewith all kind usage of a friend, yet kept such | damonians: he went from thence to Athens, good espial upon him, as an enemy, he could and with better success besought the people not frart away, Histiaus had subtilty enough to lend him their affistance. The Athenian to discover the King's purpose, which ill Embassadours which had been sent to the agreed with his own desires. For he thought Perstan Kings Lieutenant in the lower Asia, it more pleafant, and more honourable to defiring them not to give countenance to rule as Prince in one fair City, having a Hippias, now a banished man, and lately their small Territory, than to sit and feast at the Tyrant, were a while before this returned great King's Table, and hear the Counfels with ill answers, having found very churlish by which a large Empire was mana ged; be- entertainment. So that the evil which they ing himself an idle beholder, and enjoying were to expect in all likelihood from the with much restraint of liberty, none other Persian, made them willing to begin with pleasures than a private man might bestow him. To which purpose, their consanguinity

upon himfelf. fing of some tumults in the lower Asia, to pa- his treasure were not helping. Twenty ships cifie which, if he might be sent, as one that the Athenians furnished for this voyage; to had great experience and authority in those which the Eretrians furnished five more, in quarters, it would afterwards be in his regard of the ancient kindness that had passpower to stay at home, and either satisfie the sed between the Ionians and them. With King with excuses, or deal as occasion shall these and their own forces joyned, the Ionirequire. Resolving upon this course, he sent ans entred the River Caistrus, which falleth very secret instructions to Aristagoras his into the Sea by Ephesas: by which advankinsman, whom he had left his Deputy at tage they surprized Sardis, when no enemy Miletus, advising him to ftir up some Rebel- was heard of or suspected; insomuch, as Arlion. These directions came seasonably to taphernes, who ruled as Vice-roy in those Ariftagoras, who having failed in an enter- parts, had no other hope of fafety, than by prize upon the Isle of Naxos, through the retreating himself into the Castle, which the

conquered (witness Ireland) to rebel again in fear of difgrace, if not of some further ill

Therefore he readily embraced the coun-At this time they found such men ready sel: and the better to draw the whole with the Ionians, and the perfuations of Wherefore he bethought himself of rai- Aristagoras, drew them on a pace, if perhaps false dealing of a Perstan his Associate, stood Gracians could not force: from whence he beheld the flaughter of the Citizens, and the whole Nation of the Greeks; for all of the City flaming.

on that fide the Sea.

Yet the burning of Sardis made a greater noise in the world, than the late good fucskirmishes, could raise. Wherefore the Ionians bravely proceeded, wonn a great part of Caria; and fending their Fleet into the Hellespont, got Bizantium and other Towns into their hands. Yea, the Cyprians, lately subdued by Cambyses, began hereupon to take heart; and entring into confegive them aid by Sea, rebelled against the whom his double-dealing was detected. Persians.

attempt such things, but by the instigation and by his heavy taking of his death. of those, to whom the ignorance of his ced any further.

them gave to his Rebels free harbour: the The Persians, at length, mixt with the Islanders moreover did help to furnish out Burgers, began to encourage them to de- a Navy of three hundred and fixty fail fence, and recovered the Market-place, against him. These provocations did rather frengthened by the River Pactolus, which breed in him a defire to abate their pride. ran thorow it; and borrowing courage than any fear of harm that they were like from desperation, they both defended them- to do him. For what they had done at 8arsolves, and charged their enemies 5 who well dis, was but by surprize. In every fight advising themselves, made all the haste they they were beaten by the Persians, who had could toward the Sea side. But Arraphernes not yet lost the fruits of their discipline, having gathered all the strength he could, wherein Cyrus had trained them, nor all pursued the Grecians, and found them near their ancient Captains. In one Sea-fight by Ephelus; where fetting resolvedly upon the Isle of Cyprus, the Ionians indeed had them, he flaughtered a great part of their the upper hand; but they were Phanicians. Army, the rest saving themselves in Ephesus. Egyptians, and Cilicians, whom they van-In this fight, Evalcides, Captain of the Ere- quished : neither was that victory of any use trians perished: but his fame and memory to them; the Cyprians, in whose aid they was by that excellent Poet Simonides pre- came, being utterly beaten by the Persian ferved. After this overthrow, the Athenians, Army at Land, and reduced into their old which were before fent unto Ariftagoras, and subjection. So had the Persians likewise by to the Ionians, could by no arguments of open War and fair force overthrown the theirs, no not by their tears, be perswaded | Carians in two battels, and reclaimed that to make any fecond trial of their fortunes | Nation; as also they had recovered the Towns upon Hellespont, with some Æolian and Ionian Cities, when Aristagoras with his friends quitting Miletus, fled into Thrace, cels which the Persians had in one or two desirous to seat himself in Amphipolis, a Colony of the Athenians. But the Edonians, on whose Territory belike he landed, overthrew him, and cut his troops in pieces.

About the same time, Histiaus, the first mover of this infurrection, came down into those quarters; who having undertaken the performance of great matters to Darius, deracy with the *Ionians*, who were able to was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by

But this Evafion preferved him not long. These news coming to the ear of Darius, And after many vain attempts that he filled him with great indignation, and with made, he was taken in fight by the Persians, an extreme hatred of the Athenians, upon and hastily beheaded, lest the King should whom he vowed to take sharp revenge. As pardon him upon remembrance of old good for the Ionians, his contempt of them, and turns; as it feems that he would have done, their knowledge of his power, made him to by the burial which he commanded to be think, that they would not have dared to given to his dead body that was crucified,

Histiaus had fought to put himself into great might had afforded the courage to Miletus; but the Citizens, doubting his conprovoke him. This was the main ground of ditions, chose rather to keep him out, and the War commenced by Daring, and purfued make shift for themselves, without his help. by Xerxes, against Athens: To which the | The strength of their City by Land, which folicitation of Hippias, before remembred, had in old time withflood the Lydian Kings; gave only some form and affistance: the bu- and their good Fleet, which promised unto finels, when once it was thus far on foot, them the liberty of an open Sea, cmbeing like enough to have proceeded, boldened them to try the uttermost, when though he had perished, ere it were advan- very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Navy was Some other occurrences in this Ionian broken as much by threatnings as by force; commotion extended the quarrel of Darius many of their companions and fellow-rebels against many of the Islanders, if not against forsaking them upon hope of pardon; and

Aaaa 2

CHAP, V

flight of those that should have affifted sage, and shroud themselves from all sudden them. Neither was it long before the tempests and out-rage. Town it felf, being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens of Samos; secondly, they attempted Naxos: flain, their wives and children made flaves, and their goods a booty to the Persians, their own forces, abandoned. So did the whom for fix years space they had put to people of Delos, of which Apollo was native: fo much trouble.

ø. VIII.

The war which Darius made upon Greece, with the Lattell of Marathon, and Darius his death.

this City or People made on Europe fide with variable fuccess; straitly, and after fix days affault, partly by were of Darius obstinate in the enterprise and Con- force, and in part by the treason of Euphabus Pringing quest of Greece (though at first he pre- and Philagius, they took it, sackt it, and cypuid, or tended to make the War but against the of offices themsens and Eritreans, who jointly asbetween fifted the Ionians against him, and burnt Enbæa the Persians past their Army into Atand Muse Sardis in Lydia) did now by his Embastica, conducted and guided by Hippias, late don, fadours, demand an acknowledgement Prince of Athens, and marching towards it, know, but from them all among whom, fome of the bord them not fo well refolved as the reft, fub-from the Sea, where they landed, towards deers, and next the mitted themselves; as the Eginets, and Athens. enemy, were more others. Against these, the Athenians bewere more ing inflamed, (by the affiftance of the wherein they were to dispute with their likely to ing inflamed, compound Lacedemonians) after divers encounters own vertues against Fortune, and to cast lots than the reflar off forced them to give pledges, and to re- for their liberty, for their wives, their chil-There is linquish the party of the Persians. Cleomenes dren, and their lives, put themselves in the led the Lacedemonians in this war, and best order they could to make resistance, ty caused of sing caused his companion-King Demantus to be and withall sent away with speed to the Lanor far deposed: who thereupon fled to Darius, cedemonians for succour, imploying in that from the from the first part of the form the first part of the fir 31,333,80 fon of these discords, alienations, and civill through Arcadia, encountred in the way a wars among the Greeks. He therefore familiar Devil, which he supposed to be ran, gave order to Hippagorus to prepare a Fleet who willed him to affure the Athenians of of Ships, fit to transport his Army over the victory, promising that some one of the Hellespont: the same consisting of an hun- gods should be present at the battell, to asdred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Ifift them, and defend them against the mul-The charge in chief of his Army he commit- titude of their enemies. Phidippides at his reted to Datis, accompanied and affifted by turn, feeing he could not bring with him out of Athens twenty years before, and thought it greatly availing to bring news and other Vessels; and first of all attempted the Islands, called Crelades, which lay like superstitious sooleries, than by any just in the mid-way between Asia the less, and cause or folid reason. Greece. For (obtaining those places) the Persians had then nothing to hinder the selves, with one thousand only of the Platetransportation of their forces over the Age- ans (who having been formerly defended by an Sea; but on the contrary they might the Athenians against the Thebans, did in

many being daunted with the causeless alwayes both relieve themselves in the past

To this end, they first possest themselves. Which Island, the inhabitants despairing of Which Island Darius did not only forbear to fack, but recalling the inhabitants, he gave order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice to Apollo crected. And having recovered these & other Islands, the Persians directed their course for Eretria in Enbea: for that City (as already hath been shew. In Hund ed) had affifted the Ionians at the taking Horad, 1.6. His War with good fucces finished and firing of Sardis. In this Island the Perfeby the Persians, and some attempts ans took ground, and besieged Eretria very

The Athenians, finding the time arrived Hippias, the Son of Pillfratus, expelled any present succours from sparta, yet he by Artaphernes his Erother, Governour from the gods, & promife of affiftance from of Sardis, and the Sea-coast of Asia the Heaven which no doubt (though the device lefs. These Commanders having their was somewhat likely to be his own, yet) it Companies brought down to the Sea-side, greatly encouraged the multitude and comimbarked themselves in fix hundred Gallies mon people, who in all ages have been more

defend the walls of Athens, or to put themfelves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of ten thousand In the end, and after great diversity of opipions, Miltiades, who perswaded the trial

by battel, prevailed. thew. So invincible and refiftless the Per- nasseus. Gans esteemed their own numbers to be, and This great fray thus parted, and the Perthat small troup of their enemies then in stans returned back into the lesser Asia, Milview, rather to be despised than to be sought tiades sought and obtained an employment withall: But in conclusion, the Victory be- against the Islanders of Paros, one of the ing doubtfully balanced for a while, fome- Cyclades, and paffing over his Companies in time the vertue of the Grecians, and some-threescore and ten Gallies, after fix and times the number of the Persians prevailed; twenty dayes assault he brake his thigh, in the Grecians fighting for all that they had, feeking to enter it by the Temple of Ceres, their ships.

hundred fourscore and twelve. For how- a few dayes ended his life. foever it came to pass, either by strange visions, which were afterward called Pannici other, with their private Factions, affisted terrores, or by some other affright, it seem- by the unthankful and witless people, eth that the invading Army, after the first brought them, not many years after, from a encounter, fought with their backs towards Victorious and famous Nation, to base subtheir enemy, and loft that number, by Hero- jection and flavery. Miltiades left behind him dotus fet down, in their diforderly retrait, or one fon called Cymon begotten on Hegespila, rather in their flat running away. As for daughter of Olorus King of Thrace, who (laith land of the Persian Army were slain, the in valour, nor to Themistocles in understandfame hath no appearance nor poffibility ing, but exceeded them both in Justice and of truth. In this fight Hippias the pergood Government. fwader of the enterprise was flain, faith Now Darius taking greater care how to

this extremity witness their thankfulness and gave. Themistocles had his first reputation in grateful disposition) began to dispute, Whe- this fight, being but young and of the first ther it were most for their advantage to beard. Those of the Grecians, of mark and commandement, that fell in the first encounter, were Callimachus and stefileus. It is also faid, That Cynegyrus following the Athenians, and one thousand of the Plataans. Persians to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the shore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with The Armies being now in view, and his left; of which also being deprived, he within a mile of each other, the Athenians took hold of it with his teeth. This encoundisposed themselves into three troups: two ter happened in the first year of the threewings or horns, as they term them; and the score and twelfth Olympiad, about the time body of a battel. The Persians when they of the war made by Coriolanus against his perceived fo small a troup advancing to- fellow-Romans : Alexander the son of wards them, thought the Athenians rather Amyntus being then King of Macedon, and dispossest of their understandings, than pos- Phanippus then Governour of Athens, accordiponet of their discertainings, same made ding to Plutarch, or Hybilides, after Halycar-

the Persuas for that they needed not, these wherewith himself being made unable, and great forces of Darius were disordered and his Companies discouraged, he returned to put in rout; the Athenians following their Athens; where those ungrateful Citizens Victory even to the Sea-shore; where the forgetting all his services past, and that of all Persians, so many of them as lost not their other the most renowned at the battel of wits with their courage, faved themselves in Marathon, did by the perswasion of Xantippus, the father of Pericles (who envied his The Fersian Army consisted of an hundred same) cast him into prison, and set on him a thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; of fine of fifty Talents; where his weak and which there were flain in the place fix thou- wounded body being not able to endure the fand three hundred, and of the Grecians an one, nor his effate to pay the other, he after

Which envy of the better fort to each Justin's report, That two hundred thou- Plutarch) was neither inferiour to his Father

Justine and Cicero; but Suidas tells us, That recover his honour, than forrow for the loss he escaped, and died most miserably in received in Greece, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike provisions. But The greatest honour of this Victory was the Egyptians revolting from his obedience cast upon Miltiades, who both perswaded (a Kingdom of great strength and revenue) the trial by battel, and behaved himfelf greatly distracted his resolution for the retherein answerably to the counsel which he invasion of Greece. The dissention also

born after he was King, and by fo great a after the battel of Marathon, and after mother as Atoffa, disdaining to give place to that he had reigned fix and thirty years. his elder brother, born before Darius ob- He left behind him five fons, namely, Artained the Empire, greatly vexed him. tabasanes, born before he obtained the And lastly, Death, who hath no respect of Armonian Mingdom, Nerves who succeeded his any mans affairs, gave end to all his confultations and enterprises, and joyned him and Anabignes.

among his fous, of whom the younger being | to the earth of his Ancestors, about a vear

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes?

ø. I.

The preparations of Xerxes against Greece.

there is nothing remaining in writing how those that opposed his desire to this War the fame was performed: the other against (changing opinion and counsel) affished the the Gracians, of which it is hard to judge, Grecian Expedition with all the powerhe whether the preparations were more terri- had. ble, or the fuccess ridiculous. In the confultation for the profecution of this War, years were confumed in describing and gawhich was chiefly bent against the Atheni- thering an Army for this invasion: which ans, the Princes of Persia were divided in being compounded of all Nations subject to opinion. Mardonius, who had formerly the Persian Empire, consisted of seventeen commanded in Thrace and Macedon, under hundred thousand foot, and eighty thou-Darius, and had also Hystaspes for his Grand- sand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, father, as Xerxes had, and married Xerxes and other Beafts of Carriage, if we may arguments the European War. But Arta- Trogus finds the number less by seven hunbanus, Brother to the late Darius, and Un-dred thousand footmen. cle to Xerxes, maintained the contrary The Commanders of the feveral Nations counsel, laying before Xerxes the lamenta- were the Princes of the blood of Persia, eible and ridiculous fuccess of the two late ther by marriage in the Kings house, or Invafions, which Darius had made contrary otherwife; for to these were all commandto his counsel: The one in person upon the ments of this nature given, some few peo-Scythians, the other by his Lieutenants upon ple excepted, who had of their own Leathe Greeks; in each of which Darius left to ders. his enemies both his Army and his Ho-

well advised before he did too far imbark others of Xerxes his neerest kindred, as Gehimself in this business. For whatsoever un- nerals over all ; saving that the charge of dertaking hath deliberate and found counsel ten thousand select Perstans, called the imfor conductor, though the fuccess do not al- mortal Regiment (because if any one of wayes answer the probability, yet hath For-the whole number died, or were flain, there tune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the was another presently chosen in his stead) variableness of his own nature, which only was given to Hydarnes; the eighty thousand the Divine Providence, and not any humane horsemen were led by the sons of Datis, who power, can constrain.

Erxes received from his Fa-| But so obstinate was the resolution of ther, as hereditary, a double Xerxes in profecution of his former intent, War, one to be made against that Artabanus, whether terrified by Visions the Egyptians, which he (as it is written of him) or fearing the finished fo speedily, that Kings hatred, which he made known to all

After the War of Egypt was ended, four his fifter Artozostres, perswaded by many believe Herodotus: for of this multitude, multi-

The charge of the whole Army-was beflowed on Mardonius, the fon of Gobrias, by He therefore belought Xerxes to be right | a fifter of Darius, to whom were joyned some commanded the late Army of Darius in

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200, and eight of the common way by which the Army furnished by the Phanicians, who had marched. Commanders of their own Nation, and by the Cypriots, Cilicians, Pamphylians, before he came to the Sea-fide. The one barked.

s. II.

Xerxes Army entertained by Pythius: his cutting off Mount Athos from the Continent: his Bridge of Boats over the Hellespont: and the discourse between him and Artabanus upon the view of the Army.

thousand of the Persian Dariei; which make | Emperour, in imitation of Xerxes his Bridge, so many of our Marks.

The King overcome with the exceeding

Lycians, Dorians, Carians, Ionians, Eolians, was a pallage for Galliesto be cut behind and Hellespontines; who were trusted with Mount Athos, making the same (with the the furnishing of their own Vessels, though half Island or Headland, whereon it stood) commanded by the Princes of Persia, as to be an entire Island, fundring thereby by Artabigues, the fon of Darius, and from the Continent of Thrace five Cities, beothers. The rest of the Vessels for trans- sides the Mountain and the Chersonesus, or portation were three thousand. There were Neck of Land it felf: a work of more oftenalso certain Gallies furnished by Artemesia, tation, than of use, and yet an enterprise of the daughter of Lygdames, Princess of Ha- no great wonder, the Valley which held it licarnaffaus, and the Islands adjoyning, to the Continent having but twelve furwhich her felf commanded. Those Gal- longs (which make about a mile and a lies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded half) to cut through, and the ditch being all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of broad enough only for two Gallies to pass Zidon, in which Xerxes himself was im- in front. The Cities so severed from the main, were Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyfus, and Cleona.

He also gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats should be made over the Hellespont between Abidus and Seftos, the Sea there having a mile of bredth, wanting an eighth part; which after the finithing, was by a Tempest torn asunder & dissevered: wherewith Xerxes being more enraged than difcouraged, commanded those to be flain that were mafters of the work, and caused fix When this world of an Army was hundred threefcore and fourteen Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a the Nations of which it was compounded, to | new Bridge; which by the art and industry make their Rendez-vous, and repair at of the Phanicians, was fo well anchored to Sardis in Lydia. And when he had affem- refift both winds blowing into, and from the bled to the number of seventeen hundred Euxine Sea, as the same being well boorded thousand foot, as he entred the border of and rayled, the whole Army of seventeen Celanas, he was by one Pythius a Lydian en- hundred thousand Foot, and fourscore tertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and of Cattel gave food to Xerxes and his whole | Carriages, past over it into Europe in seven Army. The feast ended, he also presented | dayes and seven nights, without intermissihim with two thousand Talents of Silver, on. This transportation of Armies did and in Gold four Millions, wanting seven Casar afterward use. And Caligula, that mad did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Army liberality of Pythius, did not only refuse his brought neer to the Sea-side, Xerxes took a treasure offered, but commanded that seven view of all his Troops, assembled in the thousand Darici should be given him to Plains of Abidus, being carried up, and seatmake up his four Millions; of which, so many ed on a place over-topping the Land round thousands were wanting when he made the about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he Present. But soon after, when Pythins be lad gloried in his own happines, to be hold sought him to spare one of his five sons from and command so many Nations, and so his attendance into Greece (because himself powerfull an Army and Fleet, he suddenly was old, and had none whom he could fo (notwithstanding) burst out into tears, well trust as his own son) Xerxes most bar- moved with this contemplation, That in one baroully caused the young man, for whom hundred years there should not any one his father fought exemption, to be fundered furvive of that marvellous multitude: the into two parts, commanding that the one cause of which sudden change of passion half of his carkas should be layed on the when he uttered to Artabanus his Unkle, Artight, and the other half on the left hand tabanus spake to the King to this effect. That

on of this great Troop within that num- feared, to wit, the overthrow of the Army in ber of years by the King remembred, is, That felf both by Sea and Land, which soon after the life it self which we enjoy is yet more followed. These cautions were exceeding miserable than the end thereof : for weighty, if Xerxes his obstinacy had not mise in those few dayes given us in the world, prised them. For to invade by Sea upon a there is no man among all these, or else-perillous Coast, being neither in possession where that ever found himself so accompa- of any Port, not succoured by any party. nied with happiness, but that he oftentimes may better fit a Prince presuming on his forpleafed himself better with the defire and tune, than enriched with understanding, hope of death, than of living; the incident Such was the enterprise of Philip the second calamities, diseases, and forrows whereto annkind is subject, being so many and ine-like never heard of this Counsel of Artabavitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes nus to Xerxes, or forgotten it. appear unto us over long; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor reft, but very likely, that Xerxes his Army, which

in defired death alone.

not to overcast those joyes which they had mine, and using Machiavels words, Mourire now in pursuit with fad remembrances. And fans confteo; die without a knife. For it was holding still a doubtfull conceit, that Arta- impossible for Greece, being a ragged, strait, banus utterly condemned the invation of and mountainous Countrey, to yield food Greece, against which he had formerly given | (befides what served themselves) for twenty many firong reasons, defired him to deal hundred thousand strangers, whom they nefreely with him, Whether he were returned | ver meant to entertain, but with the sharpto his first resolution, that the enterprise of ned points of their weapons, destroying Greece could not be prosperous; or whether, withall whatsoever they could not well inaccording to the change of mind put into close and defend. Nay, if we may believe him by his late Vision, he was confident of Herodotus, the Army of Xerxes, being regood fucces? Artabanus, notwithstanding viewed at Thermopyle, consisted of five milthat he affured himself of the Kings resolutions, two hundred eighty three thousand, tion to go on, and dared not by any new ar- two hundred twenty men, besides Launguments to batter the great purpose it self, dresses, Harlots, and Horses, and was yet he told the King, That there were two therefore likely to endure a speedy fathings which marvelloully affrighted him, mine. and which the King should find, as he feared, to be most adverse; to wit, the Sea and the it was impossible to provide for all things; Land: The Sea, because it had no where in and that whosoever should enterprise any that part of the world any Port capable of great matter, if he gave the hearing to all fo greata Fleet; insomuch, as if any tempest that could be objected of accidental inconshould arise, all the Continent of Greece veniences, he should never pursue the same could hardly receive them, nor all the Ha- farther than the dispute and consultation: vens thereof afford them any fafety: and which if his Predeceffors, the Persian Kings, therefore when any fuch shelter shall be had done, they had never grown to that wanting unto them, he prayed him to under- greatness, or possest so many Kingdoms and stand, that in such a case of extremity, men Nations, as they now did; & therefore conare left to the will and disposition of For- cluded, That great enterprises were never tune, and not Fortune to the will and dispo- undertaken without great perils. Which refition of men. The Land, befides other in- folution of Xerxes was not to be condemncommodities, will be found by so much the ed, if any necessity had inforc'd him to that more an enemy, by how much the unfatiate war. But feeing the many Nations newdefire of man to obtain more & more there- ly conquered, which he already commandof, doth lead him forward for were there no ed, were more then could be constrained man found to give refishance, yet the want of to obedience any longer than the powerfull means to feed fuch an Army, and the Famine which cannot be prevented, will without that Greece was feparated by the Sea from any other violence offered, dif inable and the rest of Xerxes his Dominions (of whose consume it. By these Arguments Artabanus resolution his Father Darius had made a hoped to have diverted Xerxes, not daring dear experience) the fruit of this War was

which is more lamentable than the diffoluti- | perchance to utter what indeed he most

Now concerning the fecond point; It is could not have in it less than two millions of With this melancholy difcourse, Xerxes Souls, besides his beafts for Service and being not much pleased, prayed Artabanus | Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer fa-

The effect of Xerxes his answer was, That

rather a luggage than an aid.

felf flain.

o. III.

ved. As first at Thermopyle, a narrow passage news, for then shall we fight in the cool of half an acre of ground, lying between shade.

answerable to the plantation, and the fuc- the Mountains which did divide Theffals ces and end agreeable to the weak counsell from Greece, where sometime the Phocians whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, had raifed a wall with gates, which was then those millions of men which he transported, for the most part ruined. At this entrance and yet in his own judgement not sufficient, Leonidas one of the Kings of Sparta, with (for he gathered in, marching on, all the three hundred Lacedamonians, affifted with frength of Thrace and Macedon) were an one thousand Tegeata and Mantineans, one argument, that he rather hoped to fear the thousand Arcadians, and other Peloponness-Greeks by the fame of his numbers, than that ans, to the number of three thousand one he had any confidence in their valour and hundred in the whole; befides one thousand resolution, whom he conducted. For it is *Phocians*, four hundred *Thebans*, seven hunwifely faid of those uncountable multi- dred Thespians, and all the forces (such as tudes: Non vires habent, sed pondus; & im- they were) of the bordering Locrians, depedimenta potius sunt, quam auxilium: They fended the passage two whole dayes togeare great in bulk, but weak in forces, and ther against that huge Army of the Persians. The valour of the Greeks appeared so excel-Besides, as it was impossible to marshall lent in this defence, that in the first dayes fuch a world of men in one Army, fo the di- fight, Xerxes is faid to have three times leapvers Nations, speaking divers languages, ed out of his Throne, fearing the destructibred the same confusion among the Persian on of his Army by one handful of those men Commanders when they came to fight, as it whom not long before he had utterly dedid to the builders of Babel, when they came | spised; and when the second dayes attempt to work. Whereas if Xerxes had of his five upon the Greeks had proved vain, he was almillions compounded ten Armies of fifty together ignorant how to proceed further; thousand chosen Souldiers in each, and sent | and so might have continued had not a runthem yearly into Greece well victualled and nagate Grecian taught him a fecret way, by furnished, he had either prevailed by the which part of his Army might ascend the fword, or forced them to forfake their terri- | ledge of mountains, and fet upon the backs tory, brought them into obedience by ne- of those who kept the Straits. But when the ceffity and famine, which cannot be refilt- most valiant of the Persian Army had almost ed. But while Xerxes refolved to cut down | inclosed the small forces of the Greeks, then the banks of Greece, and to let in a sea of did Leonidas, King of the Lacedamonians men upon them, he was deceived both of with his three hundred, and seven hundred his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he | Thespians, which were all that abode by him employed, and beaten by the Greeks, both refuse to quit the place which they had unby Land and Sea 3 yea, he himself, conducted dertaken to make good, and with admirable by his fear, fled shamefully into Asia. A courage not only result that world of men great part of his Army was buried in Greece: which charged them on all sides; but isluing the remainder whereof, which, wintred out of their strength, made so great a slaughin Thessaly, and led by Mardonius who ter of their enemies, that they might well be perswaded the enterpise, was in the sum- called vanquishers, though all of them were mer following utterly defeated, and him- flain upon the place. Xerxes, having lost in this last fight, together with twenty thoufand other Souldiers and Captains, two of own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the vertue of Of the fights at Thermopylæ and Artemisium. Such as had not been present at these battels, with whom he knew that he shortly was to A Fter fuch time as Xerxes had transf-ported the Army over the Hellespont, great fear, whose manhood had appeared and landed in Thrace, leaving the descripti- fingular in this triall, which caused him on of his passage along that Coast, and how very carefully to enquire what numbers the River of Liffus was drunk dry by his they could bring into the field. It is remultitudes, and the lake neer to Piffirus ported of Dieneces the Spartan, that when by his cattell, with other accidents in his one thought to have terrified him by marches towards Greece) I will speak of saying, That the slight of the Fersian the encounters he had, and the shamefull arrows was so thick as would hide the and incredible overthrows which he recei- Sun, he answered thus; It is very good

CHAP, VI

been expressed in deeds, as was uttered in one course, and lay not far asunder. But words, caused the *Persua* to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the City of spar-lame time that his Army had telt the valour ta could arm well-nigh eight thousand men of the Greeks by Land, his Navy likewise of the like temper, and that the other Lace- made a forrowful proof of their skill and demonians, though inferior to those, were courage at Sea. The Grecians Fleet lay at very valiant men. Wherefore he asked coun- that time at Artimessum, in the straits of Enfel of Demaratus, a banished King of the bea, where the Persians thinking to encom-Spartans, who had alwaies well advised and pass them, sent two hundred sail about the instructed him in the things of Greece, what Island to fall upon them behind, using alike course were fittest to be taken in his further stratagem to that which their King did praproceedings. The opinion of Demaratus was, ctife against Leonidas, in a case not unlike. That all the Land-forces should assemble but with far different success. For that nartogether to defend the Isthmus, that ftreight row chanel of the Sea, which divideth Euneck of ground which joyneth Peloponnessis | bas from the main, was in the same fortheld to the Continent. For which cause he advi- by a Navy of two hundred threescore and fed, That three hundred ships well manned, eleven fail against the huge Persian Armado. should be sent unto the Coast of Laconia, to as the straits of Thermopyla had formerly fpoil the Country, and to hold the Laceda- been maintained by Leonidas, till he was cirmonians and their neighbours busied at cumvented, as this Navy might have been, home, whilst Xerxes at his leifure having sub- but was not. The departure of those two dued the rest, might afterward bring his hundred ships that were sent about the whole power upon them, who remaining de- Illand, and the cause of their voyage, was flitute of succour, would be too weak alone too well known in the Persian Fleet, and soon s. to make refistance. To this purpose also the enough disclosed to the Greeks, who setting same Demaratus further advised, That the fail by night, met them with a counter-surfaid Fleet of three hundred ships should prize, taking and finking thirty vessels, infeize upon the Illand then called Cythera, forcing the reft to take the Sea; where, benow Cerigo, which lying near to the Coaft of ing over-taken with foul weather, they was Laconia, might ferve as a fit place of Randerven upon the Rocks, and caft all away.

dexnous upon all occasions, either of their Contrariwise, the Navy of the Greeks were own defence, or endamaging the enemy: increased by the arrival of fifty three Alberteby that ancient speech of Chilon the nian ships, and one Lemnian, which came Lacedemonian should be verified, that it to their party in the last fight. As these new were better for his Countrymen to have forces encouraged the one fide, so the fear that Isle drowned in the Sea, than stand so of Xerxes his displeasure stirred up the other inconveniently for them as it did. What cf- to redeem their loss with some notable exfect this counsel might have taken, had it ploit. Wherefore setting aside their unforbeen followed, it is not easie to ghess. But a tunate policy, they resolved in plain fight to contrary opinion of Ackamenes, Brother to repair their honour, and casting themselves King Xerxes, was preferred as the fafer. For into the form of a Crefcent, thought fo to inthe Persian Fleet had been forely vexed with close the Greeks, who readily did present a grievous tempest, which continued three them battel at Artemisium. whole daies together, wherein were loft upon the Coast of Magnesia, four hundred ships and ended with equal loss to both parts. of War, befides other vessels innumerable, For, though more of the Persians ships were accordingly as Artabanus had foreseen, that | sunk and taken, yet the lesser loss fell altoif any such calamity should overtake them, gether as heavy upon the Greecish Fleet, there would not be found any Harbor wide which being small, could worse bear it. Hereenough to give them fuccour. Therefore in only the Barbarians may feem to have Achamenes perswaded his Brother not to had the worse, that they forsook the place disperse his Fleet; for if (said he) after the of fight, leaving the wrack and spoils to the loss of four hundred ships we shall fend away enemy, who nevertheless were fain to abanother three hundred to feek adventures, don presently even the passage which they then will the Greeks be strong enough by had undertaken to defend; both for that ma-Sea to encounter the rest of the Navy, which ny of their ships were forely crushe in the holding all together, is invincible. To this battel, and especially because they had recounsel Xerxes yielded, hoping that his Land- ceived advertisement of the death of Leoni-

Such notable resolution having as freely the other in good stead, whilst both held

The fight indured from noon till night, Army and Fleet, should each of them stand das at Thermopple. Before they weighed Anchors, Themistocles, General of the Athenians, | against Delphos, this vizzor of holv and zeaengraved upon frone at the watering-place lous revenge falling off, discovered the face an exhortation to the Ionians, that either of covetoulness so much the more ugly, by they should revolt unto the Greeks, or stand how much the more themselves had profesneutral; which perswasion, he hoped, sed a detestation of the offence which the at the least make them suspected by the meer michance. Perstans.

o. IV.

The attempt of Xerxes upon Apollo's Temple: and his taking of Athens.

of the Phocians, and the regions adjoyning: and Palifladoes: too weak to hold out long, as for the Inhabitants, they chose rather to though by their desperate valour so well fly, and referve themselves to a day of bat- maintained at the first assault, that they tel, than to adventure their lives into his might have yielded it upon tolerable conhands, upon hope of faving their wealth, by ditions, had they not vainly relyed upon the making proffer unto him of their fervice. Prophecy: whereof (being fomewhat ob-Part of his Army he fent to spoil the Temple | feure) it was wifely done of Themistocles, to made by divers Kings and great personages; sashioning the business to words. of all which riches it was thought that Xerxes had a better Inventory than of the goods left in his own Palace. To make rethe companies which arrived at the Temple to have facked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the Mount Parnassus, overwhelmed many of the Barbarians, it were Herodotus, who lived not long after, faith, hismemory in the Temple of Minerva, whither they rowled in their fall. And furely this attempt of Xerxes was impious; for feeing he believed that Apollo was a god, he should not have dared to entertain a coveit may possibly be true, that license to chastile his impiety, in such manner as is reported, was granted unto the Devil, by that 1.38. Holy One, who faith, Will a man spoil his and elsewhere; Hath any Nation tific against the Persians, and so to defend changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Isles of Kittim, and behold, and send to Greece. Whereas indeed, in the enterprize were so possessed with fear of losing their

would either take some place with them, or Athenians had committed in that kind by

The remainder of that which Xerxes did, may be expressed briefly thus: He came to Athens, which finding forfaken, he took and burnt the Cittadel, and Temple, which was therein. The Cittadel indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wifdom, who literally interpreting Apollo's Hen Xerxes had past the straits of Oracle; That Athens should be safe in mooden thermopyle, he wasted the Country malls, had fortified that place with Boards of Delphi, which was exceeding rich by make diferetion the Interpreter, applying means of many Offerings that had been rather the words to the present need, than

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lation of a great aftonishment that fell upon How Themistocles the Athenian drew the Greeks to fight at Salamis.

"He Athenians had, before the coming of Xerxes, removed their wives and peradventure fomewhat superstitious. Yet children into Trazene, Egina, and Salamis, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, That the broken Rocks remained even to as their freedom, and the common liberty of Greece. Nevertheless, this great zeal, which the Athenians did shew for the general good of their Country, was ill requited by the other Greeks, who with much labour were hardly intreated to flay for them at Salamis, tous defire of inriching himfelf by commit- whilst they removed their wives and chilting facrilege upon his Temple. Wherefore dren out of the City. But when the City of Athens was taken, it was prefently refolved upon, that they should for fake the Isle of Salamis, and withdraw the Fleet to Isthmus: which neck of land they did purpose to for-Peloponnesus by Land and Sea, leaving the rest of Greece, as indefensible, to the sury of Kedar, and take diligent heed, and see whether the enemy. So should the Islands of Salamis there be any fuch things. Now this impiety of and Agina have been abandoned, and the Xerxes was the more inexcusable, for that Families of the Athenians (which were there the Persians alledged the burning of Cybele's bestowed as in places of security) have been Temple by the Atkenians, when they fet fire given over into merciless bondage. Against on the City of Sardis in Asia, to be the this resolution, Themistocles, Admiral of the ground and cause of the waste which they Athenian Fleet, very strongly made oppomade in burning of Cities and Temples in sition; but in vain. For the Peleponnesians

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own, which they would not hazard, that a-new; and there (quoth he) will we plant no persuasions could obtain of them to re- our selves, leaving unto you a sorrowful regard the estate of their distressed Friends membrance of my words, and of your own and Allies. Many remonstrances Themisto-eles made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*; As first in pricate unto *Europhiades* the *Lacedamonian*, Admiral of the whole Fleet; That the self-unital of the self-unital fame fear which made them forfake those ven to crouch to others; but rather were coalts of Greece, upon which they then an- fuch, as might enforce the rest to yield to chored, would afterward (if it found no them, and condescend even to the uttermost check at the first) cause them also to disse- of their own demands. ver the Fleet, and every one of the Confe- | For the Athenians, when they first embraced derates to withdraw himself to the desence that Heroical resolution, of leaving their of his own City and Estate: Then to the grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if ne-Council of War, which Eurybiades upon ceffity should enforce them so far, for the this motion did call together (forbearing to preservation of their liberty, did employ object what want of courage might work the most of their private wealth, and all in them hereafter;) he shewed, that the fight at *Ishburus* would be in an open Sea; whereas it was more expedient for them, having the favor thing to determine the means they hoped (which having the favor thing to determine the means the favor thing the favor thing to determine the means the favor the favor that the favor thing to determine the means they have the favor that the f having the fewer ships, to determin the matter in the streights; and that, besides the not well be counterpoised by great advanfafeguard of Ægina, Megara, and Salamis, tages at Sea: Knowing well, that a frong they should by abiding where they then were, sufficiently defend Isthmus; which the or a secure passage to any other Country. Barbarians should not so much as once look The other States of Greece held it sufficiupon, if the *Greeke* obtained victory by Sea 3 ent, if building a few new ships, they did which they could not so well hope for elsewhere, as in that present place which gave came to pass, that, had they been vanquishim to good advantage. All this would not determine the could not have expected any ferve to retain the Peloponnessans, of whom other fortune, than either present death, or one, unworthy of memory, upbraided The- perpetual flavery; neither could they hope miffocles with the loss of Athens, blaming to be victorious without the affiftance of the Eurybiades for suffering one to speak in the Athenians, whose forces by Sea did equal all Council, that had no Country of his own theirs together; the whole confissing of to inhabit. A base and shameful objection more than three hundred and sourcore it was, to lay as a reproach that lofs, which bottoms. Wherefore these Peloponnesians being voluntarily fultained for the com- beginning to suspect their own condition, mon good, was in true estimation by so which would have stood upon desperate much the more honourable, by how much points, if the Fleet of Athens had forfaken it was the greater. But this indignity did them, were soon perswaded, by the greater exasperate Themistocles, and put into his sear of such a bad event, to forget the lefmouth a reply so sharp, as availed more than ser, which they had conceived of the Perall his former perswasions. He told them stans; and laying aside their insolentbraall plainly, That the Athenians wanted very, they yielded to that most profitable not a fairer City than any Nation of Greece | counfel of abiding at Salamis. could boast of; having well-near two hundred good ships of War, the better part of the Grecian Fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Fa- How the Persians consulted about giving batmilies and fubstance into any part of the World, and fettle themselves in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refused to Itand by them. Herewithal he mentioned a Town in Italy belonging of old to the State of Athens, of which Town convenient to offer battel to the Greeks, or

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tel: and how Themistocles by policy held the Greeks to their resolution; with the vi-Cfory at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

N the mean season, the Persians had entred into confultation, whether it were he faid an Oracle had foretold, That the no. The rest of the Captains giving Athenians, in process of time, should build it such advice as they thought would belt agreed upon the fight; but Artemissa Queen propounding chiefly to themselves what miof Halicarnassem, who followed Xerxes to lery would befall them, if, losing the Victory, this War in person, was of contrary opini- they should be driven into Salamis, there to on: Her counsel was, that the King himself be shut up, and besieged round in a poor dedirectly should march toward Peloponnesius, solate Mand. whereby it would come to pass, that the Greek Navy (unable otherwife to continue fail for Isthmus: which had prefently been long at Salamis for want of provision) should done, if the wisdom of Themistocles had not prefently be differered, and every one feek- prevented it. For he perceiving what a ing to preferve his own City and Goods, violent fear had fropt up their ears against they should, being divided, prove unable all good counsel, did practise another course. to refift him, who had won fo far upon them and forthwith labour to prevent the execuwhen they held together. And as the pro- tion of this unwholfome decree; not fufferfit will be great in forbearing to give bat- ing the very hour of performance to find tel; fo on the other fide, the danger will be him busie in wrangling altercation. As soon more (aid she) which we shall undergo, than as the Council brake up, he dispatched seany need requireth us to adventure upon; cretly a trusty Gentleman to the Perstan and the loss, in case it fall upon us, greater Captains, informing them truly of the inthan the profit of the Victory which we tended flight, and exhorting them to fend defire. For if we compel the enemies to fly, part of their Navy about the Island, which it is more than they would have done, we incomposing the Greeks, might prevent their fitting (fill: but if they, as better Sea-men chan ours, put us to the worst, the journy to his assistance. The Persians no sooner heard Peloponnesus is utterly dasht, and many that than believed these good news, well knownow declare for us, will foon revolt unto ing that the Victory was their own affured, the Greeks. Mardonius, whom Xerxes had if the Athenian Fleet joyned with them ; unto his Master the common consent of the what ability their Master had to recom-

please the King their Master, had soon save that which remained unconquered

Hereupon they resolved forth-with to set fent for that purpose to the Fleet, related which they might easily hope, considering other Captains, and withall this diagreeing pence for fo doing, both the Captains with opinion of Artemisa. The King, well please rich rewards, and the people with restitution ed with her advice, yet refolved upon fol- on of their City, and Territories. By these lowing the more general, but far worse means it fell out, that when the Greeks very counsel of the rest; which would question- early in the morning were about to weigh less have been the same which Artemisia Anchor, they found themselves inclosed gave, had not fear and flattery made all the round with Persians, who had laboured hard Cartains utter that, as out of their own all that night, fending many of their ships judgment, which they thought to be most about the sile of salamin, to charge the eneconformable to their Princes determination. my in rear, and landing many of their men So it was indeed that Xerxes had entertained in the Isle of Psittalea, which lyeth over a vain perswassion of much good, that his against salamis, to save such of their own, own presence upon the shore to behold the and kill such of the Grecian party, as by any conflict, would work among the Souldiers. Therefore he encamped upon the Sea-fide, Thus did meer necessity enforce the Greeipitching his own Tent on the Mount $\mathcal{L}ga$ and to undertake the battel in the straights lew; which is opposite unto the Isle of Salamis, where they obtained a memora-Salamis, whence at ease he might safely ble Victory, stemming the foremost of their view all which might happen in that action, enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling having Scribes about him to write down the foul one upon another, could neither conveacts and behaviour of every Captain. The niently fight nor fly. I do not find any partineer approach of the Barbarians, together cular occurrences in this great battel to be with the news of that timorous diligence much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes which their Countrymen shewed in forti- of Xerxes had a wearisom task of writing fying the Isthmus, and of a Persian Army, down many disasters that befel the Persian marching apace thither, did now again fo Fleet, which ill acquitted it felf that day, terrific and amaze the *Peloponnefians*, that doing no one piece of fervice worthy the no entreaty nor contestation would suffice presence of their King, or the registring of to hold them together. For they thought it his Notaries. As for the Greeks, they might meer madness to fight for a Country already well feem to have wrought out that Victory loft, when they rather should endeavour to with equal courage, were it not that the

principal honour of that day was ascribed no such intent, but rather wished his hastv to thole of Egina, and to the Athenians, of departure, knowing that he would leave his whom it is recorded. That when the Barba- Army not fo firong, as it should have been, whom it is reconcided. That when the remained with it. And rians did fly towards Phalerus, where the Land-Army of Xerxes lay, the ships of Egina for this cause did Eurybiades give counsel, having possest the Straights, did link or take that by no means they should attempt the them, whilst the Athenians did valiantly give breaking of that bridge, lest necessity charge upon those that kept the Sea, and should inforce the Persians to take more made any countenance of refifting.

ø. VII.

and of the flight of Xerxes.

by way of Scrutiny, to determine ther it were so that he found the bridge which of the Captains had best merited of whole, and thereby repassed into Asia; or them, in all this great Service; every whether it were torn in funder by tempelis, Captain, being ambitious of that honour, and he thereby driven to imbark himself in did in the first place write down his own some obscure vessel, it is not greatly matename, but, in the second place, as best deser- rial; though the Greeks did most willingly ving next unto himfelf, almost every Suf- imbrace the latter of these reports. Howsofrage did concur upon Themistocles. Thus ever it were, this flight of his did well ease private affection yielded unto vertue, as the Country, that was thereby disburdened foon as her own turn was ferved. The Persian of that huge throng of people, which, as Lo-King, as not amazed with this calamity, be- custs, had before overwhelmed it. gan to make new preparation for continuance of War; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart The negotiations between Mardonius and the through his painted looks. Especially Mardonius, Authour of the War, began to cast a wary eye upon his Master, fearing lest his counfel should be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purposing rather to adventure his life in purfuit of the Victory, than to cast it away by undergoing his into Thessay, whence he sent Alexander the Princes indignation, he advised the King to son of Amyntas King of Macedon, as Embasleave unto him three hundred thousand sadour to the Athenians, with promise of men, with which forces he promifed to re- large amends for all their loffes received; duce all Greece under the subjection of the and of extending their Territories as far as Persian Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not their own desires; allowing them to retain to footh Xerxes with many fair words, tel- their liberty and laws, if they would make ling him, That the cowardise of those Egyp- peace with Xerxes, and affift him in that tians, Phanicians, and Cilicians, with others | War. of the like metal, nothing better than flaves, The Athenians had now re-entred their who had so ill behaved themselves in the City, but not as yet brought back their late Sea-service, did not concern his honour, wives and children; for as much as they who had alwayes been victorious, and had well perceived that the place could not be already subdued the better part of Greece, secure, till the Army of Mardonius was broyea taken Athens it felf, against which the ken and defeated. Wherefore the Laceda-War was principally intended. These monians, understanding what fair conditiwords found very good acceptance in the ons this Embassador would propound, were Kings ear, who presently betook himself to perplexed with very great fear, lest he should his journey homewards, making the more | find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, hafte, for that he understood, how the Greeks they likewise very speedily dispatch their had a purpose to sail to Hellespont, and there Embassadors for Athens, who arriving beto break down his bridge, and intercept his fore the Macedonian had audience, used the passage. True it was that the Greeks had best of their perswasion to retain the Athe-

courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beafts. Wherefore Themistocles did. under pretence of friendship, send a false advertisement unto this timorous Prince. of things following after the battel of Salamis: advising him to convey himself into Asia with all speed, before his bridge were diffolved: which counsel Xerxes took very kindly, and Fter this Victory, the Greeks intending hastily followed, as before is shewed. When

g. VIII.

Athenians, as also between the Athenians and the Lacedamonians, after the flight of

Ardonius with his three hundred thousand had withdrawn himself

CHAP. VI. nians firm. They alledged, that neither hars the leaders might be won with great mans mans nor Darius had any pretence of War rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all against the rest of Greece, but had only which projects, if they should fail, the deagain the fubversion of Athens, till they struction of Athens would be a good mean to threatned and all their Confederates arming them- please his Master, King Xerxes; who must and an then grant City, were drawn thereby needs understand, that Mardonius into the quarrel, wherein the Athenians kept his ground, and feared not to confront mto the quality of injuffice could not the whole power of Greece, in the strongest without much We know, faid they, that ye part of their own Country. But his expectatihave endured great calamities, losing the on was beguiled in all these. For the Athenifruit of the grounds, and being driven to ans fo little regarded his offers, that when for fake the Town, the houses thereof be one Lycidas, or (as Demostheres calls him) ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in Cyrcilus, advised the Senate to accept the conregard whereof, we undertake to maintain ditions, and propounded them to the peoas our own, your wives and children amongst plesall the senators, and as many as abiding us, as long as the War shall continue, hoping | without the Counsel-house, heard what he that ye, who have alwayes procured liberty had faid, immediatly fet upon him, and stoto others, will not now go about to bring all ned him to death; not examining whether it Greece into flavery and bondage. As for the were fear or mony, that had moved him to Barbarians, their promifes are large, but utter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of their words and oaths are of no affurance. Athens, and in the Isle of Salamin, hearing of It was needless to use many arguments to his bad counsel, and bad end, affembling tothe Athenians, who gave answer to Alexander gether did enter his house there, and put his in presence of the Spartan Embassadours; wife and children to the like execution. All That whilft the Sun continued his courfe, this bravery notwithstanding, wh'n t they would be enemies to Xerxes, regarding perceived the flackness of the Pelopora flans neither Gold nor any riches, with which in giving them aid, they were fain to be he might feek to make purchase of their take themselves to Salamis again, the old liberty. Concerning the maintenance of place of their fecurity. Remaining there. their wives and children, it was a burden and feeing little forwardness in those whom which they promifed to fuftain themselves, it most concerned to affift them, they sent charges: Or, if this affection took no place fear preserved in quiet the Islands lying in with them, but that needs they would rely the midst of the Agean Seas. But it was well upon their old confederates, whose succors and seasonably observed by a Counsellor of did very flowly advance forwards, yet per- | Sparta, that the Wall upon Ishmus would

only defiring the Lacedamonians, that with very severe messages to Sparta, complaining all speed they would cause their Army to of their slacknes, &threatning withal, to take march, forasmuch as it was not likely, that such course as might stand best with their Mardonius would long sit still in Thessay, own good, seeing that the common estate of having once received fuch a peremptory all was so little regarded. These messengers answer. In this their opinion of Mardonius were at the first entertained with dilatory his readiness to invade Attica, they found answers; which every day grew colder, when themselves nothing deceived. For he, as as the Peloponnesian Wall, builded athwart foon as Alexander had returned their obsti- the Isthmus, was almost finished. But as the nate purpose of resistance, did forthwith Lacedamonians waxed careless and dull, so lead his Army towards then, and their the Athenians hotly preffed them to a quick City: they having now the fecond time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more fecurity abroad in the Coun- latory courses, it would not be long ere the try, where they expected the arrival of their | City of Athens took a new course, that should confederates. From Athens he sent his Agent little please them. All this while the Persian unto them, with instructions, not only to sleet lay upon the coast of Asia, not daring to perswade them to acceptance of the condi- draw nearer unto Greece, as being now too tions before to them propounded, but with weak at Sea. Likewise the Greekish Navy great promises to allure the principal of contained it self within the Harbours upon them to his party. His hope was, that either | Europe side; both to do service where need the people, wearied with forfaking their should require at home, and withalto shun houles so often, would be desirous to preserve the danger which might have befallen any them from fire, & to have those which were part of it, that (being distracted from the already laid waste, re-edified at the Kings rest) had ventured over-far. So mutual loponness, if once the Athenians gave ear to hundred and ten thousand, of which forty Mardonius: confidering that many doors thousand were weightily armed, the rest would be opened into that Deny-Island, as were only affistants to these forty thousand. foon as the Enemy should by winning the being armed more sleightly, as rather to friendship of Athens, become the Master of make excursions and give chase, than to sithe Seas about it. The Lacedamonians upon stain any strong charges. this admonition, making better perulal of Thefe two Armics having eleven daves their own dangers, were very careful to give | confronted one the other, without performfatisfaction to the Athenian Embassadours, ing any memorable piece of service; Mardowho not brooking their delaies, were upon nim, whose victuals began to fail, resolved point of taking leave, yea, as it feemed, of to begin the fray. The Greeks were promifed renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dif- Victory by an Oracle, if they fought in the patching away five thousand spartans in the Land of the Athenians, and in the plain of Ceevening, under conduct of Paulanias, they res & Proscrpina, making prayers unto certain gave audience the next day to the Embassa- | gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphs. But it was dors, whose complaints they answered with hard to find the certain place which the vehement protestations of their readines; Oracle designed. For the plain of Ceres Was deeply fwearing that the Army of sparta indeed in the Territory of Athens; but was already far upon the journy, and giving there was also an old Temple of Ceres and them leave to take up other five thousand Proserpina, near unto the place where they Lacedemonians, out of the Region adjoyu- lay at that time encamped; as likewise the ing, to follow after them.

want of gravity, in a matter to important, Citheron; and the ground ferved well for were nevertheless contented with the final footmen against horse; only the Land beconclusion; and levying the number ap- longed unto the Plateans, and not unto the pointed of Lacedamonian Souldiers, made Athenians. what haftethey could to incamp in Attica. The other Grecians were nothing flack in the interpretation of this doubtful Oracle, fending forth Companies, whole near approach caused Mardonius to forlake Attica | bestow their land on that side the Townup. as a rough Country, and therefore of much on the Athenians. disadvantage to Horse, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of Athens, beating down the Walls of it, and ruining all that had former-Iy escaped the fury of War.

ø. IX. The great battel of Plataa.

TT were too long a rehearfal to shew all that happened in many skirmishes between the Greeks and him, in the Country of their fight, and having beaten them often-Bacotia, which Mardonius had chosen to be times before. This being agreed upon, the the feat of that War. Much time was spent before the quarrel was decided by the trial nians; which Mardonius understanding (whe of one main battel: for both parties did stand ther searing the Athenians, of whose valour upon their guard, each expecting when the the Medes and Persians had felt heavy proof, other should assail them.

three hundred thousand, which were by him Greece) he did also change the order of his chosen out of Xerxes his Army; to whom battel, and oppose himself to Panfanias. All were adjoyned the forces of Thebes, Macedo- the Greeks might well perceive how the Ene-17, The faly, and other parts of Greece, that my did fifth his wings, and Paulanius therenow fiding with the Persian, furnished his upon returned to his former Station; which Camp with fifty thousand men. Against these Mardonius noting, did also the like. So one the Lacedemonians, Athenians, and their whole day was frent in changing to and fro.

ferve to little purpose for the defence of Pe- | Confederates, had leavied an Army of one

memorials of those Nymphs and Demi-The Athenians, though distasting such gods, were in the same place, upon Mount

> Whilst the Greeks were perplexed about the Plateans, to make all clear, did freely

This magnificence of the Plateans caused Alexander the Great, many ages after, to reedifie their City; which was ruined in the

Peloponnesian Wars.

All things being ready for battel, the La? cedamonian General thought it most meet, that the Athenians should stand opposite that day to the Medes and Persians, whom they had formerly vanquished at Marathon; and that he, with his spartans, should entertain the Thebans and other Greeks which followed Mardonius, as better acquainted with Athenians changed place with the Lacedemoor defiring to encounter the Spartans, as The Army of Mardonius contained about thinking them the bravest Souldiers in fo molest the Greeks at their watering-place, that they were fain to enter into confultation of retiring; because they could not without much loss to themselves, and none to the enemy, lye near to that fountain which did serve all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dis-lodge; and part of the Army being fent away before Army first fell to rout. day-light: Mardonius perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being incouraged by their flight, (which to him feemed to proceed out of meer cowardife) he charged them in the rear with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the Lacedamonians being over-taken by the enemies horse, and over-whelmed with great flights any relistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and flain, and some of especial mark lost, before any sign of good fuccess appeared in the entrails.

Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Country accounted forminate; he gave the Signal of battel: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did fit upon the ground, as was their manner, arole altogether, and with excellent courage the Greek Army that was in march, being revoked by Paulanias, came in a-pace to fucthe Army which was led by the Athenians. battel, because the Thebans, and other Greeks check by the way. Nevertheless, the Sparnot acquainted with the manner of affaultwhich having not long purfued, they came and the weakness of their Enemies. to help the Lacedamonians, whom they

found warily bufied in affaulting the Camp,)

Some attempt the Persians made that day with more valour than skill. Wherefore with their Archers on horse-back, who did they themselves undertook it, and in short space forced a passage thorow the Wall; at which breach first, and then on all sides, the Greeks entred with fuch fury, and just defire of vengeance, that of three hundred thoufand, they are faid not to have left three thousand alive, excepting those who fled away with artabazus, when as the Persian

If the execution were fo great, as is reported an especial cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the Camp. For, though it were fo, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it greater than any of the Asiailants; yet they being of several Nations and Languages, and having loft their General, with other principal Commanders, of Arrows, did quietly fit still, not making it was impossible that they in such a terrour and aftonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy-Country, against an Army of men, far more valiant than themselves, and enflamed with prefent victory. Therefore the fame Wall, which for a few hours had pre-But as foon as Panfanias had found in the ferved their lives, by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the flaughtering fury of unpitiful Victors. Artabazus fled into Thrace, telling the people of Theffaly, and other Countries in his way, that he was fent by Mardonius upon some received the charge of the Barbarians, that | piece of fervice: For he well knew that had came thronging upon them without any they understood any thing of that great diffear of such notable refistance. The rest of comfiture, all places would have been hoftile unto him, and fought with his ruine to purchase favour of the vanquishers. Therecour the Lacedamonians: only that part of fore making fo large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble, were left behind could not arrive unto the place of the great | and loft, he came to Byzantium, whence he shipped his men over into Asia. Such was confederated with the Persians, gave them the end of the vain-glorious Expedition, undertaken by Xerxes against the Greeks, tans, with other their affiftants, did so well upon hope of Honour, and Conquest, acquit themselves, that the Persians were though forting otherwise, accordingly as vanquished, and Mardonius, with many Artabazus had foreseen, and rather worse, thoulands more flain in the field; the rest fled | for as much as it began the quarrel, which into the Camp, which they had fortified never ended before the ruine of the Perwith wooden Walls, and there defended fian Empire was effected by that Nation of themselves with such courage, as desperate the Greeks, despised and sought to have necessity inforced them unto, holding out been brought into slavery. Hereby it may the longer, because the Lacedemonians were seem, that the vision appearing to Xerxes, was from God himfelf, who had formerly ing Fortresles, and Walls. In the mean time disposed of those things, ordaining the subthe Athenians having found strong opposi- version of the Persian Monarchy by the tion of the Thebans and Thessalians, did with Greeks, who thus provoked, entred into much labour and courage obtain victory, greater confideration of their own strength,

thousand vain and frivolous) a few precisely

felf doth sometimes use to terrifie those who

prefume upon their own strength, by these

light means of tumultuous noises: as he rai-

fed the fiege of Samaria, by caufing a found

of Horses and Chariots to affright the Ara-

mites; and as he threaned senacherib, faying.

make offensive War.

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ø. X.

that fell out in the beginning : and examples of the like.

Battel fought at Mycale, a Promontory, or ing very glad to have found some that durst Head-land in Asia, where the Persian Fleet begin. It is said, that while the Greeks were

the Athenian, Admirals of the Greek Navy, at the request of some Islanders and Ionians, did fail into those parts, to deliver the Samians, and procure the Ionians to revolt from very true. For the Battel of Platea was the Persian. Xerxes himself at this time lay at sought in the morning, and this of Micale Sardis, a City in Lydia, not far from the Sea- in the evening of the same day. fide, having left threescore thousand under the command of Tigranes, for defence of Io- wherein Paulus Emilius overthrew Persens nia, and the Sea-coast. Therefore when Ar- the last King of Macedon, was brought to tagntes, and Ithramitres, Admirals of the Rome in four daies, as Livie with others do Persian Fleet, understood that the Greeks record. And Plutarch hath many other exbent their course towards them, they did amples of this kind. As that of the Battel forth-with draw their ships aground, forti- by the River Sagra in Italy, which was heard fying with Palissadoes, and otherwise, as much of, the same day in Feloponness: That of ground as was needful for the encamping the Battel against the Tarquinians and the of all their Land and Sea-forces. Lentychides Latins, presently noised at Rome: And (which at his arrival, perceiving that they meant to is most remarkable) the victory obtained keep within their strength, and resolving to against Lucius Antonius, who was Rebelto force them out of it, rowed with his Gally | Domitian the Emperour. This Lucius Antoclose aboard the shore, and called upon the nins being Lieutenant of the higher Germa-Ionians (who more for fear, than good will, | 17, had corrupted his Army with gifts and were encamped among the Persians) ex- promises, drawing the barbarous people to horting them in the Greek tongue to remem- follow him, with great hope to make himber liberty, and use the fair occasion which | self Emperour; which news much troubling they now had to recover it. Herein he did | the City of Rome, with fear of a dangerous imitate Themistocles, who had done the like | War, it was suddenly reported, that Antoniat Eubwa, trusting that either these perswa- us was slain, and his Army defeated. fions would prevail, or, if the Persians did happen to understand them, that it would gods, and shew all manner of publick joy, breed some jealousie in them, causing them as in such cases was accustomed. But when to fight in fear of their own companions. It | better enquiry was made, and the Author need not feem strange, that this very same of these tydings could not be found, the stratagem, which little or nothing availed Emperour Domitian betook himself to his Themistocles, did now very happily succeed. journey against the Rebel; and being now For Xerxes being in his full strength, it was with his Army in march, he received advera matter of much difficulty, to perswade tisement by Post, of the Victory obtained, those Inhabitants of Asia to revolt; who now and the death of Antonius: whereupon rein his declining estate, gave a willing ear to membring the rumour noised before in the sweet found of liberty. The Perstans like- Rome, of the self-same victory, he found that wife, who in their former bravery, little re- the report and victory were born upon one garded, and less feared, any treason to be day, though twenty thousand furlongs wary, that from the samians which were dred miles) afunder. It is truly faid of Pluftreight passages of Mysale; pretending that credulous imagination, there should not be

these Milesians did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed The Battel of Mycale; with a strange accident them. For the Samians perceiving that thev were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold upon fuch weapons as came to hand, affailed the Perfi-He fame day on which the Battel was ans manfully within the Camp; which exfought at Platea, there was another amples the Ionians presently followed, beyet in a march toward the Enemies Camp, a Lutychides the Spartan, with Xantippus rumour suddenly rann in the Army, that Mardonius was overthrown in Greece, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captains to encourage the Souldiers) was

The like report of that great Battel,

Hereupon many did offer facrifice to the contrived by their fubjects, were now fo (which make above five and twenty hunamongst them, they took away their arms; tarch, that this last example gives credit unthe Milesians, whom they did suspect, but to many the like. And indeed it were very would not feem to miltruft, they placed far strange, if among so many rumours, begotten from them, as it were for defence of the by forgery or mistakings, and fosteredby ø. X I.

true. Howhert we may find, that God him- of the barbarous qualities of Xerxes: with a transition from the Persian affairs to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.

Erxes lay at Sardis, not far from the place of this Battel; but little mind had he to revenge either this, or other his hear a noise, and return to his own Land. great losses, being wholly given over to Wherefore it may well have been true, that the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom God was pleased by such means as this, to he could not prevail by intreaty, nor animate the Greeks; who (as Herodotus would obtain his defire by force. Because notes) went towards the Enemies with hea- he respected much his Brother her Husyy hearts, being in great fear, lest their own band, he thought it best to make a match adventure should by no means fall out well; between his own Son Darius, and the confidering in what danger they had left Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that their own Country of Greece, which was rea- means to find occasion of such familiarity dy to be subdued by Mardonius, whilst they as might work out his defire. But whether went wandring to feek out Enemies a-far- it were fo, that the chaffity of the Mother offuponthe coast of Asia. But, the same of did still reject him, or the beauty of the the Battel fought at Flatea being noised Daughter allure him, he soon after fell in among them, every man defired that his own love with his own Sons Wife, being a vicivalour in the present fight, might be some ous Prince, and as ill able to govern himhelp to work out the full deliverance of felf in peace, as to guide his Army in war. Greece. In this alacrity of spirit, they divided This young Lady having once defired the themselves into two Eattalions, whereof the King to give her the Garment which he Athenians led the one, by the way of the then wore, being wrought by his own Wife, plain, directly towards the Enemies Camp; the Lacedamonians conducted the other, by Husbands convertation with her, which the Mountains and streight passages, to win she imputed not so much to the beauty of the higher ground. The Athenians did first her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of let upon the Camp (ere the Lacedamonians | the Mother, against whom thereupon she could arrive on the other part) and being conceived extreme hatred. Therefore at a desirous to get all the honour of the day to Royal Feast, wherein the custom was, that themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that the King should grant their request, she they brake way thorow the Palisladoes and craved that the Wife of Massifes, her Huf-Gabious, and made themselves Masters of the | bands Brother, the young Ladies Mother, place, flaying all that could not fave them- | might be given into her disposition. The barfelves by flight. In this fight the Samians barous King, who might either have reformdid good fervice, as is formerly mentioned. ed the abuse of such a custom, or have delu-But the Milesians, who upon the like jea- | ded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by lousie, were placed by the Persians on the threatning her self with the like, to whatsotops of Mycale, to defend the passages, did ever she should inflict upon the innocent Lanow (as if they had been fent of purpose to | dy, granted the request; and sending for his keep them from running away) put as many Brother, perswaded him to put away the to the fword as fell into their hands, letting | Wife which he had, and take one of his none escape, except very few, that fled Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seems, that through by-paths. The Lacedemonians that he understood how villainously that poor day did little service, for the business was Lady should be intreated, whom he knew to dispatched ere they came in: Only they be virtuous, and whom himself had loved. broke fuch companies as retired in whole Massites refused to put her away; alleging troops; making them flie dispersed in very his own love, her deserving, and their commuch disorder, whereby the Milesians were mon children, one of which was married to enabled to do the greater execution upon the Kings Son, as reasons important to move them. This was the last fight of that huge him to keep her. But in most wicked man-Army levied against Greece, which was now ner Xerxes reviled him, saying, That he utterly broken, and had no means left to now should neither keep the Wife which he had, nor have his Daughter whom he had promised

Cccc 2

ved with these words, but much more, when ally the Athenians, that the Persian was no returned home, he found his Wife most better Souldier at his own doors, than in a butcherly mangled by the Queen Amestris, forein Country: whereof good trial was who had caused her Nose, Lips, Ears, and made forth-with, and much better proof as Tongue to be cut off; and her Breafts in like foon as the affairs of Athens were quietly manner, which were cast unto Dogs. Massifes setled and assured. enraged with this villany, took his way with From this time forward I will therefore his children, and some friends, towards Ba- pursue the History of Greece, taking in the Etria, of which Province he was Governour, matters of Persia, as also the estate of other intending to rebel and avenge himfelf: But Countries, collaterally, when the order of Xerxes understanding his purpose, caused an time shall present them. True it is, that the Army to be levied, which cut him off by the Persian estate continued in her greatness, maway, putting him and all his Company to ny ages following, in such wife, that the the fword. Such was the Tyrannical condition of the Perssan Government; and such Kingdom, representing the Majesty of a are generally the effects of Luxury, when it great Empire. is joyned with abfolute power.

Prince of much virtue. And therefore Alex- quired, yielding few actions, or none, that ander the Great, finding an Image of his were worthy of remembrance, excepting overthrown, and lying upon the ground, fome Tragedies of the Court, and examples faid, That he doubted, whether in regard of of that excessive Luxury, wherewith both his virtue, he should again erect it; or, for it, and all, or the most of Empires that the mischief done by him to Greece, should ever were, have been enervated, made unlet it lye. But furely, whatfoever his other | weildy, and (as it were) fattened for the good qualities were, he was foolish, and was hungry swords of poor and hardy Enemies. a coward, and confequently mercilefs.

the virtue of Cyrus was very great, upon with mony and base policies; very seldom or which the foundation of the Persian Empire | never (unless it were with great advantage) was so furely laid, that all the wickedness dating to adventure the tryal of plain Batand vanities of Xerxes, and other worfe Printel with that little Nation of Greece; which ces, could not overthrow it, until it was bro- would foon have ruined the foundations ken by a virtue almost equal to that which laid by Cyrus, had not private malice and did establish it. In wars against the Egypti- jealousie urged every City to envy the ans, the fortune of Xerxes did continue, as at height of her neighbours walls, and therethe first it had been, very good; but against by diverted the swords of the Greeks into the general estate of Greece, neither he, or their own bowels, which after the deparany of his posterity, did ever make offensive ture of Xerxes began very well, and might war, but received many losses in Asia, to better have continued, to hew out the way which the last at Mycale served but as an in- of Conquest, on the side of Asia.

promifed unto him. Maliftes was much grie- troduction; teaching the Greeks, and especi-

But this greatness depended only upon the Yet of Xerxes it is noted, that he was a riches and power that had formerly been ac-Hereby it came to pass, that Xerxes and his Therefore we may firmly believe, that successors were fain to defend their Crowns

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian War, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

ø. I.

How Athens was re-built and fortified.

Fter that the Medes and Persians | ded the Grecian Army, leaving the pursuit had received their last blow, and of the War to the Athenians, affisted by the were utterly beaten at Mycale: revolted Iones, returned with the Lacede-"Leutychides, who then comman- monians and other Peloponnesians to Sparta,

and other places, out of which they had Athens, from whose relation they might reand other place. The Athenians in the mean folve themselves, and determine accordingly. own places.

their works, by the advice of Themistocles, maintained. they held the Lacedamonians in hope of the Themistocles towards Lacedamon, giving him Embassadors. for excuse, that he could not deliver the retarded. But after a while, the Lacedamo- all occasions. nians expectation being converted into jealousie (for by the arrival of divers persons out of Attica, they were told for certain, That the walls of Athens were speedily grown up beyond expectation) Themistocles prayed them not to believe reports and vain rumors, but that they would be pleased to fend some of their own trusty Citizens to

while befieged seftor, a City on the strait of Which request being granted, and Commiswhile beneged section, a City on the Italia of the Hellesport, between which and Abydus, fineers fent, Themistocles dispatched one of the Newcook had lately fastened his Bridge of his own, by whom he advised the Athenians, Boats: where the Inhabitants, desperate of sirst to entertain the Lacedamonians with fuccour, did not long dispute the defence some such discourse as might retain them thereof, but quitted it to the Greeks, who a few dayes, and in conclusion to hold them thereot, pur quirted it to the Oreas, who allow dayes, and in conclument o hold them entertained themfelves the Winter follow among them, till himself, and the other ing on that fide the Hellesport. In the Spring Athenian Embaliadours, then at sparta, had ing on that not the starting left their wives and children, fince the invation of 11-being also affured by his associates and Aritica, and the abandoning of Athens, in di- Stides, that Athens was already defensible on vers Islands, and at Træzen, they now found all parts, Themistocles demanding audience, them out, and returned with them to their made the Lacedamonians know, That it was true that the walls of Athens were now raif-And though the most part of all their ed to that height, as the Athenians doubted houses in Athens were burnt and broken not the defence of their City; praying the down, and the walls of the City over-turn- Lacedamonians to believe, That when loever ed, yet they resolved first on their common it pleased them to treat with the Athenians defence, and to fortifie their City, before they would know them for fuch as right they cared to cover themselves, their wives well understood what appertained to a and children, with any private buildings. Common-weale and their own fafety, with-Whereof the Lacedamonians being adverti- out direction and advice from any other: fed, and milliking the fortifying of Athens, That they had in the War of Xerxes abanboth in respect that their own City of sparta | doned their City, and committed themselves was unwalled, as also because the Athenians to the wooden Walls of their Ships, from were grown more powerful by Sea, than the resolutions of their own counsels and either themselves, or any other State of courage, and not thereto taught or per-Greece, they dispatched messengers to the swaded by others : and finally, in all that Athenians to diffwade them; not acknow- perillous War against the Persians they ledging any private mislike or jealousie, but | found their own judgements and the execupretending, that if the Persians should return | tion thereof in nothing inferiour, or less forto invade Greece a third time, the Athenians tunate, than that of any other Nation, State, being in no better frate to defend themselves or Common-weale among the Greeks. And than heretofore, the same would serve to re- therefore concluded, that they determined ceive their enemies, and to be made a Seat to be Masters and Judges of their own for the War, as Thebes had lately been. To affairs, and thought it good reason, that this the Athenians promised to give them sa- either all the Cities confedered within tisfaction by their own Embasiadours very Greece should be left open, or else that the speedily. But being resolved to go on with | Walls of Athens should be finished and

The Lacedamonians finding the time uncontrary, till they had raifed their walls to fit for quarrel, diffembled their mislike, both that height, as they cared not for their mif- of the fortifying of Athens, and of the divisilikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and on; and so suffered the Athenians to depart, therefore (to gain time) they dispatched and received back from them their own

The Walls of Athens finished, they also Athenians resolutions, till the arrival of his fortified the Port Pyreus, by which they fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose might under covert imbark themselves upon

HE Athenians having fetled things Athenians great commodity; fo the defire thirty Gallies for the purfuit of the War commodity, corrupted their vertue, and against the Perstans, to which the Lacedomo- robbing them of the general love, which had nians added other twenty, and with this made them powerful, abandoned their Civ Fleet, firengthened by the rest of the Cities to the defence of her treasure, which with of Greece confederated, they fet fail for cy- her in the next age perished. For it was prus, under the conduct of Paulanias the not long ere these four hundred and three-Lacedamonian; where, after their landing fcore Talents were raised to fix hundred; nor having possess themselves of many principal long after that, ere their covetous tyranny places, they imbarked the Army again, and had coverted their followers into flaves, took land in Thrace, recovering from the and extorted from them yearly thirteen Persians by force the City Bizantium, now hundred Talents. The Isle of Delos was at Constantinople: from whence Pausanias, be- the first appointed for the Treasure-house having himself more like a Tyrant than a wherein these sums were laid up, and Captain, especially towards the Ionians late- where, at the general Assembly, the Caply revolted from Xerxes, was called back by tains of those forces, fent by the confedethe Council of Lacedamon, and not only rates, were for form fake called to confultaaccused of many infolent behaviours, but of tion. But the Athenians, who were stronger Intelligence with the Medes, and Treason by Sea than all Greece besides, had lockt up against his Country. In his stead they im- the common treasure in an Island, under ployed Docres, who either gave the fame their own protection, from whence they cause of offence; or eise the Athenians, who might transport it at their pleasure, as afteraffected the first commandement in that ward they did. War, practifed the Souldiers to complain; though indeed the wife and vertuous becomes fon of Militades, who first took baviour of Arifides, General of the Athenian Eiona, upon the River Strimon; then the forces, a man of rare and incomparable fin- life of sciros, inhabited by the Dolopes : they cerity, had been able to make a good Com- maftered the Cariflii, and brought into fermander feem ill in comparison of himself; vitude the Naxii, contrary to the form of the and therefore was much more available, in confederacy: So did the other the inhabirendring those detested, whose vices afford-tants of Greece, if at any time they failed of ed little matter of excuse. Howsoever it their contribution, or disobeyed their comwere, the Lacedamonians being no less mandements; taking upon them and usurpwearied of the War, than the Athenians were ing a kind of soveraign authority over the eager to pursue it, the one obtained their rest; which they exercised the more assured eale, and the other the execution and ho- ly, because they were now become Lords of nour which they defired: for all the Greeks, the Sea, and could not be refifted. For many (those of Peloponnesus excepted) willingly of the confederated Cities and Nations, subjected themselves to the commandement weary of the War in their own persons, and of the Athenians, which was both the be- given up altogether to their eale, made four hundred and threefcore Talents, which derates, employed fo well by the Athenians

was raifed eafily by the honest care of that just man Ariftides, to whose discretion all The beginning of the Athenian greatness, and the confederates referred themselves, and prosperous war made by that State upon the no one man found occasion to complain of him. But as the vertue of Ariftides, and other worthy Citizens, brought unto the in good order at home, prepared which they conceived of encreasing their

ginning of their greatness in that present choice rather to pay their parts in mony, age, and of their ruin in the next succeed- than either in men of War, or in Ships; ing. For the charge of the War being now leaving the provision of both to the Athenicommitted unto them, they began to rate ans. Hereby the one grew weak in all their the confederated Cities; they appointed Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Receivers and Treasurers, and began to le- Wars; the other greatly strengthened their vy mony, according to their diferetion, for Navy and their experiences, being alwayes the maintenance of the general defence of armed and imployed in honourable fervices, Greece, and for the recovering of those places at the cost of those, who having lifted them on Europe fide, in Afa the less, and the Islands, into their Saddles, were now enforced to from the Persians. This tribute (the first that become their footmen. Yet was the Triwas ever paid by the Greeks) amounted to bute-mony, levied upon these their confe-

CHAP. VII.

at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that nogreat cause of repining was given. For they rigged The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabaout a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith Cimon the Admiral scouring the Afiatick Seas, took in the City of Phaselis; which having formerly pretended neuaffift the Greeks, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the Athenians, paying yearly con-

From thence he set fail for the River Euthe first notice of their approach, Cimon the truth is more ancient than the Verse; weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called Hydra, did fo amaze them, ground; by which mean, preferving few of their men, they loft all their ships. These losses Lame-footed Vengeance fails to overtake. did fo break the courage of the Persian, that omitting all hope of prevailing upon Greece, he condescended to whatsoever Articles it liberty unto all the Greeks inhabiting Asia; and further covenanting, That none of his ships of War should fail to the Westward of the Isles, called Cyanea and Chelidonia.

This was the most honourable peace that in which War, few, or perhaps none of them, altogether under the Macedonians.

s. III.

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DEfides these losses, which could not eafily have been repaired, the troubles trality, and refused to relieve, or any way of the Empire were at this time such, as gave just cause to the Persian of seeking peace upon any terms not altogether intollerable. For Artabanus, the Uncle of Xerxes. perceiving, that the King his Master did eafily take imall occasions to shed the blood of rymedon in Pamphylia, where the Persian such as in kindred or place were near unto Fleet rode, being of fix hundred fail, or (ac- him, began to repose less hope of Safety in cording to the most sparing report) three remaining faithful, than of obtaining the hundred and fifty, and having a great Land- Soveraignty, by destroying a Prince that Army, encamped upon the shoar; all which was so hated for his cruelty, and despised forces having been provided for advancing for his cowardile and misfortunes. Having the Kings affairs in Greece, were utterly de- conceived this Treason, he found means to feated in one day, and two hundred ships execute it by Mithridates an Eunuch, in such taken by the Athenians; the reft being broken | close manner, that (as if he himself had been to pieces, or funk, ere ever they had fwom innocent) he accused Darius the fon of in the Greekish Seas. Cimon having in one Xerxes, and caused him to suffer death as a day obtained two great Victories, the one Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this by Sea, and the other by Land, was very great wickedness he got the Kingdom, and soon presented with a third. For sour-held it seven months; or whether, intending fcore fail of Phanicians (who were the best of the like evil to Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes, all Sea-men, under the Persian command) he was by him prevented and surprised, were thinking to have joyned themselves with the | hard to affirm any certainty. But all Writers Fleet before destroyed, arrived upon the agree upon this, That taken he was, and with fame Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing less than what ensued. Upon torments, according to the settleam the settle settlements and the settlements are settlements.

> Rarò antecedentem scelestum Deseruit pede pæna claudo.

that they only fought to run themselves on Seldome the villain, though much haste he make,

ø. IV.

pleased the Athenians to propound, granting | The banishment of Themistoles: his flight to Artaxerxes newly reigning in Persia; and his death.

Rtaxerxes being established in his Kingdom, and having fo compoundever the Greeks made; neither did they in ed with the Atkenians, as the prefent neeffect, after this time, make any War that ceffity of his affairs required, began to conredounded to the profit or glory of the ceive new hopes of better fortune against whole Nation, till fuch time as under Alex- the Greeks, than he or his predecessors had ander, they overthrew the Empire of Perfia; ever hitherto found. For the people of Athens, when the Persians were chased out of had any place of great command, but ferved | Greece, did so highly value their own merits in that fervice, that they not only thought it fit for themselves to become the Commanders over many Towns and Islands of the Greeks, but even within their own walls, they would admit none other form of Go-

vernment

CHAP. VII.

in they were so insolent, that no integrity great conflict between thankfulness to his nor good defert was able to preferve the well-deferving Prince, and natural affection estate of any such as had born great office, to his own ill-deserving people, by smishing longer, than by flattering the rafcal multi- his life with a cup of poyfon. tude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended Themistocles; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which his greatness upon popularity, yet now prefuming upon his good fervices done to the State, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to check their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwife, they were fo highly offended with his often rehearing the benefits which they Egyptian war, wherein it appeared well had received from him, that they laid upon | That a just cause is a good defence against him the punishment of Oftracism, where a strong enemy. An Athenian Fleet of by he was banished for ten years, as a two hundred says strong was sent forth unman over-burthensome to the Common- der Cimon, to take-in the Isle of Cyprus: wealth.

expired, a new accufation was brought broken at Sea, and thereby unable to reagainst him by the Lacedamonians, who lieve the Island. Now although it were so, charged him of confulting with Paufanias, that a peace had been concluded, which about betraying the whole Countrey of was likely to have been kept fincerely by Greece unto Xerxes. Hereupon Themistocles, the Persian, who had made so good proof finding no place of fecurity against the of the Gracian valour, that he was nothing malice of two fuch mighty cities, was driven defirous to build any ships of War (without after many troublesome flights, and dange- which the Greeks could receive no harm rous removings, to adventure himself into from him) whereof if any one should be Persta, where he found Artaxerxes newly found sayling towards Greece, the peace was fetled, and was by him very honourably en- immediately broken; and, if not his whole tertained. But the great hope which Arta- eftate, yet all the Sea-coast (no small part xerxes had conceived of advancing his af- of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an fairs by the counfell and affiftance of The- | enemy too far over-matching him, Yet whemistocles, proved altogether fruitless. For ther the Athenians were in doubt, lest the when the Athenians, in favour of Inarus the league which in his own worser fortunes he Lybian, (who infested Egypt, causing it to had made with them, he would break in rebell against the Persian) had sent a Fleet theirs; and therefore sought to get such asto Sea, landing an Army in Egypt, and scou- surance into their hands, as might utterly ring those Eastern Seas, to the great hinde- disable him from attempting ought against rance of Artaxerxes, and (for ought that I | them; or whether the increase of their recan understand) to the manifest breach venues and power, by adding that rich and of that peace, which to their great honour | great Island to their Empire, caused them to they had concluded with Xerxes; then did | measure honour by profit; they thought it the King fend his Letters to Themistocles, re- the wifest way, to take, whilest they might, quiring him to make good the hopes which | whatfoever they were able to get and hold, had given, of affuring the Perfian estate and he unable to defend. against the Greeks.

unlikeliness of good success, in leading a Egypt, is very fitly seated for any Prince of great army of daltardly Persians against the State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either warlike people of Greece; or else (as in fa- seek to enrich himself by trade with those vour of his vertue it is more commonly re- Countreys, or to infelt one or more of ported) the love of his Country would not | them when they are his enemies. And this permit him to feek honour by the ruine of being the purpose of the Athenians, their it; sure it is, that being appointed by Ar- Ambirion which had already devoured, in taxerxes to undertake the conduct of great conceit, this Island, was on the sudden well-

vernment than meerly Democratical. Here- forces against the Athenians, he decided the

to their great honour they had made with the Persian , were shamefully beaten in

Hen was Artaxerxes driven to use the fervice of his own Captains in the which conquest seemed easie both to make Before the time of his return was half and to maintain; the Persian being utterly

The Isle of Cyprus lying in the bottom of But whether Themistocles perceived much the streights between Cilicia, Syria, and

finatch at which, they let Cyprus alone, to use for the recovery of that which was which they might eafily have swallowed lost, or for the preservation of the remainand digested. For Inarus King of the Lybi- der. The best of his hope, was; by setting and discretizing Egypt, having found how the Lacademonians upon Athens, to enforce greatly the Country was exhausted by the the Athenians to look homewards to their late Wars, and how weakly defended by own defence. This was the first time that very fleuder Persian Garrisons, conceived the Persian Sought to procure the affishance rightly, that if such small forces as the Sa- of the Greeks one against the other, by stirtrapa, or Viceroy, could make on the sudden ring them up with gold, to the entertainthe naturals of the Countrey not long fince | fent Megabazus to Sparta with much Treaoppressed by Cambyses, and, after a revolt, sure; who after great expence, finding that tle to that Kingdom than a good fword. Athenians, whom in many conflicts of great Further, he perswaded himself that the importance they had found to be their Egyptians his adherents were not answera- about Memphis the great City. ble to their defires, perceived well, that to It cannot be doubted, that long abode in they shared somewhat equally.

Dddd

nigh choaked with a greater morfell, to could Artaxerxes well advise what means of his own Guards, or levy out of the ordinary Garrisons, were by him defeated, their common enemy. To this purpose he very lately subdued by Xerxes, would soon the Lacedamonians were nothing forward break faith with him, who had no other ti- in employing their whole force against the people, unable to defend themselves against matches, notwithstanding the absence of the Persian without his assistance, would their Army in Egypt; he thought it his eafily be drawn to accept him, the author of wifeft way to employ the rest of his money their deliverance, for King. Neither did and means, to their relief who had now the this hope deceive him. For having taken space of six years defended his masters right and cruelly flain Achemenes the Vicerop, diverse for the vicerop and cruelly flain Achemenes the Vicerop, diverse for the vers Cities for thwith declared themselves another of his name, the son of Zopprus, who for him, and proclaiming him King, shew-ed the most of their indeavour for proce-the revolted people; over whom he obtaincution of the War. But he confidering his ed victory, which made him mafter of the own weakness, and that the means of the Countrey, whilest the Athenians lay busied

relift the power of Artaxerxes, far greater a strange ayre, and want of supply, had forces than his and theirs were to be pro- much enfeebled the Athenians: fure it is, that cured, at what price foever he obtained when Megabazus, having reduced the Counthem. Therefore hearing of the great Athe- try to obedience, attempted the City it felf, Profibites mian fleet, and knowing well the vertue of whether his former success had amended the an island the Souldiers therein imbarqued; he invited the Commanders to share with him the Kingdom of Egypt, as a far greater reward of their adventure, than such an addition pursued them so the such as the s as that of Cyprus could be to their estate, to fortisse themselves in the Isle of Proso-less of Ni-Whether he or they (if things had wholly pites, where Megabazus, after eighteen lustowards forted according to their expectation moneths fiege, turning away one part of disa would have been contented with an equal the River by divers Trenches, assume that the River by divers Trenches, assume the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum of the River by divers Trenches, as a sum thare, and not have fallen out in the parti- Athenians without impediment of waters, tion, were perhaps a divination unnecessia- took their Gallies, and put all to the sword, ry. He was possessed the peoples love, they were of most power. But the issue of into Lybia; the same entertainment had fifty is an i. those affairs was such as left them nothing other Gallies, which they sent to the suc-stand in to communicate but misfortunes, which cour of the first two hundred. For those the mouth of Nilus, Athenians having heard nothing that their between Yet had the beginning of their enter-prile very good and hopefull fucces: For by the branch of Nilus, which is called magnitum, they entred the Land, as far as to Memphis, Mendessum, and fell unawares among the & Dieless: the principall City; and of the City it self Phemician Gallies, and the Perssan Army; but the branch of they took two parts: to the third part, which fo as the Persians recovered all Egypt, but wilus, cal-Was called, the White wall, they laid such that part held by Amyrteus, and Inarus led Mondehard fiege, that neither those forces of the the King of Lybia, being by them taken and nething Persians, which then were in Egypt, were hanged. This was the end of the Atheni-the City frong enough to remove them; neither ans fix years War in Egypt, and the reward ganaphifis.

CHAP. VII.

of their vanity and indifcretion to under-perswaded thereunto by orestes, but were take many enterprises at once.

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ø. V.

time.

Egypt, yet the Athenians in their homewars waded through many difficulties, and they fent fixty of their ships. The rest of held the reputation of their forces against their Army failing in their enterprise at Cothe Lacedemonians, Corinthians, and others, prus, and their fortunate and victorious rather to their advantage than otherwise. Leader Cimon dying there, as they coasted For as they were beaten near unto Halia the Island, incountred a fleet of the Phoniby the Corinthians and Epidaurians, so they cians and Cilicians, over both which Natiobtained two great Victories soon after; ons they returned victorious into Greece: as the one over the Peloponnessians, neer unto also those returned fafe which were sent in-Cecryphalia; the other over the Eginets, to Egypt. neer unto Ægina, where they funk and carried away threescore and ten Gallies of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the fudden, and befieged of Artaxerxes Longimanus, that he was Ægina, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the Corinthians, to divert them, invaded Megara; where, after a great fight with equall loss, the Corinthians, when they returned again to fet up their Trophie, as Victors in the former battell, were utterly broken and slaughtered by the Athenian Garrisons, and Megarians, to their great loss allow unto him four and forty. He was a and dishonour.

Again, as the Athenians were discomsitted near to Tangra, by the Lacedamonians, who returned from the fuccour of the Dorians against the Phocians (at which time the hemias, which fell in his time. Thessalian horsemen turned from their Allies the Athenians, and fought against them) fo about threescore days after, the Atheni- work of building the Temple, it were a ans entred Baotia under the conduct of Myronides, where beating that Nation, they wan Phocis on the gulf of Oetens, and evened | shew that those two Prophets were licensed the walls of Tanagra to the ground. Finally, they enforced Agina to render upon most such fort as appears in their writings. base conditions; as to beat down the walls of their City, and to give them hostages for Tri- who married Hester. Whereof if it be needbute: the fiege whereof they had continued, | full to give proof, it may suffice, that Ahanotwithstanding all their other brabbtes shueros lived in Susa, reigning from India to and attempts ellewhere. Befides these victories, they lackt and spoiled many places upon the Sea-coast of Peloponnesus, belonging by the circumstances of the History, and to the Lacademonians, wan upon the Corin thians, and overthrew the Sicyonians that authority of which Princes began under came to their fuccour. These were the un- Darius the son of Hylaspes , wherefore he dertakings of the Athenians, and their Al- could be neither Cyrus nor Cambyses. lies, during the time of those fix years, that a part of their forces made war in Egypt. In King Darius the son of Hyfrafies, together

refifted by the King Pharfalus, who had chafed Orestes out of his Dominions. They also landed in sicyonia, and had victory over those that resisted, after which they made of other Wars made by the Athenians for the truce with the Peloponnessians for five years. most part with good success, about the same and sent Cimon into Cyprus with two hundred fhips; but they were again allured by Amyrteus one of the race of their former Otwithstanding these overthrows in Kings, who held the Marish and Wooddy

ø, VI.

Ahashuerosh the husband of Queen He-

These Egyptian troubles being ended, the reign of Artaxerxes continued peaceable: whereof the length is by some restrained unto twenty years, but the more and better Authors give him forty, some Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleness. His favour was exceeding great to the Jews; as appeareth by the Histories of Esdras and Ne-

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and ayd to that great needless travell; considering that all the late Divines have taken very much pains to by him, and fuccoured in that building, in

This was likewise that King Abashuerosh Æthiopia, and therefore must have been a Persian; That he lived in peace, as appears used the counsel of the seven Princes, the

The continual wars which exercised the end whereof they attempted Theffaly, with the certainty of his marriages with fundry wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his first wife Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, alive in great honour, of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Pethe being mother to Xerxes the succeeding King, do manifeltly prove that Hefter was not his. Whereunto is added by Fhilo the Jew, That at the perswasion of Mardo-

end of Darius. had free from war, are enough to prove, that the story of Hester pertained not unto the time of Xerxes, who lived but one and twenty years, whereas the two and thirtieth of Ahasucrus or Artasastha is ex-Of the Princes that fucceeded Artaxerxes

weighteen years more than Isaac the Pa. truce was made for thirty years. triarch lived, namely, one hundred fourfcore and eighteen years in all, which exyears old.

ø. VIII.

loponnesian War.

But it is fit that we now return to the affairs of the Greeks, who from this cheus, Jojachim the High-Priest the son of time forward, more vehemently prosecu-Jessus, caused the feast of Purim to be insti- ting their civil wars, suffered the Persuans nited in memory of that deliverance. Now for many ages to rest in peace: this Egythe time of Jojachim was in the reign of ptian expedition being come to nought. Artaxerxes, at the coming of Esdras and Soon after this, the Lacedamonians under-Nebemias: Jesus his father dying about the took the war called Sacred, recovered the Temple and Isle of Delphos, and delivered The same continuance of wars with other | both to the inhabitants ; but the Athenian's his furious and tragical loves wherewith regained the fame, and gave it in charge Xerxes did confume fuch little time as he to the Phocians. In the mean while the banished Beotians re-entred their own Land. & mastered two of their own Towns possest by the Athenians, which they foon recovered again from them; but in their return towards Athens, the Bwotians, Eubwans, and pressed by Nehemias. Again, it is well known | Locrians (Nations oppress by the Athenithat Xerxes in the feventh year of his ans) fet upon them with fuch resolution, as reign (wherein this marriage must have the Athenians were in that fight all slain or been celebrated) came not near to Susa. taken, whereby the Buotians recovered their former liberty, restoring to the Athenians Longimanus, to prove that none of them their prisoners. The Handers of Eubwatook could be Ahafhuerofh, it is enough to fay, that | fuch courage upon this, that they revolted Mardochaus having been carried from Hie- | wholly from the Athenians, whom when Perusalem captive, with Jechonia, by Nabu- ricles intended to reconquer, he was adverchadnezzar, was unlikely to have lived until tifed that the Megarians (who first left the Lacedamonians, and submitted themselves to But of this Artaxerxes it is true, that he Athens) being now weary of their yoke, had lived in sufa, reigned from India to Æthi- Ilain the Athenians Garrisons, and joyned opia, lived in peace, was contemporary with themselves with the Corinthians, Sycionians, Jojachim the high Priest, and further he had and Epidaurians. These news hastened Pehappily by his Lieutenants reclaymed the ricles homeward with all possible speed; but rebellious Egyptians in that seventh year ere he could recover Attica, the Peloponneof his reign; which good fortune might fians, led by Plistoanax the fon of Pansanias, well give occasion to such a Royal Feast, as had invaded it, pillaged and burnt many is described in the beginning of Hester. This | parts thereof, after whose return Pericles is the fumm of the arguments, brought to went on with his first intent, and recovered prove the age of Hesters story by the Eubera. Finally, the Athenians began to treat learned and diligent Krentzhemius, who of peace with the Peloponnesians, and yielded adds the authorities of fosephus, affirming to deliver up all the places which they held the same, and of Philo giving to Mardocha- in the Countrey of Peloponnesus: and this

After fix of these years were expired, the Athenians (favouring the Mylesians against pire in the five and thirtieth year of this the Samians) invaded Samos by Pericles; and Artaxerxes, if we suppose him to have been after many repulses, and some great losses, carried away captive, being a Boy of ten both by Sea & Land, the Citizens were forced to yield up themselves upon most lamentable conditions: Namely, to deliver up all their ships to break down their own wals, to pay the charge of the war, and to restore whatfoever had been taken by themselvs, or by their practice, from the Athenians. In the neck of which followed that long and cruel CHAP. VIII.

this Brief following: the same contention hold it convenient now at the first to shew taking beginning fifty years after the flight briefly the estate of the Countrey at that of xerxes out of Greece. But because there time, and especially the condition of those was no City thereof, which either in the two great Cities, Athens and Sparta, upon beginning of this war, or in the continuance which all the rest had most dependance.

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Peloponnesian War, whereof I have gathered | of it, was not drawn into the quarrell; I

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian War.

ø. I.

Upon what terms the two principal Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, food at the begining of the Peloponnefian War,

Union and League against the Perstans, aid was commonly held as good as the assuwhereof they were Captains, than into any rance of victory. absolute subjection. For every Estate held | These Lacedamonians had lived about their own, and were governed by Laws, far 1 four hundred years under one form of 60. different, and by their own Magistrates, vernment when the Peloponnessan War benotwithstanding the power of the Macedo gan. Their education was only to practife nians, so whom they did yield obedience no feats of Arms; wherein they so excelled, that otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their leaders in the Persian war (deem very great numbers of any other people. ed the General quarrel of Greece) & took the They were poor, and cared not much for profit and honour of the victory, to their wealth; every one had an equall portion of own use and increase of greatness. But the the common field, which sufficed to maintain Kings which afterwards reigned in Macedo- him in fuch manner as they used. For bravery nia, did fo far enlarge their authority, that they had none, and curious building or apall Greece was by them brought under such parel they regarded not. Their diet was obedience, as differed little from fervitude; fimple, their feasts and ordinary meals being very few excepted, who could hardly, in common Halls, where all fared alike. They fometimes with arms, and fometimes with used money of yron, whereof they could not gifts, preserve their liberty: of whom the be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they Lacedamonians and Athenians were chief; lived Otopian-like, fave that they used no which two people deserved best the plague other occupation than War, placing all their of tyranny, having first given occasion there- felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby unto by their great ambition, which wea- it came to pass that in all enterprises, whereried and weakned all the Countrey by per- of they were partakers, the leading and high petual War. For, until thefe two Cities of command was granted to them, and all Athens and Sparta distracted all Greece, Greece followed their conduct. But the Athedrawing every State into the quarrell, on the nians were in all points contrary to this. For

Reece was never united under were neither great, nor of long continuthe government of any one ance. All controversies were soon decided, Prince or Estate, until Philip of either by the authority of the Amphiliones, Macedon, and after him Alex- who were the general Councel of Greece, or ander, brought them rather to by the power of the Lacedamonians, whose

one or other fide, and so gave beginning to they fought wealth, & measured the honors the Peloponnesian War (the effects whereof in of their victories by the profit; they used true estimation ceased not, before the time mercenary Souldiers in their wars, & exacted that Philip had over-mastered all, for a fmuch great tribute of their Subjects, which were as every conclusion of one war afforded for the most partllanders compelled to obey henceforth matter of fome new distraction them, because the Athenian fleet was great. of the whole Countrey) the wars, commen-

As in form of policy, and in course of life, ced between one City of Greece & another, so in conditions natural, the difference between these two people was very much. The Athenians were eager and violent, fudden in their conclusions, and as hasty in the execution. The Lacedamonians very flow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very resolute, and such as would in cold blood the Athenians being now very mighty in by war the injuries done to their Allies. Fleet, reduced all the Islands of the Greekish | First therefore, seeking religious pretenquarrel with them 3 but much more willing fift from their purpose of making War. to breed contention between them and other Alkens. Hereby it was thought, that the than they were very willing to undergo.

Athenians though be intangled in a long But the Athenians would yield to no-Athenians should be intangled in a long

nour and puillance.

v. VII.

How Sparta and Athens entred into War.

Evertheless, many Estates of Greece were very ill-affected to Athens, beperform what the Athenians did usually in cause that City grew very insolent upon flagrant. Whereby it came to pass, that the sudden prosperity, and, maintaining the Lacedamonians had all the Estates of Greece weaker Towns against the stronger, independing upon them, as on men firm and croached apace upon their Neighbours, taassured, that sought honour, and not riches; king their dependants from them. Especialwhereas the Athenians were followed by ly the Corinthians were much inraged, befuch as obeyed them perforce, being held cause the people of the Island Corcyra, their in streight subjection. But the Signiory of the Colony which had rebelled against them. Athenians was nothing large, until fuch time and given them a great overthrow by Sea. as the Persian Xerxes had invaded Greece, was by the Athenians (who defired to inpretending only a quarrel to Athens: For crease their Fleet by adjoyning that of Corthen the Citizens perceiving well, that the cyra unto it) taken into protection, and the Town of Athens could not be defended Corinthians thereby defeated of that reagainst his great Army of seventeen hundred venge, which else they would have taken. thousandmen, bestowed all their wealth upon Now, howsoever it were so, that these deala Navy, and (affifted by the other Grecians) lings of the Athenians were not directly overthrew the Fleet of Xerxes, whose Land- against the conditions of peace agreed upon forces were foon after discomfitted by them, among the Greeks, yet were the complaints and the Greeks, who all ferved under con- made at Sparta fo vehement, that (though duct of the spartans. After these victories, with much ado) they concluded to redress

Seas under their obedience; imposing upon ces, they required the Athenians to expiate them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as certain offences committed against the gods; they pretended) of War against the Fersian; whereto having for answer, That they though indeed they imployed their forces themselves should expiate other the like ofchiefly, to the conquest of such Islands and sences, committed in Sparta, they began to Haven-Towns of their Country-men, as deal plainly, and required that the people flood out against them. All which was ea- of some Towns, oppressed by the State of fily suffered by the Lacedemonians, who Athens, should be set at liberty; and that were In-landers, and men that delighted a decree made against those of Megara; not in Expeditions to be made far from whereby they were forbidden to enter any home. But afterwards perceiving the power | Port of the Athenians, should be reversed. of the Athenians to grow great, they held This last point they so earnestly press, that them in much jealousie and were very apt to if they might obtain it, they promised to ab-

This they defired, not as a matter of any Estates. Wherefore at such time as the great importance (for it was a trifle) but on-Thebans would have oppressed the Plateans, ly that by seeming to have obtained somewhen they of Platea repaired to Sparta for what, they might preserve their reputation fuccour, they found there no other aid, than without entring into a War, which threatthis advice, That they should seek help at | ned them with greater difficulties apparent,

and tedious War with their neighbours of thing; for it was their whole defire that all Thebes. But it proved otherwise; for their Greece should take notice how far they were from fear of any other City. Hereupon they force was now fo great, that all fuch occaprepared on both fides very strongly, all fions did only ferve to encrease their hothat was needful to the War; wherein the Lacedamonians were Superiour, both in number and quality, being affifted by most of the Cities in Greece, and having the generalfavour, as men that pretended to let at liberty fuch as were oppressed: but the Athenian

and are not eafily affembled.

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ø. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

He first and second years Expedition was very grievons to the Circums was very grievous to the City of Athens. For the Fields were wasted, the Ahad felt by Sea, they received at Folia Trees cut down, the Country people driven a very fore blow, that compelled them to to flye, with Wives, Children, and Cattel fue for peace. A Fleet of Athenian ships into the Town; whereby a most furious pe- bound for Corcyra, wasting in that passage, ftilence grew in the City, such as before they as their manner was, the coast of Laconia, had never felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was and all the half-Isle of Peloponnesus, was by added the revolt of the Mytilenians, in the contrary winds detained at Pylus, which is Isle of Lesbos, and the siege of Platea their a ragged Promontory, joyning to the Main, confederated City, which they durft not ad- by a strange neck of Land. Before it there venture to raise, besides some small over-lyes a small barren Island of less than two throws received. The Lacedamonians af miles compals, and within that a creek, fembling as great forces as they could raife which is a good harbour for ships, the force out of Peloponnesw, did in the beginning of of weather being born off by the head-Land Summer enter the Country of Attica, and and Isle. This Promontory the Athenians therein abide, until victuals began to fail, fortified, as well as in hafte they might; wasting and destroying all things round and what was wanting in their artificial forabout. The Governours of the Athenians tification, was supplied by the natural would not fuffer the people to iffue into the strength and site of the place. By holding field against them; for they knew the valour this piece of ground, and haven, they in reaof their Genemies: but used to send a Fleet son expected many advantages against their into Peloponnesus, which wasted as fast all enemies. For the Country adjoyning was the Sea-coast of their enemies, whilst they inhabited by the Messenians, who in ancient were making war in Attica. So the Pelo- times had held very strong and cruel war ponnessians being the stronger by Land, wan with sparta; and (though quite subdued) the Town of Platea, which wanted rescue; they were held in streight subjection; yet the Athenians likewise being more mighty was not the old hatred so extinguished, that by Sea, did subdue Myrilene which had re- by the near neighbourhood and affistance belled, but could not be succoured from of the Athenians, it might not be revived. Sparta. By these proceedings in that War, Furthermore it was thought, that many illthe Lacedemonians began to perceive how willers to the Lacedemonians, and as many * from the Islands that were subject unto that | stans thither in all haste out of Attica, which was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they well fore-law, little fearing the grievous

Athenians did as far exceed them in all pro- began to fet their care to build a strong Navisions of mony, shipping, engines, and ab- vy, wherein they had little good success he folure power of command among their Sub- ing eafily vanquished by the Athenians, who jects; which they held, and afterward found both had more and better thips, and were of greater use in such need, than the willing so skilful in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of readiness of friends, who soon grow weary, theirs durst undertake a great number of the Peloponnesians.

ø. IV.

Of the great loss which the Spartans received at

Mong other Iosles which the Spartans unfit they were to deal with fuch enemies. of their bond-flaves as could escape from For after that Attica was throughly wasted, them, would repair to Pylus, and from thence it lay not greatly in their power to do any make daily incursions into Laconia, which offence equal to such harm as they them- was not far off: Or if other hopes failed, yet felves might, and did, receive. The Confe- would the benefit of this haven, lying almost derates began to let forward very flowly in in the mid-way between them and Corcyra, their Expeditions into Attica; perceiving make them able to furround all Peloponne well that Athens was plentifully relieved fus, and wafte it at their pleasure. The news with all necessaries, which came by the Sea of these doings at Pylus drew the Peloponne-Estate; and therefore these invaders took they had entred a few daies before with but small pleasure in beholding the Walls their whole Army: but now they brought of that mighty City, or in wasting a forfaken not only their Land-forces, but all their field, which was to them a pattern of the Navy to recover this piece, which how bad calamities with which their own Territory a neighbour it might prove in time, they CHAP. VIII. los at hand, which they there in few daies whilst with such reputation they might But

felves aground.

Wine, and Flesh, should be daily carried into were ill-affected unto them. the Isle, but that no ships should pass into the Island secretly: That the Athenians should carry the Lacedamonian Embassadors to bring them back, at whose return the truce should end, which if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, should be held utterly void in all; That when the truce was expired the Athenians should restore the Peloponnesian ships, in as good case as they recei-

received. For when they in vain made a they found all contrary to their expectatigeneral affault on all fides, both by Sea and on: For infread of concluding upon even Land, finding that fmall Garrison which the terms, or desiring of meet recompence for Athenians had left, very resolute in the de- loss sustained, the Athenians demanded cerfence, they occupied the haven, placing four tain Cities to be restored to them, which had hundred and twenty choise men, all of them been taken from them by the Lacedamoni-Citizens of Sparta, in the Island before men- ans long before this War began, refusing tioned, at each end whereof is a chanel that likewise to continue the treaty of peace, unleads into the Port; but so narrow, that on- less the Spartans which were in the Isle, ly two ships in front could enter between the were first rendred unto them as prisoners. Ifle and Pylos ; likewise but seven or eight Thus were the Embassadors returned withthips could enter at once by the further cha- out effect; at which time the truce being nel, between the Island and the Main. Ha- ended, it was defired from the Athenian Capving thus taken order to flut up this new tains, that they should, according to their Town by Sea, they fent part of their Fleet Covenant, restore the ships which had been to fetch wood, and other stuff, wherewith to put into their hands. Whereto answer was fortifie round about, and block up the piece made, that the condition of the truce was. on all fides. But in the mean feafon the Athe- that if any one Article were broken, all fhould nian Fleet, hearing of their danger that were be held void; now (faid the Athenians) re left at Pylus, returned thither, and with have affaulted our Garrisons, and thereby great courage entring the haven, did break are we acquitted of our promise to restore and fink many of their enemies veffels; took the fhips. This and the like frivolous allefive, and so inforced the relidue to run them- gations which they made, were but meer Thifts; yet profit fo far overweighed honour, Now was the Town secure, and the spar- that better answer none could be got. Then tans abiding in the Island as good as lost. were the Lacedamonians driven to use many Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from hard means, for conveyance of victuals into Sparta to the Camp (as was their custom in the Isle; which finally was taken by force, great dangers) to advise what were best for and the men that were in it carried prisothe publick fafety; who when they did per- ners to Athens, where it was decreed that ceive that there was no other way to refcue when the Peloponnesians next invaded Attitheir Citizens out of the Isle, than by com- |ca, these prisoners should all be slain. Whepolition with their enemies, they agreed to ther fearing the death of these men, or withentreat with the Athenians about peace, ta- | held by the troubles, which (according to king truce in the mean while with the Cap- the Athenians hope) fell upon them, the Latains at Pylus. The conditions of the truce | cedemonians were fo far from wasting Attiwere, That the Lacedamonians should deli- | ca, that they suffered their own Country to verupall the ships which were in the Coast, be continually over-run, both by the Atheand that they should attempt nothing against | nians, who landed on all parts of their Coast, the Town, nor the athenians against the and by those which issued out of Pylus; Camp: That a certain quantity of Bread, which became the Rendevous of all that

ø. V.

Athens, there to treat of peace, and should How the Lacedæmonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a Peacethat was not well kept.

"Herefore theyendeavoured greatly to obtain peace; which the Athenians would not hearken unto. For they were for ved them. The Embafiadors coming to puffed up with continuance of good fuccess, Athens, were of opinion, that as they them- that having fent a few bands of men into 81selves had begun the war, so might they end cilie, to hold up a faction there, and make it when they pleased. Wherefore they told what profit they might of the sicilians the Athenians how great an honour it was quarrels; when afterward they heard that that the Lacedamonians did sue to them for the differences in that Isle were taken away, peace, advising them to make an end of War, and their bands returned without either

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gain or loss, they banished the Captains, as wherewith to maintain a Navy, could do if it had been meerly through their default, unto them, yea, as Masters of the Sea, to that the Isle of Sicilie was not conquered; weary them out, as in effect already they which (besides the longer distance) was in had done. As for the Confederates of power to offend others, or defend it felf, Sparta, they could now endure neither War no whit inferiour unto Feloponnessu. Yet nor peace; their daily travels, and many was this their over-weening much abated losses had so wearied and incensed them. shortly after by some disasters received, espe- Wherefore the Lacedamonians were glad cially in Thrace, where, in a battel which they to use the occasion, which the inclination of lost at Amphipolis, Cleon and Brasidas, Generals of the Athenian and Lacedamonian forces, were both flain; which two had most been adverfaries to the peace. As the Athenians by their losses were taught moderation; fo the Lacedamonians, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Navy which they had received at Pylus, were fain to proceed lamely in the War, against such as, through commodity of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were fervently defirous to conclude the business, ere Fortune by any new favour fhould revive the infolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a confideration of their present estate, that urged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and fpeedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which unless they compounded with the Athenians, they knew not how to avoid. The hands, but had been rendred unto their estate of Argos, which had antient enmity | Confederates, the Spartans found means to with them, was now after a truce of thirty give some satisfaction, by permitting the years well-nigh expired, ready to take the Athenians to retain others, which they had benefit of their present troubles, by joyning gotten in the War; as for the rest, they with those who alone found them work promised more than afterwards they could enough. Argos was a rich and strong City, | perform. The Cities which they had taken which though inferiour to Sparta in valour, into protection, could not endure to hear yet was not fo unwarlike, nor held fuch ill of being abandoned, neither would they by correspondence with the neighbouring any means yield themselves into the hands Estates, that the Lacedamonians could ever of their old Lords the Athenians, whom far prevail upon it, when they had little else they had offended by revolting, notwith-

this War had not been regarded. For it was terance in time to come. This dull perforthen thought that by wasting the Territory | mance of conditions on the side of the sparof Athens with fword and fire, the quarrel tans, made the Athenians become as backshould easily and in short time have been ward in doing those things which on their ended, whereby not only the Athenians part were required; fo that restoring only should have been brought to good order, but | the prisoners which they had, they deferred the Corinthians, and others, for whose sake the rest, untill such time as they might rethe War was undertaken, have been so firm- ceive the full satisfaction, according to the ly knit to the Lacedemonians, that they agreement. But before such time as these should for love of them have abandoned difficulties brake out into matter of open the Argives to their own fortunes. But now | quarrel, the Lacedamonians entred into a the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that more streight alliance with the Athenians, the Athenians abounding in ready mony, making a league offensive and defensive and means to raise more, were able to secure with them. Hereunto they were moved by themselves by a strong fleet, from any great | the backwardness of the Argives, who being

their enemies did then afford, of making a final peace, which with much ado they procured, as feemed equal and eafie; but was indeed impossible to be performed. and therefore all their travel was little effe-

The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot, that the Lacedamonians should restore first. These had won more Towns upon the Continent from the Athenians, than the Athenians had from them; but what they had won, they had not won absolutely. For they had restored some Towns to such of their Allies, from whom the State of Athens had taken them; some, and those the most, they had fet at liberty (as reason required) which had opened their gates unto them as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as enemies. Now concerning the Towns which were not in their own franding whatfoever Articles were drawn, This was a thing that in the beginning of and concluded, for their fecurity, and betharm that the Peloponnesians, wanting (as they thought) likely to have sued for once compounded between Athens and fore Pylus, had rather chosen to live in capsparta, did shew themselves plainly unwilling to give ear to any fuch motion. Think- felf, sticking as a thorn in the foot of Lacoing therefore, that, by cutting from Argos niu, had bred fuch anguish in that Estate, as all hope of Athenian fuccour, they should utterly wearying the accustomed Spartan make fure work, the Spartans regarded not refolution, had made it fit down, and feek to the affections of other States, whom they refresh it self by dishonourable ease: then had either bound unto them by well-defer- did not only the Corinthians and Thebans ving in the late War, or found fo trouble- begin to conceive basely of those men which fome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durst were vertuous, though unfortunate; but let it appear) was little worse than friend- other less Cities joyning with these in the fhip. It bred great jealousie in all the Cities same opinion, did cast their eyes upon the of Greece, to perceive such a conjunction be- rich and great City of Argos, of whose abilitween two fo powerful Signiories: especial- ty to do much, they conceived a strong bely one clause threatning every one, that was lief, because of long time it had done noany thing apt to fear, with a fecret intent thing. Such is the base condition, which that might be harboured in their proud through foolish envy is become almost natuconceits, of subduing the whole Country, ral in the greater part of mankind. We curiand taking each what they could lay hold oufly fearch into their vices, in whom, had on. For, belides the other Articles, it was they kept fome diffance, we should have diagreed. That they might by mutual confent | feerned only the vertues; and comparing inadd new conditions, or alter the old at their jurioufly our best parts with their worst, are own pleasures. This impression wrought so justly plagued with a false opinion of that firongly in the Corinthians, Thebans, and good in strangers, which we know to be other ancient Confederates of Sparta, that wanting in our felves. the hate which they had born to the Atheused the advantage.

ø. VI.

Peace that was concluded.

peace at their hands, as foon as things were being overlaid by enemies, in the Island be-

The first that published their dislike of sparwians their professed enemies, was violently to were the Corintbians, at whose vehement thrown upon the Lacedamonians their un- entreaty (though moved rather by envy at jultfriends: whereby it came to pals, that the greatness of Athens daily encreasing) the they who lately had borne chief fway in Lacedamonians had entred into the present Greece, might have been abandoned to the War. But these Corinthians did only murmur diferetion of their enemies, as already in at the peace, alleging as grievances, that effect they were, had the enemies wifely fome Towns of theirs were left in the Athenians hands. The Mantineans, who during the time of War, had procured some part of the Arcadians to become their followers, and forfake their dependancy upon the State of Of the negotiations and practices held between sparta, did more freely and readily discover many States of Greece, by occasion of the themselves; fear of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignation at things already past. The Argives feeling the THE admiration wherein all Greece gale of prosperous fortune that began to fill held the valour of *sparta* as unrefist-their sails, prepared themselves to take as able, and able to make way through all much of it as they could stand under ; giving impediments, had been so excessive, that for that purpose unto twelve of their Citiwhen by some finister accidents, that City zens a full and absolute commission to make was compelled to take and feek peace, upon alliance between them and any free Cities of terms not founding very honourable, this Greece (Athens and Sparta excepted) withcommon opinion was not only abated, but out any further trouble of propounding (as happens ufually in things extreme) was every particular bufiness to the multitude. changed into much contempt. For it was ne- When the gates of Argos were fet thus open ver thought that any Lacedamonian would to all commers; the Mantineans began to have endured to lay down his weapons, and lead the way, and many Cities of Peloponneyield himself prisoner, nor that any missor- fus following them, entred into this new tune should have been so great, as should confederacy; some incited by private rehave drawn that City to relieve it felf other-wife than by force of Arms. But when once the land by force of Arms. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, might arise unto them by these courses, the among whom were some of especial mark, Lacedamonians easily discerned; & therefore

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fent Embassadours to stop the matter at Co- neans and Eleans; these did firmly betake rinth, where they well perceived that the themselves to the Argives, in whom they michief had been hatched. These Embassa- knew the same affection to be inveterate: dours found in the Corinthians a very rough others did only hate the peace concluded; disposition, with a gravity expressing the opi- and these would rather have followed the nion which they had conceived of their prefent advantage over Sparta. They had caufthe Argives in War than the Lacedemonians ed all Cities which had not entred yet into in peace. Of this number were the Corinthi. alliance with Argos, to fend their Agents to ans, who knowing that the Thebans were afthem, in whose presence they gave audience | feeted like unto themselves, dealt with them to the Lacedemonians; the purport of whose to enter into the society of the Argives, as Embassic was this: That the Corinthians, they had done: but the different forms of without breach of their oath, could not for Government, used in Thebes and Argos, causfake the alliance which they had long fince ed the Thebans to hold rather with Sparta, made with Sparta; and that Reason did as that was ruled by the principal men, than to well bind them to hold themselves content- incurr the danger of innovation, by joyning ed with the peace lately made, as Religion with fuch as committed the whole rule to enforced them to continue in their antient the multitude. confederacy; for a finuch as it had been agreed between the Spartans and their affociats, that | Corinthians began to bethink themselves of the confent of the greater part (which had their own danger, who had not fo much as yielded unto peace with Athens) should bind any truce with Athens, and yet were unprethe leffer number to perform what was con- pared for War. They fought therefore to cluded, if no Divine impediment withstood come to some temporary agreement with the them. Hereunto the Corinthians made an- Athenians, and hardly obtained it. For the fiver, that the Spartans had first begunto do Athenians, who had dealt with all Greece at them open wrong, in concluding the War one time, did not greatly care to come to wherein they had loft many places, without any appointment with one City that had provision of restitution; and that the very shewed against them more stomack than clause alleged by the Embassadours, did ac- force; but gave them to understand, that quit them from any necessity of subscribing they might be safe enough from them, if they to the late Peace, forafmuch as they had would claim the benefit of that alliance, fworn unto those people whom they perfinaded to rebel against Athens, that they and her dependants ; yet finally they grantwould never abandon them, nor willingly fuffer them to fall again into the tyrannous to acknowledge themselves dependants of hands of the Athenians. Wherefore they held Sparta) the truce that they defined; but themselves bound both in Reason and Religion to use all means of upholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no less one should not make peace nor War withto be accounted a Divine impediment, than out the other. were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindring the performance of things clearly be seen the great advantage which undertaken. As for the alliance with Argos, absolute Lords have, as well in Peace as in they faid that they would do as they should War, over such as are served by voluntaries. find cause. Having dismissed the Embassadors | We shall hardly find any Signiory, that hath with this answer, they made haste to joyn been so constantly followed as sparta was or feared the Lacedemonians, as the Manti-

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Spartans than the Argives in War, yet rather

This business having ill succeeded, the which Athens had lately made with Sparta ed unto these Corinthians (which were loth into private confederacy they would not admit them, being an article of the league between them and the Spartans, That the

Herein, as in many other passages, may themselves with Argor, and caused other by so many States, and some of them little States to do the like; so that Sparta and inferiour to it self, being all as free: whereas Athens were in a manner left to themselves, contrariwise, the Athenians had lately, and the Thebans and Megarians being also upon by compulsive means gotten their Dominithe point to have entred into this new confe- on, wherein they demeaned themselves as deracy. But as the affections were divers Tyrants. But in performance of conditiwhich caused this halty confluence of sud- ons agreed upon, the Athenians were able denfriends to Argor, it so likewise came to to make their words good by excluding any pals that the friendship it self, such as it was, State out of their Confederacy, and giving had much diverfity both of fincerity and of up fuch places as were agreed upon of continuance. For fone there were that hated which the Lacedemonians could do neither Athens.

the Athenians. This was fought to have against all enemies. been excused by the Lacedamonian Embasfent them.

rendred to them by Covenant, especially tween their Estates and the Athenians. Pylus that had so forely troubled them. Alcisome honourable employment ; used all it; but to keep the love of the Athenians, the

their old Allies had gotten by their means in | means to fet the quarrel on foot, whilst the the late War, could not be restored with- Athenians had yet both advantage enough, out their consent which had them in pre- as not having rendred ought fave their prifent possession; and particularly the Town soners, and pretence enough to use that adof Panacte, which the Thebans held, could by vantage of breaking the peace, by reason that no means be obtained from them by the La- the Lacedamonians (though indeed against redemonians (who earnestly desired it, that their wills) had broken all Covenants with by restitution thereof unto the Athenians them. Now the State of Athens had fully deas earneftly demanding it, themselves might termined to retain Pylus, and to perform norecover Pylus) unless that they would agree thing that the Lacedamonians thould, and to make a private alliance with Thebes; might require, untill they had first, without which thereupon they were constrained any longer halting, fulfilled all Articles to do, though knowing it to be contrary whereto they were bound, even to the utto the last agreement between them and most point. This was enough to make them fweat, who having already done the most The Lacedamonians having broken one that they could, had as yet got nothing in article of the league made between them & recompence, except the delivery of their the Athenians, that by fo doing they might | Citizens, which were prisoners. But Alcibienable themselves to the performance of an- | ades wishing a speedy beginning of open war, other were shamefully disappointed of their fent privily to the Argives, and gave them to hopes by the Thebans, who did not give up understand how fitly the time served for the Town of Panacte, till first they had utter- them to associate themselves with Athens, ly demolished it, and made it of no worth to which was enough to give them fecurity

The Argives, upon the first confluence of fadors, who coming to Athens (whither they many Estates unto their society, had embrahad fent home all prisoners that had been | ced great hopes of working wonders, as if detained at Thebes') hoping with gentle they should have had the conduct of all words to falve the matter; faying, That from Greece against the Athenians, robbing Sparta henceforth no enemy of Athens thould neftle of that honour, as having ill used it, and in Panacle, for it was destroyed. But these thereby leaving their old enemies in case of Embassadours had not to deal with tame much contempt and disability. But these sudfools. For the Athenians told them in den apprehenfions of vain joy, were suddenplain terms, That of three principal con- ly changed into as vain fear; which ill agreed ditions agreed upon in their late League, with the great opinion that had lately been they had not performed any one ; but used | conceived of Argos. For when the Thebans fuch base conclusions as stood not with their | had refused their alliance; when the Corinhonour: having made private alliance with thians had fought fecurity from Athens; and the Thebans; having destroyed a Town when a false rumour was noised abroad, that they should have restored; and not Athens, Thebes and Sparta, were come to a full having forced their dependants by War, agreement upon all points of difference 5 to make good the Covenants of the late then began the Argives to let fall their crefts, concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed and sue for peace unto the Lacedamonians, the Embaliadours with rough words, mean- who needing it as much as they, or more, yet ing with as rough deeds to anger those that | held their gravity, and were not over-hasty to accept it. At this time, and in this pertur-There were at that time both in Athens and | bation, the mellage of Alcibiades came very Sparta, many that were ill-contented with welcome to the Argives, which were not the peace: among whom were the Ephori, now consulting how to become the chief of chosen for that year, in Sparta; & Alcibiades, all others, but how to fave themselves. a powerful young Gentleman in Athens. But | Wherefore they fent away presently to the Ephori, though defiring to renew the Athens, their own Embaliadours, accompa-War, yet wished that first they might get nied with the Mantineans and Eleans, to from the Athenians as much as was to be make a league offensive and defensive be-

Of this business the Lacedamonians knew biades, whose Nobility, riches, and favour not what to think: for well they saw, that with the people, made him defire War, as fuch a combination tended to their great the mean whereby himself might procure hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent CHAP. VIII

done, than ftood with their honour or pro- of the Embassadours, and the strong perfit; others held it the wifest way, having done swassions of Aleibiades, that little wanted of fo much, not to stick upon a little more, but concluding the league with Argos. Yet for rather by giving full fatisfaction, to retain the prefent fo far did Nicias, an honourable the friendship of that State, which was more | Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preto be valued than all the rest of Greece. This vail with them, that the business was put off. refolution prevailing, they fent away fuch of until he himfelf, with other Embaffatheir Citizens as were best affected to the dours, might fetch a better answer from peace, who coming to Athens, with full com- | Sparta. mission to make an end of all controversies, did earnestly labour in the Council-house, poor a trick of Alcibiades was able to carry to make the truth of things appear, faying; a matter of fo great importance, when the That their Confederacy with the Thebans | Spartan Emballadours might have cast the had tended to none other end than the re- load upon his own shoulders, by discovering covery of Panathe: concerning which Town, the truth: But the gravity which was ufuor any other business, that it much grieved ally found in the Lacedemonians, hindred the Lacedamonians, to fee things fall out in them (perhaps) from playing their game fuch wife as might give to the Athenians handsomely against so nimble a wit; and cause of displeasure; but that all should be they might well have been thought untrusty done which in reason might be required for men, had they professed themselves such as making matters even between them; to would fay and un-fay for their most advanwhich purpose they shewed that themselves | tage. had abiolute commission. Wherefore they defired that Pylus might be reftored to them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the Argives might be called afide. Favourable audience was given to this proposition, the rather, because they which | Panacte, and should immediately renounce promifed amends, had power to make their | their Alliance made with the Thebans; letting words good. But all this fair likelihood of them understand, that otherwise the Athegood agreement was dasht on the sudden, by | nians, without further delay, would enter the practile of Alcibiades, who, secretly dea- into confederacy with the Argives, and ling with the Lacedamonian Emballadors, their adherents. The Ephori at Sparla had perswaded them well of his friendship to- no mind to forsake the Thebans, assured wards their City, and advised them to take | friends to their State; but wrought so hard, all care that their absolute power to con- that the anger of the Athenians was suffered clude what they pleased in the name of spar- to break out what way it could, which to ta, might not be known to the Commonalty mitigate, they would do no more, than of Athens, left the incelent multitude should only (at the request of Nicias their honourthereupon grow peremptory and yield to able friend, who would not feem to have efnothing, unless they could draw them to un- | fected nothing) fwear a-new to keep the reasonable conditions. The Embassadours Articles of the league between him and believed him, and fashioned their tale in the athens. Immediately therefore upon return affembly of the people, as he had advised of the Embassadors, a new league was made them. Hereupon the same Alcibiades taking between the Athenians, Argives, Mantinapresently the advantage, which their double ans, and Eleans, with very ample provision dealing afforded, inveighed openly against for holding the same common friends and them, as men of no fincerity, that were come enemies; wherein, though the Lacedamoto Athens for no other purpose, than to hin- nians were passed over with silence, yet was der the people from strengthning them- it manifest, that the whole intent of this conselves with friends, meaning to draw the sederacy did bend it self chiefly against Argives and their Adherents to their own them, as in short while after was proved by alliance, as (contrary to their own Oath) effect. already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleafing errand would ill cafe, who having refored all that they very hardly have fatisfied, or brought into could unto the Athenians, and procured a good opinion of the Lacedemonians, others to do the like, had themselves reco-(whose honest meanings had so ill been se- vered nothing of their own (prisoners ex-

new Ephori thought that more was already fo much incenfed with the double dealing

It may also seem a great wonder, how so

Nicias and his Companions had a fowre message to deliver at sparta, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the Lacedamonians should take the pains to rebuild.

At this time the Lacedamonians were in conded, with good performance) were now cepted for default of restoring all that they

should. But that which did most of all dif- ans wanting matter of quarrel, and the Laable them, was the loss of reputation, which cedemonians growing weary, they began to they had not more impaired in thellate War be quiet; retaining still that enmity in their by misfortunes, than in fundry passages be- hearts, which they had sufficiently discovertween them and the Athenians: to procure ed in effects, though not yet breaking out and keep whose Amity, they had left sun- into terms of open War. dry of their own friends to thift for themfelves. Contrariwife, the Athenians by the treaty of peace, had recovered the most part of that which they loft in War; all The Athenians fending two Fleets to fack Sytheir gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the access of new Confederates.

ø. VII.

How the Peace between Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

of their feveral friends.

By these occasions the Corinthians, Bwotians, Phocians, Locrians, and other people of ponnesians with mony. Greece, began a-new to range themselves under the Lacedamonians, and follow their lia such, as without help from Athens, could enfigns. One victory which the Lacedamo-Battel, near to Mantinea, against the Argive side, helped well to repair their decayceeded fo far, as to renounce the Amity of out. the Athenians in express words, and forced fpace of time the multirude prevailing, reto the Athenians as closely as before.

Befides these uproars in Peloponnesus, many affaies were made to raife up troubles in all (who feeking revenge upon his own Citiparts of Greece, and likewife in Macedon, to | zens, was fled unto them) fortifie the Town the Athenians; whose forces and readiness of Decelea, which was near to Athens, whence for execution, prevented fome things, re- they ceased not with daily excursions to venged other, and requited all with some harry all the Country round about, and prosperous attempts. Finally, the Atheni- sometimes give alarm unto the City it self.

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racuse, are put to flight, and utterly discomcomfited.

Uring this intermission of open War, the Athenians re-entertained their hopes of subduing sicil; whither they fent a Fleet fo mighty, as never was fet forth by Greece in any Age before or after,

This Fleet was very well manned, and T was not long ere the Argives and their furnished with all necessaries to so great an fellows had found business wherewith to expedition. All which came to nought; partfet the Athenians on work, and make use of ly by the factions in Athens, whence Alcibithis conjunction. For, prefuming upon the ades, Author of that voyage, and one of the ftrength of their fide, they began to meddle Generals of their Fleet, was driven to banish with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned himself, for fear of such judgement, as else the State of Sparta to defend. So, many acts he was like to have undergone among the of hostility were committed, wherein Athens incensed people; partly by the invasion and Sparta did (as principals) infest each the which the Lacedamonians made upon Astica. other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid | whilft the forces of that State were fo far from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the King of Persia, who supplied the Pelo-

Neither was the fuccess of things in Sicigive any likelihood of a good end in that nians obtained by their meer valour in a fet | War. For, although in the beginning, the enterprize had so well succeeded, that they belieged syracuse, the chief City of all the ed reputation, though otherwise it yielded Island, and one of the fairest Towns which them no great profit. The civil diffention the Greeks inhabited, obtaining the better in ariling fhortly after within Argos it felf, be- | fundry Battels by Land and Sea ; yet when tween the principal Citizens, and the Com- the Town was relieved with strong aid from mons, had almost thrown down the whole Peloponnesus, it came to pass that the Atheframe of the now combination. For the nians were put to the worse on all sides, in chief Citizens getting the upper hand, made | fuch wife, that their Fleet was shut up into a league with sparta, wherein they pro- the haven of syracuse, and could not issue

As the Athenian affairs went very ill in the Mantineans to the like. But in short | Sicil, so did they at home stand upon their terms; for that the Lacedamonians, who had versed all this, and having chased away been formerly accustomed to make wearitheir ambitious Nobility, applied themselves some yearly journys into Attiea, which having pillaged and forraged, they returned home; did now by counfel of Alcibiades

of the Athenians was very ftrange; who lea- rance of his well-informed conscience, raving at their backs, & at their own doors, an ther than by the malicious report and cenenemy little less mighty than themselves, did sure of others) yet it may be excused; since he yet fend forth another Fleet into sicil, to had before his eyes the injustice of his peoinvade a people no less puissant, which had ple, and had well understood that a wicked never offended them.

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makes foolish counsel seem wifer than it whereby oppression beginning upon one, is was; which came to pass many times among extended as warrantable upon all. Therethe Athenians, whole vain Conceits Pallas fore his fear of wrongful condemnation was was said to turn unto the best. But where such, as a constant man could not easily have unfound advice, finding bad proof, is obsti- over-mastered; but when afterwards the nately purfued, neither Pallas nor Fortune Army, having no other expectation of fafecan be justly blamed for a miserable issue. ty than the faint hope of a secret slight, he This fecond Fleet of the Athenians, which was so terrified with an Eclipse of the better might have ferved to convey home Moon, happening when they were about to the former that was defeated, after some dif-lodge, that he would not confent to have attempts made to fmall purpose against the the Camp break up till seven and twenty Syracufans, was finally (together with the daies were past. His timorousness was even other part of the Navy, which was there be- as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it fore) quite vanquished, and barr'd up into was lamentable. For he should not have the haven of syracuse, whereby the Camp of thought that the power of the Heavens and the Athenians, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, his Athenians, or might portend less with was driven to break up, and fly away by the flothful, than to fuch as did their best. Land, in which flight they were over-taken, Neither do I think that any Aftrologers can routed, and quite overthrown, in such wise alledge this Eclipse, as either a cause or that fearce any man escaped.

Athenians, who had wickedly condemned application, turn it to their own confusion. into exile sophocles and Pthiodorus Generals, Had C. Caffins the Roman, he who flew Juformerly fent into that Ifle, pretending that ling Cafar, imitated this superstition of Nithey had taken mony for making peace in cias, he had furely found the same fortune in sicil, whereas indeed there was not any a case very like. But when, he retyring, the means or possibility to have made War. broken remainder of Crassius his Army, defea-Hereby it came to pass, that Nicias, who had | ted by the Parthian Archers, was advised, the chief command in this unhappy enter- upon fuch an accident as this, to continue prize, did rather chuse to hazard the ruin of where he then was, till the Sun were past his Country by the loss of that Army, where- the fign of scorpio; he made answer, that he in confifted little less than all the power of stood not in such fear of scorpio, as of sagit-Athens; than to adventure his own estate, tarius. So adventuring rather to abide the his life, and his honour, upon the tongues of | frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer shameless accusers, and the sentence of danger of Enemies upon Earth, he made dom and necessity required it. For (faid fair example to that good rule, he) they shall give sentence upon us, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would give ear to any that would fleak in our behalf, but altogether hearken to suspicious and vain rumours that shall be brought against us yeathese our fouldiers, who now are so desirous to return the Governours of understanding, when he in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd wickedness of unjust men is the ready mean and insolent multitude.

This resolution of Nicias, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man, to do what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth, and to

In these extremities, the perverse obstinacy | measure honour or dishonour by the affufentence is infinitely worse than a wicked It often happens, that a prosperous event fact, as being held a president and pattern prognostication of that Armies destruction, This mischief well deserved, sell upon the otherwise than as the folly of men did, by Judges before his tryal refolved to condemn fuch a fafe and honourable retrait, as did him, by retiring from Syracuse, when wis both shew his noble resolution, and give a

--- Sapiens Dominabitur aftris.

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of means, deprives intends evil to the Multitude; and that the to weaken the virtue of those who might have done them good.

g. IX.

CHAP. VIII.

fell, after the great loss of the Fleet and Army in Sicilia.

the Athenian Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little less calamity to that Estate, than was the subversion of the Athens, being wearied with the peoples infolency, took upon them to change the form of that Estate, and bring the Government into the hands of a few. To which purpose, abroad, they caused them to set up the form the supplies which the Persian King had pro- nians, desiring to compound in as good

mised to the Lacedamonians, were by Tiffaphernes his Lieutenant, made unprofitable, of the troubles whereinto the State of Athens through the flow and bad performance, Alcibiades had at the first been very well entertained in Sparta, whilst his service done unto that State, was not grown to be the ob-He loss of this Army was the ruine of ject of envy. But when it appeared that in Counsel and good performance he so far excelled all the Lacedamonians, that all their good fuccess was ascribed to his wit and vawalls, when the City about feven years af- lour, then were all the principal Citizens ter was taken by Lylander. For now began weary of his virtue; especially Agis one of the subjects of the Athenian Estate to rebel: their Kings, whose wife had so far yielded of whom, some they reduced under their herself to the love of this Athenian, that obedience, others held out; fome for fear among her inward friends the could not forof greater inconvenience were fet at liberty, bear to call her young child by his name. promifing only to be their good friends, as Hereupon order was taken, that Alcibiaformerly they had been their Subjects; des should be killed out of the way. But he others having a kind of liberty offered by discovering the Spartan treachery, conveythe Athenians, were not therewith conten- ed himself unto Tissaphernes, whom he so ted, but obtained a true and perfect liberty | bewitched with his great beauty, sweet conby force. Among these troubles it fell out versation, and sound wit, that he soon bevery unseasonably, that the principal men of came the Master of that barbarous Viceroys affections, who had free power to difpose the great Kings Treasures and Forces in those parts. Then began he to advise Tissaphernes, not fo far forth to affift the Lacedamoniconspiring with the Captains which were ans, that they should quite overthrow the State of Athens, but rather to help the weaof an Aristocracy in the Towns of their kerside, and let them one consume another, Confederates; and in the mean time, fome whereby all flould fall at length into the that were most likely to withstand this In- hands of the Persian. By this counsel he made novation, being flain at Athens, the Commo- way to other practices, wherein by strength nalty were so dismaid, that none durst speak of his reputation (as the only Favourite of against the Conspirators, whose number they so great a Potentate) he played his own knew not, but every man was afraid of his neighbour, left he ihould be a member of the league. In this general fear the Majeffy but not by the Citizens (who then were of athers was usurped by four hundred oppressed by the four hundred) he laboured men, who observing in shew the ancient greatly to reconcile the Souldiers to the form of proceeding, did cause all matters to Governours; or at least to divert their heat be propounded unto the people, and con- another way, and turn it upon the common cluded upon by the greater part of voices: Enemy, Some of the four hundred approved but the things propounded were only fuch his motion, as being weary of the tyranny as were first allowed in private among whereofthey were partakers, partly because themselves; neither had the Commonalty they saw it could not long endure, and partany other liberty, than only to approve and ly for that themselves, being less regarded by give consent: for whosoever prefumed any the rest of their companions, than stood further, was quickly dispatched out of the with their good liking, sought to acquit way, and no enquiry made of the murther. themselves of it as honestly as they might. By these means were many Decrees made, But the most of that Faction laboured to all tending to the establishment of this new obtain peace of the Lacedamonians, desiring authority, which nevertheless endured not | chiefly to maintain both their own authorilong. For the Fleet and Army which then ty, and the greatness of their City, if they was in the Isle of samos, did altogether de- might: but if this could not be, they did test these dealings of the four hundred usur- rather wish to preserve their own power, or pers, and held them as Enemies; where- fafety at least, than the good Estate of the upon they revoked Alcibiades out of banish- Common-wealth. Therefore they made ment, and by his affiftance procured that fundry overtures of peace to the Lacedamoø. X.

terms as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted, than the wavering multitude; especially considering that the City of Sparta was governed by an Aristocracy, to which form they had now reduced Athens. All these passages between the four hundred (or the most and chief of them) and the Lacedemonians, were kept as fecret as might be. For the City of Athens, hoping, without any great cause, to repair their losfes, was not inclined to make composition; were about the same time overthrown at from which upon juster ground the Enemy was much more averse, trusting well that which had remained at Samos, to which Althe discord of the Athenians (not unknown cibiades afterwards joyning such forces as abroad) might yield fome fair opportunity he could raife, obtained many Victories. to the destruction of it self, which in esfect (though not then prefently) came to pass. And upon this hope King Agis did fometimes bring his forces from Decelea to Athens, where doing no good, he received fome fmall loffes. Likewife the Navy of Feloponnesus made shew of attempting the City, but feeing no likelihood of fuccess, they tified chrysopolis. Hereupon Letters were bent their course from thence to other pla- sent to sparta, which the Athenians interces, where they obtained Victories, which cepting, found to contain the diffres of the in the better fortune of the Athenians might Army, in these few words: All is lost; Minmore lightly have been regarded, than in darus is flain; the Souldiers want viduals; this their decayed estate. Yet it seems, without any disparagement to their wisdom, they should rather have forborn to present unto the Lacedemonians in fight by Land at Chalthe City, or to the Countries near adjoyning, any terrour of the War. For the dissention within the walls might foon have done more good than could be received from the Fleet or Army without, which indeed gave home with very great welcome, and was occasion to fet the Citizens at unity, though made High Admiral of all the Navy. it lasted not very long. The four hundred, by means of these troubles, were fain to for it was taken from him, and he driven to refign their authority, which they could banish himself again, only because his Lieunot now hold, when the people, having ta- tenant, contrary to the express command ken arms to repel forein Enemies, would of Albiciades, fighting with the enemies in not lay them down, till they had freed his absence, had lost a great part of the themselves from such as oppressed the State Fleet. at home. Yet was not this alteration of Government a full restitution of the soverein to the Athenians more harmful than the command unto the people, or whole body | first; and the loss which thereupon they reof the City, but only to five thousand; ceived, was (though more heavy to them, which company the four hundred (when yet) less to be pitied of others, than that their authority began) had pretended to which enfued upon his former exile. For, take unto them as affiftants: herein feem- whereas at the first, he had sought revenge ing to do little wrong or none to the Com- upon his own City; now, as inured to admonalty, who feldom affembled in greater verfity, he rather pitied their fury, who in number. But now when the highest power time of such danger, had cast out him that wascome indeed into the hands of fo many, should have repaired their weak estate, it was soon agreed, that Alcibiades and his than sought by procuring or beholding the companions flould be recalled from exile, calamity of his people, to comfort himfelf and that the Army at Samos should be re- after injury received. Before they, who were quested to undertake the Government: instituted in the place of Alcibiades, arrived

to the Souldiers defire.

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How Alcibiades won many important victor ries for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their General, and again de-

"His establishment of things in the City, was accompanied with fome good fuccels in the Wars. For the Lacedamonians Sea, in a great Battel, by the Athenian Fleet. Before the Town of Abydus, his arrival with eighteen ships, gave the honour of a great Battel to the Athenians; he overthrew and utterly destroyed the Fleet of the Lacedamonians, commanded by Mindarus 3 took the Towns of Cyzicus and Perinthus, made the Selymbrians ranfome their City, and forme know not what to do.

Shortly after this, Alcibiades overthrew cedon,took Selymbria, besieged and won Byzantium, now called Constantinople, which even in those daies was a goodly, rich, and very ftrong City. Hereupon he returned

But this his honour continued not long,

The fecond banishment of Alcibiades, was which was forthwith reformed according at the Fleet, he presented Battel to Lylander the Lacedamonian Admiral, who was not CHAP. VIII. fo confident upon his former Victory, as to wife and virtuous Philosopher, whose voice indertake Alcibiades himfelf, bringing thips in this judgment was not regarded. Six of more in number (notwithstanding the for- them were put to death, of whom one had more holfs of fifteen) than his enemies had, hardly escaped drowning, and was with and better ordered than they had been un- much ado relieved by other Vessels in the der his Lieutenant. But when the Decree from: but the Captains which were absent he had built a Castle.

ø. X I.

The Battel of Arginuse, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captains by the people.

A Fter this time, the Athenians receiving many losses and discomfitures, were

driven to fly into the Haven of Mytelene,

where they were straitly befieged both by

Land and Sea. For the raifing of this fiege,

necessity inforced them to man all their ves-

fels, and to put the uttermost of their forces

into the hazard of one Battel. This Battel

was fought at Arginusa, where Callicratidas,

Admiral of the Lacedamonians, losing the

honour of the day, preferved his own repu-

tation, by dying valiantly in the fight. It

might well have been expected, that the ten

over the Athenian Fleet, should for that good

received great honour of their Citizens. But

contrariwife, they were for hwith called

being drowned. Hereto the Captains readi-

ly made a very just answer, That they pur-

fuing the Victory, had left part of the Fleet,

wrackt; which if it were not well accom-

of the people was published in the Navy, escaped; for when the sury of the people then did Alcibiades withdraw himself to a was over-past, this judgment was reversed, Town upon Hellespont, called Bizanthe, where and the accusers called into question for having deceived and perverted the Citizens. Thus the Athenians went about to free themselves from the infamy of injustice, but the divine Justice was not a-fleep, nor would be fo deluded.

ø. XII.

The Battel at Ægos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian War.

He Pelopornesian Fleet under Lylander, the year next following, having scowred the Egean Seas, entred Hellespont, where (landing fouldiers) it befieged and took the Town of Lampfacus. Hereupon all the Navy of Athens, being an hundred and fourscore sail; made thither in haste: but finding Lampfacus taken before their coming, they put in at seftos, where having re-Captains, who joyntly had command in chief | freshed themselves, they sailed to the River called #gos-Potamos, which is (as we might daies service, and so happy a Victory, have name it) Goats-Brook, or the River of the Goat, being on the Continent opposite to Lampfacus: and there they cast Anchors, home, and accused, as if wilfully they had not one whole league off from Lylander, who fuffered many of the Citizens, whole ships rode at Lampfacus in the harbor. The next day after their arrival, they presented fight were broken and funk, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessels to take unto the Peloponnesians, who refused it, themup, they might have faved them from whereupon the Athenians returned again to Egos-Potamos; and thus they continued five daies, braving every day the Enemy, and returning to their own harbour when it drew towards evening. under sufficient men, to save those that were

The Castle of Alcibiades was not far from plished, it was, because a tempest arising the Navy, and his power in those places was about the end of the fight, had hindred the | fuch as might have greatly availed his performance of that, and other their intend- | Country-men, if they could have made use ments. This excuse availed not: For a lewd of it. For he had waged mercenaries, and fellow was brought forth, who faid, That making war in his own name upon some he himself escaping in a Meal-tub, had been people of the Thracians, had gathered much intreated by those who were in peril of wealth, and obtained much reputation drowning, to defire of the people revenge of among them. He perceiving the diforderly their deaths upon the Captains. It was very course of the Athenian Commanders, restrange, that upon such an accusation main- paired unto them, and shewed what great tained with fo flender evidence, men that inconvenience might grow, if they did not had well deserved of their Country should soon fore-see and prevent it. For they lay be overthrown. But their enemies had so in a rode subject to every weather; neither incenfed the rascal multitude, that no man near enough to any Town where they durst absolve them, save only Socrates the might furnish themselves with necessaries,

nor fo far off as had been more expedient, and fuch of the Souldiers as came into the seftos was the next Market-town; thither rescue, cut in pieces. Thus was the war which both Souldiers and Mariners reforted, flock- had lafted feven and twenty years, with vaing away from the Navy every day, as foon riable fuccess, concluded in one hour, and the as they were returned from braving the glory of Athens in such wise eclipsed that she Enemy. Therefore Alcibiades willed them never afterward shone in her perfect light. either to lye at seftor, which was not far Immediately upon this Victory, Lylanoff, or at least to consider how near their der, having taken such Towns as readily Enemy was, whose fear proceeded rather did yield upon the first fame of his exploit, from obedience to their General, than from fet fail for Athens, and joyning his forces any cowardife. This admonition was fo far with those of Agis and Paulanias, Kings of despised, that some of the Commanders wil- sparta, summoned the City; which finding led him to meddle with his own matters, too frubborn to yield, and too frong to and to remember that his authority was out be won on the fudden, he put forth again of date. Had it not been for these oppro- to Sea; and rather by terrour than violence. brious words, he could (as he told his fami- compelling all the Islands, and such Towns liars) have compelled the Lacedamonians, of the Ionians as had formerly held of the either to fight upon unequal terms, or utter- Athenians, to submit themselves to Sparta, ly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it he did thereby cut off all provision of victure was that he might so have done by trans- als, and other necessaries, from the City. porting the light-armed Thracians, his con- and inforced the people by meer famine to federates, and others his followers, over the yield to these conditions; That the long Streights, who affaulting the Feloponnesians walls, leading from the Town to the Port, by Land, would either have compelled them should be thrown down; That all Cities to put to Sea, or else to leave their ships to subject to their Estate, should be set at lithe mercy of the Athenians. But finding their berty; That the Athenians should be Maacceptance of his good counsel no better sters only of their own Territories, and the than hath been rehearfed, he left them to fields adjoyning to their Town; And that

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he did prognosticate. by the advantage of his Haven, was not did, and follow the Lacedamonians as Leacareless in looking into the demeanour of ders in the wars. the Athenians. When they departed, his manner was, to fend forth some of his swiftest walls were thrown down with great rejoy-Vessels after them, who observing their do- cing of those who had born di pleasure to ings, related unto him what they had feen. Athens; and not without fome consultation Therefore understanding in what careless of destroying the City, and laying waste the fashion they romed up and down the Coun-land about it. Which advice, although it was try; he kept all his men a board after their not entertained, yet were thirty Goverdeparture: and the fifth day gave especial nours, or rather cruel Tyrants, appointed charge to his Scouts, that when they percei- over the people, who recompenced their ved the Athenians dif-imbarking, as their former infolencie and injustice over their custom was, and walking towards sesters, Captains, by oppressing them with all base they should forthwith return, and hang up and intolerable flavery. a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for The only small hope then remaining to him to weigh Anchor.

Lysander being in a readiness, made all speed ruined. But the Thirty Tyrants perceiving that strength of Oars could give, to Agos- this, advertised the Lacedamonians there-Potamos, where he found very few of his of, who contrived, and (as now domineerenemies a-board their ships, nor many near ing in every quarter) soon effected his sudthem, and all in great confusion upon the den death. news of his approach.

which the Athenians then shewed, was in the putation and great power, which therein escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing they had obtained, grew very odious to how much that loss imported, gave over Greece, and by combination of many Cities Athens as desperate, & made a long flight in- against them, were dispossessed of their high

their fortune; which how evil it would be, they should keep no more than twelveships; That they should hold as Friends or Ene-Lyfander all this while defending himself mies, the same, whom the Lacedamonians

These Articles being agreed upon, the

the Athenians, was, that Alcibiades might The Scouts performed their charge, and perhaps repair what their own folly had

Such end had the Peloponnesian war. After Infomuch that the greatest industry which the Lacedamonians abusing the reto the Isle of Cyprus; all the rest were taken, authority, even in that very age in which focunterpoize the ftronger, that no one Mafters.

they had subdued Athens. The greatest foil City could extend the limits of her jurisdithey mad took, was of the Thebans led by Ction fo far as might make her terrible to that they wonder whomis Philip of Macedon, her neighbours. And thus all parts of the Epamnonum, and an parts of the Father to Alexander the Great, had the best Country remained rather evenly ballanced. of his education. By these Thebans, the City than well agreeing, till such time as Philip, of sparta (befides other great loiles recei- and after him Alexander, Kings of Macedon. or a partie of being ta- (whose fore-fathers had been dependants, yed) was fundry times in danger of being taven was taken a term at the ven and followers, year almost meer Vassals to hans came finally to nothing; for the several the Estates of Athens and Sparta) found Fitates and Signiories of Greece, were grown means, by making use of their factions, to fo jealous one of anothers greatness, that bring them all into servitude, from which the Lacedemonians, Athenians, Argives, and they never could be free; till the Ro-Thebans, which were the mightieft, affocia-ting themselves with the weaker party, did berty, did themselves indeed become their

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnelian War, or shortly following it.

6. I.

How the affairs of Persia stood in those times.

Uring the times of this Peloponnesian Darius having flain his Brother, held the War, and those other less Expedi- Empire nineteen years. Amyrtaus of Sais tions foregoing it, Artanerxes Lon- an Egyptian, rebelled against him, and having gimanus, having peaceably enjoyed a long partly flain, partly chased out of the Land reign over the Persians, left it by his death the Persian Garrisons, allied himself so firmeither to Darius, who was called Darius ly with the Greeks, that by their aid he Nothus, or the Bastard, whom the Greek Hi- | maintained the Kingdom, and delivered it storians (lightly passing over Xerxes the se- over to his posterity, who (notwithstandcond, and sogdianus, as Usurpers, and for ing the fury of their civil Wars) maintained theirshort reign little to be regarded) place it against the Persian, all the daies of this next unto them, or to Xerxes the second; Darius, and of his Son Artaxerxes Mnemon who, and his Brother sogdianus after him Likewise Amorges, a subject of his own, and (seeming to have been the Sons of Hester) of the Royal blood, being Lieutenant of held the Kingdom but one year between caria, rebelled against him; confederating them, the younger succeeding his elder himself with the Athenians. But the great Brother. It is not my purpose (as I have calamity, before spoken of, which fell upon faid before) to pursue the History of the the Athenians in Sicil, having put new life Persians from henceforth, by rehearfal of all into the Spartans, and given courage to the the particulars, otherwise than as they shall | Islanders and others, subject to the State of be incident to the affairs of Greece. It may Athens, to shake off the yoke of their long therefore suffice to say, That Xerxes the fe- continued bondage; It fell out well for Dacond, being a vicious Prince, did perish af- | rius, that the Lacedamonians being destitute ter a month or two, if not by furfeit, then of mony, wherewith to defray the charge of by the treachery of his riotous Brother sog- a great Navy, without which it was imposdianus. Likewise of Sogdianus it is found, sible to advance the War against the State that being as ill as his Brother, and more of Athens, that remained powerful by Sea, cruel, he slew unjustly Bagorazas a principal were driven to crave his assistance, which Funuch, and would have done as much to he granted unto them, first upon what conhis Brother Darius the Bastard, had not he ditions best pleased himself, though afterfore-seen it, and by raising a stronger Army wards the Articles of the league between than this hated King Sogdianus could leavy, him and them, were fet down in more prefeized at once upon the King and Kingdom. cife terms; wherein it was concluded, That Ffff 2

CHAP, IX

he and they should make war joyntly upon first by the people to compile a body of their the Athenians, and upon all that should re- Law, and make a collection of such ancient bel from either of them, and (which was Statutes, as were meet to be put in practice: highly to the Kings honour and profit) that the condition of the City standing as it did all the Cities of Asia which had formerly in that so sudden alteration. To this charge been his, or his Predecessors, should return was annexed the supreme authority, either to his obedience. By this Treaty, and the as a recompence of their labours, or because War enfuing (of which I have already spo- the necessity of the times did so require it. ken) he recovered all that his Grandfather wherein the Law being uncertain, it was fit and Father had loft in Afia. Likewise by afthat such men should give judgment in parfiftance of the Lacedamonians, he got Amor- ticular causes, to whose judgment the Laws ges alive into his hands, who was taken in themselves, by which the City was to be orthe City of Tafus; the Athenians wanting ei- dered, were become subject. But these thirther force or courage to fuccour him. Never- ty, having fo great power in their hands. theless Egypt still held out against him; the were more careful to hold it, than to decause whereof cannot be the imployment of serve it by faithful execution of that which the Persian forces on the parts of Greece: for was committed to them in trust. he abounded in men, of whom he had enough Therefore apprehending fuch troublefor all occasions, but they wanted manhood, some fellows as were odious to the City. which caused him to fight with gold; which though not punishable therefore by Law. effected for him by Souldiers of other Na- they condemned them to death; which protions, and his natural enemies, what the va- ceeding was by all men highly approved, who lour of his own Subjects was infufficient to confidered their lewd conditions, but did perform. Darius had in marriage Parysatis his not withall bethink themselves, how easiea own Sifter, who bare unto him (befides thing it would be unto these thirty men, to other children) Artaxerxes called Mnemon, take away the lives of Innocents, by calling that is to fay, the Mindful, or the Remem- them perturbers of the peace, or what elfe berer, who fucceeded him in the Kingdom; they lifted, when condemnation without and Carus the younger, a Prince of fingular true trial and proof had been once well alvirtue and accounted, by all that knew him, lowed. Having thus plaufibly entred into a the most excellent man that ever Persia bred | wicked course of Government, they thought after Cyrus the Great. But the old King Da- it best to fortifie themselves with a sure rius, intending to leave unto his eldelt Son guard, ere they brake out into those difor-Artaxerxes the Inheritance of the great Em- ders, which they must needs commit for the pire, did cast a jealous eye upon the doings establishing of their authority. Wherefore of young cyrus, who being Kieutenant of dispatching two of their own company to the lower Asia, took more upon him than be- sparta, they informed the Lacedamonians, fitted a Subject: for which cause his Father | that it was the full intent of the Thirty, to fent for him, with intent to have taken some keep the City free from all rebellious movery fharp course with him, had not his own tions: to which purpose it behoved them to death prevented the coming of his younger cut off such as were feditious; and therefore Son, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of defired the Lacedamonians to fend them a the war between these Brethren, and summarily of Artaxerxes, we shall have occasion cost to maintain. This motion was well to speak somewhat in more convenient approved, and a Guard sent, the Captain of place.

ø. II.

How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

If thew the proceedings of the Greeks, after likely, or able to make any head against the subversion of the walls of Athens, which this wicked form of Government : whereby gave end to that War called the Peloponne- there was such effusion of blood, as to The-Jian War, but could not free the unhappy ramenes (one of the Thirty) feemed very Country of Greece from civil broils. The horrible, and unable to escape vengeance. thirty Governours, commonly called the His dislike of their proceedings being openly . thirty Tyrants of Athens, were chosen at the discovered, caused his fellows to bethink

which was fo well entertained by the Thirty, that none of their misdeeds could want his high commendations at Sparta. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons invaded the principal men of the City, fending armed men from house to house, who drew Hold it in this place very convenient to out fuch as were of great reputation, and themselves, him to drink poyfon.

o. III.

The Conspiracy against the thirty Tyrants, and their deposing.

Fter the death of Theramenes, the thir-Aty began to use such out-rage, as excelled their former villanies. For having three thousand (as they thought) firm unto them, they robbed all others without fear or Citizens, who were fled to Thebes, entred in seventy only, yet the Victory seemed the

themselves, and provide for their own secu- to consultation, and resolved to hazzard rity and his destruction, lest he should make their lives in setting free the City of Athens. himself a Captain of the discontented (which The very thought of such a practice had were almost the whole City) and redeem his been treason at home, which had no other own peace with their ruin. Wherefore they danger abroad, than might be found in the own peace with their time. Whetevote they dispersion on the Citizens, whom they thought meeteft, and gave unto them fome part of the publick authority, the reft they difarmed; and having thus increased their own frength, and weakned done did the thirty hear of their exploit, the ir opposites, they began a fresh to shed than seek means to prevent further danger; the blood, not only of their private enemies, affembling the three thousand, and their Labut of fuch whose mony, or goods, might in- cedamonian guard, with which force they but of fuch whole mony, or goods, might in richthem, and enable them for the payment of their Guard. And to this purpose they their men repelled. Finding the place too concluded, that every one of them should name one man, upon whose goods he should to befrege it; which purpose came to nought fieze, putting the owner to death. But when by means of fnow that fell, and other ftormy Theramenes uttered his detestation of so weather, against which they had not made wicked intent, then did Critius, who of all provision. Retiring therefore to the City the thirty was most tyrannical, accuse him which above all they were to make good, to the Council, as a treacherous man, and they left the most of their guard, and two (whereas one main priviledge of the three companies of horse, to weary out them thousand was, that none of them should suf- which lay in Phyla, with a flying siege. But thousand was, that note of the thirty, it was not long ere the followers of *Thraff*-but have the accultomed trial) he took upon him to firike out of that number the hundred, which adventured to give charge name of Theramenes, and so reduced him un- upon those guards, of whom they cut off der the trial and fentence of that order. It was well alledged by Theramenes, that his but prosperous beginnings, added more to name was not more easie to be blotted out the number of those in Fhyla, who now with of the catalogue, than any other mans; up-on which confideration, he advifed them all fuburb of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before to conceive no otherwife of his case, than as their coming the thirty had resolved to forof their own, who were liable to the same tifie the Town of Eleusine, to their own use, form of proceeding: but every man choofing | whereinto they might make an easie retrait, rather to preferve his own life by filence, and fave themselves from any sudden peril. than prefently to draw upon himself the It may well seem strange, that whereas their danger, which as yet concerned him little, barbarous manner of Government had and perhaps would never come near him; brought them into fuch danger, they were the Tyrants interpreting filence as confent, fo far from feeking to obtain mens good condemned him forthwith, and compelled will, that contrariwife, to affure themselves of Eleusine, they got all of the place who could bear arms into their hands by a train, and wickedly (though under form of Juflice) murthered them all. But, Sceleribus tutum per scelera est iter, the mischiefs which they had already done were fuch, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of fafety, than by extending their cruelty unto all, feeing few or none were left, whom they could truft. When Thrasybulus and his fellows, who as yet were termed conforators, had taken the flame, despoiling them of lands and goods, Pirens, then were the three thousand armed and caused them to fly into banishment, for a gain by the Tyrants, and brought to affault lafeguard of their lives. This flight of the it; but in this enterprise Thraspulus had the Citizens procured their liberty, and the general good of the City. For the banished though there were slain to the number of

greater,

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greater, because Critias, and one other of the not hitherto broken any one article of the thirty, perished in that fight. The death of league: but fearing indeed, less the Lacede-Critias, and the stout defence of Piraus, to-monians should annex the Territory of Athens gether with some exhortations used by Thra- to their own Demains. It is not to be doubfibulus to the Citizens, wrought such effect, ted, that Pausanias took this answer ingood that the thirty were deposed. Nevertheless part. For it was not his purpose to destroy there were fo many of the three thousand, those against whom he went, but only to cross who having communicated with the thirty the proceedings of Lysander, whom he envito make war against that people, who had City returned to her former quietness.

in their mildeeds, feared to be called to a ed. Therfore having in some small skirmishes fharp account, that no peace, nor quiet form against them of Thrasibulus his party, made a of Government could be established. For shew of war, he finally wrought such means. Embassadours were sent to Sparta, who cra-that all things were compounded quietly: ving aid against Thrashlulus and his follo- the thirty men, and such others as were like wers, had favourable audience, and a power to give cause of tumults, being sent to sparfent to their affiltance, both by land and sea, ta. The remainder of that tyrannical faction. under the conduct of Lysander, and his Bro- having withdrawn themselves to Eleusine, ther; whom Fansanias the Spartan King did were shortly after found to attempt some infollow, railing an Army of the Cities confe- novation; whereupon the whole City riling derate with the Lacedamonians. And here against them, took their Captains, asthey appeared first the jealousie, wherein some were coming to Parly, and slew them: which people held the State of Sparta. The Bwoti- done, to avoid further inconvenience, a law ans and Corinthians, who in the late wars had been the most bitter enemies to Athens, reforgotten, and no man called into question fused to follow Pausanias in this expedition; for wrongs committed. By which order, alledging that it ftood not with their oaths, wifely made, and carefully observed, the

CHAP. X.

Of the Expedition of Cyrus the younger.

ø. I.

The grounds of Cyrus his attempt against his Brother.

taxerxes King of Persia, having in his Fathers should measure; and opening unto them life-time very carefully profecured the War the riches, and withall the weakness of the against Athens, did fend his messengers to Persian, to kindle in them both defire and Sparta, requesting that their love might appear no less to him, than that which he had another generation; than to give into their shewed towards them in their dangerous hands that mighty Kingdom, whose hour War against the Athenians. To this request, was not yet come. The love which Parssats being general, the Lacedemonians gave a the Queen mother of Persia bare unto Cyrus futable answer; commanding the Admiral her younger son, being seconded by the earto perform unto Cyrus all fervice that he nest favour of the people, and ready desires

HE matters of Greece stand- | he did, the subversion of that Empire had ing upon such terms, that no forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, raone Estate durst oppose it self ther to shew unto the Greeks the wayes, against that of Lacedamon; which under the Macedonian Ensigns, the young Cyrus, Brother to Ar-victorious foot-steps of their posterity should require of him. If Cyrus had plainly of many principal men, had moved this discovered himself, and the Lacedemonians young Prince, in his Fathers old age to bent their whole power to his affiftance, ve- afpire after the Succession. But being fent ry like it is, that either the Kingdom of Persia for by his Father(as hath before been shewshould have been the recompense of his de-ed) whose meaning was to curb this ambitiferts; or that, he perifhing in battel, as after ous Youth; he found his elder brother Artaxerxes established so surely by the old ment; and the means which he had by love Kings favour, that it were not fafe to at- of his own people, and that good neighbourtempt any means of displanting him, by hood of the Lacedemonians, whom he had whose disfavour himself might easily lose the bound unto him, to obtain the Crown for whole custavoir financial and the held in Asia himself. Neither was it expedient that he the less, and hardly be able to maintain his should long sit idle, as waiting till occasion the less, and hardly be able to maintain in own life. The nearest neighbour to Cyrus so flould present it self: but rather enterprise of all the Kings Deputies in the lower Asia, so what whilst yet his Mother lived, who was Tissaphernes, a man compounded of co- could procure a good interpretation to all wardile, trechery, craft, and all vices which his actions, if they were no worse than only accustomably branch out of these. This man questionable. Hereupon he first began to accompanied Cyrus to his Father, using by quarrel with Tisfaphernes, and seized upon his own Province.

ø. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, and his first entry into the War.

HE form of Government which the Persian Lieutenants used in their sethe digrace endured by his late imprison- higher designs. Pretending therefore that

the way all fair shews of friendship, as to a many Towns of his Jurisdiction, annexing Prince, for whom it might well be thought, them to his own Province, which displeased rinice, to when the dobtained the inheritance of that Queen Parifatis had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was was of condition formswhat fimple) being very true, that Parylatis had used the best of truly paid by Cyrus the accustomable Triher endeavour to that purpose, alledging butes out of those places, was well contentthat (which in former ages had been much ed to fee his brothers hot spirit exercised in available to Xerxes, in the like disceptation private quarrels. But Tiffaphernes, whose with his elder brother) Artaxerxes was born base conditions were hated, and cowardise whilst his Father was a private man, but despised, although he durst not adventure Cyrus, when he was crowned King. All to take arms against Cyrus, yet perceiving which not fufficing; when the most that that the Milesians were about to give up could be obtained for Cyrus, was the pardon themselves into the hands of that young of some presumptuous demeanour, and con- Prince, as many other Towns of the Ionians firmation of his place in Lydia, and the parts had done, thought by terrour to preserve adjoyning: then did this Tiffaphernes disco- his reputation, and keep the Town in his ver his nature, and accuse his friend Cyrus to own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and the new King Artaxerxes, of a dangerous many he banished, who flying to Cyrus, were treason intended against his person. Upon gently entertained, as bringing fair occasion this accusation, whether true or false, very to take arms, which was no small part of his eafily believed, Cyrus was arrefted, and by defire. In levying Souldiers he used great the most vehement intreary of his Mother policy; for he took not only the men of his very hardly delivered, and fent back into own Province, or of the Countries adjoyning, whose lives were ready at his will; but fecretly he furnished some Grecian Captains with money, who being very good men of War, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in Thrace, others in Theffaly, others elsewhere in Greece; but all of them ready to cross the Seas, at the first call of Cyrus, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their several Wars. veral Provinces, was in many points almost that the Souldiers might be held in conti-Regal. For they made war and peace, as | nual exercise, and ready in arms upon the they thought it meet, not only for the Kings fudden. Cyrus having fent a power of men behoof, but for their own reputation; ufu- to beliege Miletus, forthwith summoned ally indeed with the Kings enemies, yet these bands of the Greeks, who very readily fometimes one with another: which was came over to his affiftance, being thirteen the more easily tolerated, because their own thousand very firm Souldiers, and able to heads were held only at the Kings pleasure, make head (which is almost incredible) which caused them to frame all their doings against the whole power of Artaxerxes. to his will, what soever it were, or they could With this Army, and that which he had leconjecture it to be. Cyrus therefore being vied before, he could very eafily have forced fetted in Lydia, began to confider with him- Miletus, and chased away Tiffaphernes out felf, the interest that he had in the King- of Asia the less: but his purpose was not so dom; the small assurance of his Brothers to lose time in small matters; that was to love, held only by his Mothers intercession; be imployed in the accomplishment of

HAP. X.

the Pilidians, a people of Alia the less, not to affift him. By such devices, and excessive fubject to the Persian, had invaded his Ter- promise of reward, he brought them to Enritory; he railed the stege of Miletus, and phrates; where some of the Greeks considerwith all fpeed marched Eastward, leaving ing, That who so passed the River first. Tillaphernes much amazed, who had no lei- should have the most thanks, and might fure to rejoyce that Cyrus had left him to fafely return if the rest should refuse to folhimself, when he considered, that so great an low them; they entred the Foords, where-Army, and fo strong, was never levied by all were finally perswaded to do as some against the Rovers of Pisidia, but rather had begun: and being allured by great against the great King his Master. For which hopes, they resolved to seek out Artaxerxes. cause taking a band of five hundred horse, wheresoever he was to be found. The King he posted away to carry tidings to the in the mean time having raised an Army of Court, of this great preparation.

600

ø. III.

How Cyrus took his journey into the higher Asia, and came up close to his Brother.

mations of the Queen Statira, against Parysatis, the Queen-Mother, whom the called the Author and occasioner of the war. But whilst face; who despairing to find any way by the King in great fear was arming the high Land, had procured the Lacedamonian Fleet, Countries in his defence, the danger hafted | by the benefit whereof to have transported upon him very fast. For Cyrus made great his Army. I do not find that this cowardife marches, having his number much increased of Abrocomas, or his Souldiers, who arrived by the repair of his Country-men, though not at the Camp, till five daies were past most strengthened by the access of seven after the battel, received either punishment, hundred Greeks, and of other four hundred or difgrace; for they, toward whom he of the same Nation, who revolted unto him withdrew himself, were all made of the from the King. How terrible the Greeks same metal. were to the Barbarians, he found by tryal in a Muster, which (to please the Queen of of retiring to the uttermost bounds of his Cilicia, who had brought him aid) he made Kingdom, until by Teribazus, one of his Capin Fhrigia; where the Greeks by his directi- tains, he was perswaded not to abandon so on making offer of a charge upon the rest many goodly Provinces to the enemy, who of his Army, which contained a hundred | would thereby have gathered addition of thousand men, the whole Camp (not per- | strength, and (which in the sharp disputaticeiving that this was but a bravery) fled on of Title to a Kingdom is most available) a-main, the victuallers and baggagers for- would have grown superiour in reputation. faking their Cabbins, and running all away By such advice, the King resolved upon for very fear. This was to Cyrus a joyful meeting with his Brother, who now began fpectacle, who knew very well, that his Bro- to be secure, being fully perswaded that Arther was followed by men of the same tem- taxerxes would never dare to abide him in per, and the more unlikely to make refi- the field. For the King having cast up a stance, because they were prest to the war | Trench of almost forty miles in length, about against their will and dispositions, whereas thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, his Army was drawn along by meer affe- intended there to have encamped: but his ction and good will. Nevertheless he found courage failing him, he abandoned that it a very hard matter to perswade the Greeks | place, thinking nothing so safe, as to be far to pass the River of Euphrates. For the very distant from his enemics. length of the way which they had trodden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious return. Therefore he was driven, being yet in Cilicia, to feek excuses, telling them, The Battel between Cyrus and Artaxerxes. that Abrocomas, one of the Kings principal Captains, and his own great enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requested them

nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in trial of a plain battel. Abrocomas, who with three hundred thousand men, had undertaken to make good the Streights of Syria, which were very narrow. and fortified with a ftrong wall, and other He tumult which his coming brought | defences of nature and art, which made the was very great, and great the excla- place to feem impregnale, had quitted the passage, and retired himself toward the Kings forces, not daring to look Cyrus in the

Therefore Artaxerxes was upon the point

ø. IV.

He Army of Cyrus having overcome many difficuties of evil waies, and **fcarcity**

fearcity of victuals, was much incouraged he advanced with fix hundred Horfe, and by perceiving this great fear of Artaxerxes; gave so valiant a charge upon a squadron of by perceiving and being palt this Trench, marched care-fix thousand, which lay before the King, and being pear diforder, having befrowed that he brake it, flaying the Captain thereletty in great Cartes, and upon Beafts of car-their Arms in Cartes, and upon Beafts of car-of Artagerses, with his own hands, and putriage; when on the fudden one of their ting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whose Van currors, brought news of the Kings company of fix hundred very few excepted. van-currens, prougate news of the kings campany of its numerica, very few excepted, approach. Hereupon with great tumult they began to follow the chafe, leaving Cyrus armed themselves, and had ranged their too ill attended, who perceiving where the Battels in good order upon the fide of the King flood in troop, uncertain whether to River Euphrates, where they waited for the fight, or leave the field, could not contain coming of their enemies, whom they faw himself, but faid, I fee the man: and prenot till it was after noon. But when they fently, with a fmall handful of men about haw the cloud of dust raised by the feet of him, ran upon his Brother, whom he strake that huge multitude, which the King drew through the Curace, and wounded in the after him, and perceived by their near approach how well they were marshalled, his last, he received immediately the satal coming on very orderly in filence, whereas blow, which gave period at once to his amit had been expected, that rushing violently bition and life, being wounded under the with loud clamours, they should have spent eye with a Dart, thrown by a base sellow, all their force upon the first brunt; and when wherewith astonied; he fell dead from his it appeared that the fronts of the two Ar- horse, or so hurt, that it was unpossible to mies were so unequal in distent, being all have recovered him, though all which were embattelled in one body and square, that with him, did their best for his safety; not ca-Cyrus taking his place (as was the Persian | ring afterwards for their own lives, when manner) in the midst of his own, did not once they perceived that Cyrus their Master with the corner, and utmost point thereof, was slain. Artaxerxes caused the head and reach to the half breadth of Artaxerxes his right hand of his Brother to be forthwith battel, who carried a front proportionable stricken off, and shewed to his people, who to his number, exceeding nine times that of now purfuing them, fled apace, calling upon Cyrus: then did the Greeks begin to distrust the name of Cyrus, and defiring him to partheir own manhood, which was not accu- don them. But when this great accident had flomed to make proof of it felf, upon fuch | breathed new courage into the Kings excessive odds. It was almost incredible, troops, and utterly dismayd such Fersian that so great an Army should be so easily | Captains, as were now, even in their own chased. Nevertheless, it quickly appeared, eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long that these Persians, having learned (contrary ere the Camp of Cyrus was taken, being to their cultom) to give charge upon their quite abandoned; from whence Artaxerxes enemies with silence, had not learned (for making all speed, arrived quickly at the it was contrary to their nature) to receive a | quarter of the Greeks, which was about three strong charge with courage. Upon the ve- miles from the place where Cyrus fell. There ry first offer of an on-set, made by the he met with Tiffaphernes, who having made Greeks, all that beastly rabble of cowards way through the Battel of the Greeks, was fled a-main, without abiding the stroke, or ready now to joyn with his Master in spoilflaying till they were within reach of aDart. ing their Tents. Had not the news, which The Chariots armed with hooks and fithes Artaxerxes brought with him of his Brothers (whereof Artaxerxes had two hundred, and death, been sufficient to countervail all dif-Cyrus not twenty) did small hurt that day, afters received, the exploit of Tissaphernes because the drivers of them leaping down, in breaking through the Greeks, would have fled away on foot. This base demeanour of | yielded little comfort. For Tissaphernes his enemies gave fo much confidence to Cy- had not flain any one man of the Greeks, but rus and his Followers, that such as were contrariwise, when he came upon them, about him forth-with adored him as King. they opening their Battel, drave him with And certainly, the Title had been affured great flaughter through them, in such wife, unto him that day, had not he fought how that he rather escaped as out of an hard pafto declare himself worthy of it, ere yet he fage, than forced his way through the squahad obtained it. For perceiving that Artax- dron of the Greeks. Hereof the King being erxes, who found that part of the field which informed by him, and that the Greeks, as lay before him void, was about to encompals Mafters of the field, gave chase to all that the Greeks, and to fet upon them in the rear, came in their fight; they ranged their Companies Gggg

pames into good order, and follow them in the Greeks, intending to fer upon them in the Army, should live to carry tidings home, there are But these good Souldiers perceivity would not be long ere with greater forces ing the Kings approach, turned their faces, they difputed with him for his whole Signoand made head againft him; who not intending to feek honour with danger of his whereby he might bring them to deffructilife, wheeled about and fled, being purfued on, and not let one escape to carry tidings unto a certain Village, that lay under a Hill, of that which he had feen: to which puron the top whereof he made a fland, rather pose he sent them a brave message the next on the top whereon he made a rame, rather in a bravery, than with purpose to attempt morning; charging them to deliver up their upon these bold fellows any further. For Arms, and come to his Gates, to await there he knew well that his brothers death had upon his Mercy. It feems that he was in fecured his estate, whom he would feem good hope to have found their high couto have flain with his own hand, thinking rages broken, upon report of his brothers that fact alone sufficient to give reputation death: but he was greatly deceived in that on to his valour; and this reputation he thought. For the Greeks being advertised thought that he might now preferve well that morning from Arians, a principal Comenough, frewing a manly look half a mile mander under Cyrus, that his Mafter being off. On the top of this Hill therefore he flain, he had retired himself to the place of advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle diftheir last encamping, about eight miles from plaid on the top of a Spear. This enfign thence, whence intending to return into Ismight have encouraged his people, had nia, his meaning was to dillodge the next not some of the Greeks clipied it, who not day, awaiting for them to long it they would meaning that he should abide so near them, joyn with him, but resolving to stay no lonwith all their power marched toward ger: they fent answer back to Arian, that him. The King discovering their approach, having beaten the King out of the field and fled upon the ipur: fo that none remained in finding none that durft refift them, they the place of batail, fave only the Greeks, who would place Arieus himfelf in the Kings had lost that day not one man, nor taken Throne, if he would joyn with them, and any other harm, than that one of them purfue the victory. Before they received any was hurt with an arrow. Much they won- reply to this answer, the Messengers of Ardred that they heard no news of Cyrus, but taxerxes arrived at the Camp, whose errand thinking that he was purfuing the Army, they | feemed to the Captains very infolent: One thought it was fittest forthem, having that told them, that it was not for the Vanquilliday done enough, to return to their quarter, ers to yield their Weapons, another, that he and take their Suppet, to which they had would dye ere he yielded to such a motion: good appetite, because the expectation of a third asked, whether the King, as having the Kings comming had given them no leil the victory, required their Weapons, if fo, fure to dine.

ø. V.

The hard eftate of the Greeks after the fight; made them yield unto him.

with them, found their Camp spoiled, little them such numbers of men, as they wanted or nothing being left that might ferve for Arength to kill if they would hold up their food: so that wanting victuals to satisfie throats; for vyhich cause he accounted them their hunger, they refreshed their weary his prisoners. These words, to them, who bodies with fleep. In the mean feafon ar knew themselves to be free, were nothing taxerxes returning to his Camp, which he pleafant. Therefore, one told Phalinus, that entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the having nothing left, but their Arms and Vapleature of his good fortune entire, because lour, whil'ft they kept their Arms, their Vahe perceived that the baleness of his people, lour vyould be ferviceable, but should they and weakness of his Empire, was now yield them, it was to be doubted, that plainly discovered to the Greeks: which their bodies would not long remain their gave him affurance, that if any of these oven. Hereat Phalinus laughed, saying;

panies into good order, and followed after who had beheld the shameful demeanor of why did he not fetch them? or, whether he defired them in a way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what curtesie he meant to requite their kindness. To this question Phalinus a Grecian, waiting upon and bow Artaxerxes in vain fought to have Tiffaphernes, answered; That the King having flain Cyrus, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the middest T was now about the fetting of the whereof he held them fast enclosed with Sun, and they bringing home dark night great Rivers, being able to bring against CHAP. X. This young man did feem a Philosopher, it is that they were cut in pieces; for had and made a pretty speech; but that his deep they been kindly used, it may well be inculation shewed his wits to be very shal- thought that some of them should have aclow, if he thought with his Arms and Va- companied Tiffapherner, and ferved as Stales lour to prevail against the great King. It to draw in the rest. Arians being of too base frems that Phalinus being a Courtier, and a temper, and birth, to think upon feeking imployed in a business of importance. thought himself too profound a States-man, to be checkt in his Embassage by a bookssh discourser. But his wisdom herein failed him. For whatfoever he himfelf was (of whom no more is known, than that he Country-men, perfwading them basely to furrender their Weapons, and Lives, to the merciles Barbarians) this young Scholar by him despised, was that great Xenophon, who, when all the principal Commanders were furprifed by treachery of the Persians, being a private Gentleman, and having never feen the wars before, undertook the conduct of the Army, which he brought fafe into Greece, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than Phalinus could propound. Some there were who promifed to be faithfull to the King, as they had been to Cyrus, offering their fervice in Egypt, where they him, no wifer than he came. All that day Horses, Asses, and other Beasts, which they Targets, thrown away by the Enemies.

ø. VI.

How the Greeks began to return home-wards.

T night they took their way towards Arians, to whom they came at midnight; being forfaken by four hundred foot, and forty horse, all Thracians, who fled over to the King; by whom how they were entertained, I do not find. Like enough

the Kingdome for himself, with such affistance as might have given it unto Cyras, was very well pleased to make covenant with them for mutual affiftance unto the last: Whereunto both parts having fworn, he advifed them to take another way homeward, brought an unhonest message to his own which should be somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieve them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearifome march, and tyred the Souldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purposed themselves to have encamped: towards which Clearchus made directly, because he would not seem by declining them, to shew fear, or weakness. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaviour; Nor strange, that the Grecians, being weary and hungry, thought Artaxerxes might have use of them. and lying among enemies in an unknown But the final answer was, That without Countrey, should be very fearful: but it is al-Weapons they could neither do the King most past belief, that the noise which was good as Friends, nor defend themselves from heard of these poor men, calling one to anohim as Enemies. Hereupon Phalinus delivered ther tumultuoully, as the present condition the Kings further pleasure, which was to inforced them to do, should make the Persigrant them Truce, whil'st they abode where ans flie out of their Camp, and so affright the they then were, denouncing War if they stir- | great King, that in stead of demanding their red thence; Whereunto he required their Arms, he should crave peace of them. The answer. Clearchus the General told him, next day very early came messengers from They liked it. How (faith Phalinus) must I Artaxerxes, desiring free access for Embassiaunderstand you? As choosing peace if we dours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that flay, or otherwise war, said Clearchus. But such particulars do best open the quality of whether war or peace, quoth this politique | the persons, by whom things were managed, Embassadour? To whom Clearchus (not wil- I should hold it fitter, to run over the geling to acquaint him with their purpole,) neral passages of those times, than to dwell Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, That when Clearchus had the Greeks were fain to feed upon their willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battel, because the Greeks (as he rosted with Arrows, Darts, and wooden said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of truce till their bellies were full; Artaxerxes diffembling the indignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this pill, fending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

CHAP.X

o. VII.

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How Tiffaphernes, under colour of peace, betrayed all the Captains of the Greeks.

affairs, than brought themselves into any contented whilst they were well, and not to ftraights or terms of disadvantage. But now cast themselves again into those difficulties. came unto them the fubtil Fox Tiffapher- out of which they were newly freed by the nes, who circumventing the Chief Com- late Treaty; reciting withall their own manders by fine fleights, did mischievously wants, and the Kings means, but especially entrap them, to the extreme danger of the the Oathes mutually given and taken, Army. He told them, that his Province, wherewith he saw no reason why the enelying near unto Greece, had caused him my should have clogged himself if he meant greatly to desire, that their deliverance mischief, having power enough to dothem might be wrought by his procurement; harm by a fair and open War. knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrimen at home, (if honour may be valued by greatness and would not be unthankful for fuch a bene- place in Court) which caused his Oath to the great fervice that he had done to his inforcement, or base respect, was like to have Mafter, being the first that advertised him drawn it from him. But his falshood was of Cyrus his intent, and having not only fuch, both in substance and in success, as brought him a good ftrength of men, but in may fitly expound that faying, which prothe day of battel shewed his face to the ceeded from the fountain of Truth, I hate a Greeks, when all others turned their backs : | rich man a lyer. A lye may find excuse when that he, together with the King, did enter | it grows out of fear: for that passion hath their Camp, and gave chase to the Barbarians his original from weakness. But when Potreating that he would give me leave to fallhood is most abominable; for the offen-I have good hope to speed, if you will fend strength against the Divine Justice, doth a mild answer to him, who hath willed me commit that fin with an high hand, which to ask you, for what cause ye have born commonly produceth lamentable effects, Arms against him. The Captains hearing and is followed with sure vengeance. It was this, were contented to give gentle words, not long ere Tistaphernes found means to dewhich Tiffaphernes relating to the King, procured (though very hardly, as he faid) that | into his power by a train; making the Genecame unto them again after twenty dayes,

allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the Greeks than formerly he had been. This caused many to advise Clearchus, rather to pass forward as well as he might, than to rely upon covenants, and fit still whilst the Therto the Greeks, relying upon their King layed snares to entrap them. But he own vertue, had rather advanced their on the contrary perswaded them, to rest

Tiffaphernes was a very honourable man fit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearse be the more esteemed; for as much as no that stood on the part of cyrus. All this wer, which is a Character of the Almighty, (quoth he) did I alledge to the King, en- shall be made the supporter of untruth, the conduct you fafe into Greece; in which fute | der, like proud Lucifer, advancing his own ftroy all the Captains, whom he fubtilly got peace should be granted: the conditions ral Clearchus himself the mean to draw in whereof were; That they should pass free- all the rest. The business was contrived ly through all the Kings Dominions, paying thus: Having travelled some dayes together for that they took, and committing no spoil! in such wise, that the Persians did not encamp yet that it should be lawful for them to take with the Greeks, who were very jealous of victuals by force, in any place that refused the great familiarity appearing between to afford them an open Market. Hereupon Tiffaphernes and Ariaus; Clearchus thought both parties having sworn, the League was it convenient to root out of Tiffaphernes his concluded; and Tillaphernes, returning to the brains all causes of distrust, whereof many King to take leave, and end all business, had grown in that short time. To which purpole obtaining private conference with and then they fet forward. This interim of him, he rehearfed the oath of Confederacy, twenty dayes, which Tiffaphernes did spend which had past between them, shewing how at the Court, ministred great occasion of religiously he would keep it; and, repeating mistrust to his new Confederates. For be- the benefits, which the Greeks did receive by fides his long absence, which alone sufficed the help of Tissaphernes, he promised that to breed doubt, the Brethren, the Kindred their love should appear to him not unfruitof Arians, repairing daily to him, and other ful, if he would make use of their service Perstans to his Souldiers, did work him and against the Mysians or Pistdians, who were them so with assurance of pardon, and other accustomed to insest his Provinces; or against

bands of Persian Horse-men scoured the chief upon the whole Army. field, killing as many Greeks as they met, and riding up to the very Camp of the Gracians, who wondred much at the tumult, escaping sorely wounded, informed them of all that had been done. Hereupon the Greeks took Arms in hafte, thinking that the enemy would forth-with have affailed their

the Egyptians, who were then Rebelsto the his own Brother, and Arians, followed Great King. For which cause he desired him, with three hundred Horse, who called for that whereas all divine and humane respects the principal men in the Army, saying, That had linked them together, he would not they brought a message from the King, which give place to any close accusation or suspici- Arieus delivered to this effect: That Cleon, whereby might grow sudden inconve- archus having broken his faith, and the nience to either of them, upon no just league made, was justly rewarded with ground. The faithless Persian was very much death; that Menon and Proxenus, two other delighted with this speech, which ministred of the five Collonels, for detecting his fair occasion to the execution of his purpose. treachery, were highly honoured; and fi-Therefore he told Clearchus, that all this nally, that the King required them to furwas by him wifely confidered, withing him render their Arms, which were due to him. further to call to mind how many waies as having belonged unto his fervant Cyrus he could have used to bring them to con- When some altercation had followed upon fusion, without peril to himself; especial- this message, Kenophon told the Embassialy by burning the Country, through dors, that if Clearchus had in fuch fort offenwhich they were to pass, whereby they must ded, it was well that he was in such fort puneeds have perished by meer famine. For nished: but he willed them to fend back Mewhich cause he said, that it had been great non and Proxenus, whom they had so greatfolly to feek by perjury, odious to God and ly honoured, that by them, as by common Man, the destruction of such as were already friends to both Nations, the Greeks might be in his hands. But the truth was, that his own advised how to answer the Persian: Hereunto love to them had moved him to work their the Embassadors knew not how to frame any fafety, not only for those ends which Clear- reply, and therefore departed without chus had recounted, of pleasures that might speaking one word more. Clearchus and the redound to himself, and the King, by their other four were sent to Artaxerxes, by whose affiltance; but for that he might by their commandment their heads were stricken off. friendship, hope to obtain what cyrus had I hold it not amis to prevent the order of mist. Finally, he invited the credulous time, annexing to this persidiousness of Tis-Gentleman to Supper, and fent him away so Japhernes, the reward which he afterward well affured of his good will, that he promi- received. He faw his Province wasted by the fed to bring all the Captains with him to the Greeks, against whom receiving from his Masame place, where, in presence of them all, ster convenient aid of men and mony he did Tissaphernes likewise promised to tell open- so ill manage his affairs, that neither subtilly, which of them had by fecret information ty, nor perjury (to which he failed not to fought to raife diffention between them. have recourse) availed him; finally the King Clearchus himself being thus deceived, with was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a great importunity drew all the chief Com- new Lieutenant into those parts, who took manders, and many of the inferiour Leaders it from his shoulders. Such was the recomto repair with him to the Camp of Tiffapher- pence of his treachery, which made him fo nes, whither followed them about two mistrusted at home, that the service which hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had he could not do, he was thought upon pribeen to some common Fair. But being vate ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, there arrived, Clearchus, with other the five that he knew not which way to fly from the principal Collonels, were called into the stroke, all the world being shut against Tent, the rest staying without, where they him. But now let us return to the prosperihad not waited long ere a fign was given, ty, wherein he triumphed without great upon which they within were apprehended, caule, having betrayed braver men than and the refidue flain: Forth-with certain himself, and intending to bring the like mif-

ø. VIII.

whereof they knew not the cause, till one, How Xenophon heartned the Greeks, and in despight of Tissaphernes went off safely.

Reat was the heaviness of the souldiers. Theing now left destitute of Leaders Camp. Anon they might perceive the Em- and no less their fear of the evil hanging bassadors of Tissaphernes, among whom were over their heads, which they knew not well

CHAP. X.

whose learning supplied his want of experi-fend the Country, as granted by the enemy ence, finding the deep fadness of the whole himself to be theirs; others to make more Army, to be such as hindred them from taking any course of preventing the danger at ashamed to do that which was the desire of hand, began to advise the under-officers of such as made passage in hostile manner; But Proxenus his Companies, whose familiar these were faint comforts. The best counsel friend he had been to bethink themselves of was, that being neer unto the Carduchi, a fome mean, whereby their fafety might be people enemy to the Perstan, they should enwrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: ter into their Country, passing over some fetting before their cyes whatfoever might high mountains which lay between them. ferve for to give them hope, and above all, This course they followed, which could not mercy of their barbarous enemics.

him the charge of that Regiment; and fo to- fine wit. gether with him, the same night calling up fuch as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeed in the places of those who were flain, or taken. This being done, and order fet down for disburdening the Army of all superfluous impediments, they cafily comforted themfelves for the loss of Tissaphernes his affiflance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to fell them; To which purpose they intended to force to defend themselves against the huge take up their lodging two or three miles fur- Armies of the Fersian, were no way inferither, among some plentiful Villages, and so our to the Greeks in daving, but only in the to proceed, marching towards the heads of Art of War. They were very light of foot, those great Rivers, which lav in their way, and to pass them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made upon them try were of much use against these poortraby Tissaphernes, whom they, ferving all on vellers, affiliting them in feven daies which foot, were notable to requite for the harm they fpent in that paffage, far more than all which they received by the Perlian Archers, the power of the Great King had done. Bewho that at a farther distance than the tween the Territory of these Carduchi, and Greeks could reach. For this cause did Xeno- the parts of Armenia confining them, ran phon provide flings, wherewith he over | Centrites, a great River, upon which the reached the enemy; and finding some Horses | Greeks refreshed themselves one day, rejoyfit for service, that were employed among cing that they had so well escaped these danthe carriages, he fet men upon them; train- gers, and hoping that the remainder would ing likewife his Archers to shoot compass, prove easie. But the next morning they saw who had been accustomed to the point | certain troops of Horse, that lay to forbid blank. By these means did he bear off the their passage. These were levied by the Persians who assailed him; and sometimes Kings Deputies in those parts; Tissaphernes gave them chase with that band of fifty and his Companies having taken their way Horse, whith being well backt with a firm towards Ionia. The River was broad and body of footmen, and seconded with troops | deep, so that it was not possible for such as of the light-armed-shot and slingers, com- would enter it, to make refistance against pelled the enemy to lye aloof. Tillaphernes those which kept the opposite banks. To not daring to come to handy-gripes with increase these dangers, the Cardnehi, followthese resolute men, did possess the tops of ing upon them, lay on the side of a Mounficulties, he betook himself to that course, them passing over, dideasily chase away the Country. With great forrow did the Greeks back the most expedite men, gave succour behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all to the Rear ward, against which the Car-

how to avoid. Among the reft, Xenophon, hope of victuals cut off. Some adviced to deperfivading them in no wife to yield to the have availed them, if Tiffaphernes had begun fooner to cut off their victuals, rather than Hereupon they defired him to take upon to feek to force, or circumvent them by his

ø. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek Army found in passing thorow the Land of the Carduchi.

Ntring upon the Land of the Carduchi, they were encountred with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by skilful Archers, and used the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Counmountains, and places of advantage, by tain, within less than a mile of the water. which they were to pass. But finally, when But it was their good hap to discover a their valour made way through all such dif. Foord, by which the greater number of which was indeed the fureft of burning the Subjects of the Persian, and then sending CHAP. X. duchi being fleightly armed, could not on that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was

Greeks having paffed Centrites did arrive. ø. X.

fully beaten.

He Army finding in Armenia good King. provision, marched without any disturbance about fifty or threescore miles to the heads of the River Tygris, and paffing overthem, travelled as far further without The passage of the Army to Trabyzond , thorefiftance, till they were encountred by Teribazas, at the River Teleboa, which Xenophon commends as a goodly water, though fmall. but Ptolemy and others omit it. Teribazus governed that Country for the Persian, and

plain ground make refiftance hand to hand. revealed. Hereupon the Greeks, taking this These Carduchi seem to have inhabited the captive with them for a guide, sought him Mountains of Niphates, which are not far out, and coming upon his Camp, did so affrom the Spring of Tygris, though Ptolemy fright him, that before the whole Army could placethem far more to the East upon the arrivethere, the shout which was raised by River of Cyrus in Media; wherein he differs the Van-currors, chased him away. They much from Xenophon, whose relation being took his Pavillion, wherein (besides many grounded upon his own knowledge, doth flaves, that were Artificers of voluptuousbest in this case deserve credit. Of the Ri- ness) very rich furniture was lest by the ver Centrites (as of many other Rivers, treacherous coward, who returned no more Towns, and Places, mentioned by Keno- to challenge it. From hence the Army went phon) will not labour to make a conjecture, Northward, and passing Euphrates, not far which may indure the feverity of a critick below the springs thereof, travelled with For Ptolemy, and the whole Nation of Geo- much difficulty through deep Snow, being graphers, add small light to this Expedition: followed aloof by the enemy, who durst only of this laft, I think it the same which not approach them, but did cut off such as falleth into Tygris, not much above Artasi- they found stragling behind. The Inhabigarta, firinging out of Niphates, and running tants of the Country, thorow which they by the Town of Sardeva in Gordene, a Pro- marched, had their wintering houses under vince of Armenia the Great, wherein the ground, wherein was found great plenty of Victuals, and of Cattel, which likewife did winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Having refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable How Teribazus Governour of Armenia, feek- journey, which had confumed many of them ing to entrap the Greeks with terms of with extreme cold; they departed, leading feigned peace, was disappointed, and shame- with them many bond-slaves, and taking away (besides other Horses and Cattel) fome Colts that were bred up for the Great

ø. XI.

row the Countries bordering upon the River of Phasis, and other obscure Nations.

SO without impediment they came to the River Phasis, neer whereunto the peowas in great favour with Artaxerxes, whose ple called Phasiani, Tacchi, and Chalybes Court may feem to have been a School, were feated. These Nations joyned togewhere the Art of falshood was taught as ther, and occupying the tops of a ledge of wildom. He defired peace of the Greeks, | Mountains, which the Greeks were to pals, which was made upon this condition, That made countenance of war: but some Comthey should take what they pleased but not panies being sent by night to seize upon burn down the Towns and Villages in their a place of equal height to that whereon the way. As foon as he had made this league, enemies lay, making good the piece of helevied an Army, and befetting the Streights ground which they had taken, fecured of certain Mountains which they were to the ascent of the rest; which caused these pass, hoped well to make such benefit of people to flye, every one retiring to the their fecurity, as might give him the com- defence of his own. The first upon whose mendation of being no less craftily dishonest Country the Greeks did enter, were the than Tissaphernes. Yet his cunning failed of Tacchi, who conveying all their provision of fuccess. For a great Snow fell, which caused victuals into strong holds, brought the Arthe Greeks to make many fires, and featter my into much want, until with hard labour themselves abroad in the Villages. Teribazus one place was forced, wherein great store also made many fires, and some of his men of Cattel were taken; the people, to avoid wandred about feeking relief. By the fires captivity, threw themselves head-long he was discovered, and by a Souldier of his down the rocks, the very women throwing down first their ewn children, and then cast- means of Anaxibus the Lacedamonian Ading themselves upon them. Here was taken miral, who was his friend, that he would a great booty of Cattel, which served to feed provide Vessels to embark them. Having them, travelling through the land of the thus concluded, they likewife took order Chalybes, of whom they got nothing but for the staying of such ships as should pass ftrokes. The Chalybes were a very ftout Nathat way, meaning to use them for their tion, well armed at all points, and exceed-Navigation. Left all this provision should be ing fierce. They encountree the Greeks hand found infufficient for the transportation of to hand, killing as many as they took prithe whole Army, Xenophon perfwaded the foners, and cutting off their heads, which Cities adjoyning to clear the wayes, and they carried away, finging and dancing, to make an eafie paflage for them by Land; the great grief of their companions living; whereunto the Souldiers were utterly unwho were glad, when after feven dayes willing to give ear, being defirous to return journy they escaped from those continual by Sea: but the Country, fearing what inskirmillies, wherewith they had been vexed convenience might grow by their long flay, by these Barbarians. Hence travelling did readily condescend to Xenophons rethrough a good corn-Country, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the Scythini, they came to a rich Town, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoyning, used them friendly, and promifed to guide them to a Mountaie, whence they might discover the Eux- of Trabizond: the other took Merchants ine Sca. From Gymnim (which was the name and passengers, whose goods were safely of his Town) he led them through the Territory of his enemies, desiring them to waste it with fword and fire. After five dayes abode, when victuals began to fail, by reafon march, they came to a Mountain called that all the Land of the Colchi, near unto the Teches, being (as I think) a part of the Camp, was already quite wasted, they were Mountains called Mofebici, whence their fain to embark their fick men, with the wo-

Colony of them with hostility, were required with the Creeks like; for the Army having now good leifure femate in joyn them with the weaker and truate in the bottom to repose themselves among their friends whom they left Masters of all. of the Eu-the Trapezuntians, did spoil the Country

ø. XII.

a Fleet, wherewith to return home by Sea: hom they came into the Territory of Synope, and there prosecuted the same purpose.

quest. Two ships they borrowed of the Trapezuntians, which they manned and fent to Sea : the one of them failed directly into Greece, forfaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port kept for the owners, but the Vessels were frayed to increase the fleet. After long guide shewed them the Sea 5 towards men, children, and such of the baggage as which they bent their course: and passing might best be spared, in those few ships friendly through the Region of the Ma- which they had already provided. The reft crones, (with whom by means of an inter- of the Army took their way by Eand to Cepreter, found among themselves, who born rasus, a Greek Town, where the Fleet likein that place had been fold into Greece, they wife arrived. Here the Army being mumade a good peace) they arrived in the stered, was found to confift of eight thou-Land of Cholchos, wherein stands the City fand and fix hundred men. From hence they of * Trabifond, called then Trapezus, a Colo- passed through the Country of the Moral through the Country of the Marian ny of the Greeks. The Colehr entertaining maci, who were divided into factions. The a Name

The next place of their abode was b Coty b Cotynta thirty dayes together, forbearing only the ora, a Greek Town likewife, and a Colony of Townin Borderers upon Trainzond, at the Citizens the Synopians, as Trapezus and Cerafus were; the fame but the entertainment which here they Region. found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the fick men that were among them admitted into How the Army began at Trabizond to provide any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Town by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sick in convenient lodgings, taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision Aving now found an Haven-Town, the for the Army they made by ftrong hand, Souldiers were defirous to take fhip- partly out of the Territory of the Paphlago c size party out of the 1 erritory of the Papanage examples, and change their tedious Land-journies into an ealie Navigation. To which purpose Cherisophus a Lacedemonian, one of the principal Commanders, promise by the Camp, who complaining of these dear appliques the camp.

CHAP. X. lings, and threatning to joyn with the Fa- ferved his mony carefully, was defirous to would they not put from the shore.

how it was embarked.

hings, and the might freely enjoy blagonians, if redress could not otherwise be foon at home, that he might freely enjoy had, were roundly answered by Xenophon, his gettings. By him the purpose of Xenophon had, were necessity had enforced the Army was divulged, which was interpreted acto teach those of Cotyora good manners in so cording to the diversity of mens opinions : to teach thook : letting them know, that he some approving the motion, but the greater feared not to deal with them and the Pa- part rejecting it. They of Sinope and Heraphlagonian at once; though perhaps the Pa- clea, being informed of this confultation. phlagonian would be glad to take Sinope it were fore afraid, left the poverty of the felf; to which, if cause were given, they Souldiers, who had not wherewith to mainwould lend affiftance. Upon this answer the tain themselves at home, should give success Emballadours grew better advised, promite to the project. Which to prevent, they profing all friendship that the State of Sinope mised to supply the Army with a sufficient ould flew, and commanding the Town of Fleet, and likewise offered mony to some of Cotyona to relieve the Souldiers as well as the Captains, who thereupon undertook to they might. Further, they promifed to give the Souldiers pay, if they would preafish them with shipping, letting them un- sently set sail for Greece. One of these Capderstand how difficult the passage by Land tains being a banished man, defired them to would prove, in regard of the many and follow him into Tross; another offered to great Rivers, as Thermodon, Tris, Halys, and lead them into Cherronesus. Xenophon, who Farthenius, which croffed their way. This defired only the common good, was pleafed good counfel, and the fair promifes accome greatly with these propositions, and profef-panying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of forward, and hold together in any case, pusinope would spare for no cost, to be freed mishing him as a Traitor that should forsake from such a neighbourhood. It was there- the Army, before such time as they were arfore decreed that they would pass the rest rived at their journies end. Silanus the of the way by Sea; provided, that if there Sooth-fayer, who had uttered Xenophons should want such number of Vetfels as might purpose, was hereby stayed from out-runferve to imbark every one of them, then ning his fellows, and driven to abide with t his wealth among poor men, longer than stood with his good liking. Also the other Captains were much troubled and affraid, b when they perceived that ships were prepa-Of differtion which arose in the Army; and red sufficient for their Navigation, but that the mony promised to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of Itherto the danger of enemies, and sinepe, and Heraclea, knowing that the Army I mileries of weather and wants, had was now resolved for the voyage, and that kept the company in firm unity; which now | Xenophon, whom they leared, had perswaded began to diffolve and to thaw, by the neight them to this resolution, thought it the wisest bouring air of Greece, warming their heads way to furnish them with a Navy, whilet with private respects to their several ends they were in good readiness, to depart, but and purposes. Whilst they, who were fent to keep the mony to themselves. The Capas Agents from the Camp; remained at si- tains therefore, who being disappointed by nope ; Xenophon confidering the ftrength and these Towns, found themselves in great danvalour of his men, and the opportunity of ger of their men, whom they had deceived the coast whereon they lay, thought it with fair hopes, repented much of their fair would be an honourable work to build a offers, and fignifying as much to Xenophon, City in those parts, which were soon like to prayed him to make proposition to the Arprovegreat and wealthy in regard both of my, of taking the ships, and sayling to Phasis, their own puillance; and of the great repair where they might feize upon Lands, and of the Greeks into that quarter. For this plant themselves in such wise as should stand cause he made sacrifice according to the su- best with their good liking. But finding persistion of his time and Country, divining him cold in the business, they began to work of his fuccess by the entrails of beasts. The the principal of their own followers, hoping Sooth-fayer whom he imployed had receive by them to draw in all the reft. These ed agreen reward of Cyrus, for conjecturing news becoming publick, bred a suspition of aright, that Arracer would not give bat- Xenophon, as if he had won the rest of the tel in ten dayes: he therefore, having pre- Captains to his purpole, and meant now

ø. XIII.

CHAP. X.

CHAP. X

their own home. Wherefore affembling the in lending ships for their transportation, Two Companies, he gave them fatisfaction, and daies they had failed by the coaft of Afia, withal complained of some disorders, which when being past those great Rivers, which he caused them to redress. A general in- would have given impediment to their jourquisition was likewise made of offences com- ny by Land, they touched at Heraclea, where mitted fince the death of Cyrus; which be consulting how to take their way onwards. ing punished, all things were in quiet. whether by Land or Sea, one seditious man Shortly after came Embassadours from Co- began to put them in mind of seeking to get rylus, Lord of the Paphlagonians, who fend- somewhat for themselves; telling them that ing presents, defired peace of the Greeks: all their provision would be spent in three the Embassadours were friendly entertain- dayes, and that being now come out of the ed, and peace concluded, which needed not enemies Country, victuals and other necesto have been fought, for that the Greeks, faries could not be had without money; for having now their fleet in a readiness, did which cause he gave advice to send messensoon weigh Anchors, and set sail for Harmene gers into the Town of Heraclea, giving the the Port of sinope, whither Cherisophus came, Citizens to understand what their wants bringing with him a few Gallies from the were, and demanding of them threethou-Admiral Anaxibius, who promifed to give fand pieces of mony, called Cyzicens, which the Army pay as foon as they came into the fum amounteth to two thousand and five parts of Greece.

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ø. XIV.

Another great dissension and distraction of the Army. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by Xenophon.

Greece, the greater was their defire agreed not with his disposition, others of to make provision for themselves, that more impudency and less discretion were they might not return home empty-handed. | fent; who in such wise delivered their inso-Wherefore trusting well that if the charge lent message, that the Citizens taking time to of the Army were absolutely committed to deliberate upon their request, brought what one sufficient man, he might the more con- they could out of the fields into the Town, veniently procure the good of them all they and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man determined to make Xenophon sole Comthe Walls. When the Souldiers perceived mander of all; in whose favour as well the themselves to be disappointed of their rave-Captains as the common Souldiers were very nous purpole, they fell to mutiny, faying, earnest and violent. But he, either fearing | That their Leaders had betrayed them and to displease the Lacedamonians, who were being for the more part of them Arcadians jealous of him already (being incensed by and Acheans, they for sook immediately Chethat fugitive who for look the Army at Tra- risophus and Xenophon, chusing new Leaders bizond, flying with one of their two fhips)or out of their own number. Above four thoumoved by some tokens appearing to him in sand and five hundred they were, all heavithe entrails that threatned ill success to his ly armed, who electing ten Captains, failed Government, procured with vehement con- into the Port of Calphas, which is in the midtention, that this honour was laid upon cherisophus a Lacedamonian. It feems that Xeno- purpose to assail the Bythinians on the sudphon, confidering the vexation incident to den. With Cherisophus there abode two the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting thousand and one hundred, of whom one pay, did wifely in yielding to such tokens as thousand and four hundred were armed forbad him to accept it : especially, knowing weightily: Xenophon had two thousand foot, fo well their defire, which was, by right or three hundred whereof were lightly armed, by wrong, to get wealth wherefoever it and forty horse; which small band had done might be found, without all regard of friend good fervice already, and could not have or foe. Cherisophus had been General but fix been spared now. Cherisophus had agreed or feven dayes, when he was deposed, for with Cleander Governour of Byzantium, to having been unwilling to rob the Town of meet him at the mouth of the River Calpbas,

to carry the Army quite another way from Camp, and been very beneficial unto them hundred pound sterling or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the fum raised to ten thousand Cyzicens at least; which to require, they thought Cherisophus, as being General, the fittest man; others had more defire to fend Xenophon, but in vain, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Lest therefore either of these He nearer that they approached to should fail in managing the business which way between Heraclea and Byzantium, with Heraclea, which had fent prefents to the whither Cleander promifed to bring fome vantage the Thracians had, that being all to dif-joyn the Army, should suffer death. light armed they could at pleasure make retrait from these Arcadians and Achaans, who wanting the affiftance of horse, and having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, Of divers pieces of service done by Xenophon; were driven to stand meerly upon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds received, the Darts and Arrows of the Barbarians, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to crave parly. Whatfoever the Articles of

Gallies to convey him over into Greece; for on a light flame, to the great terrour of the which cause he took his way thither by enemies, who thought that some huge Army which cause to Kenophon fuch flipping as he had approached. That night he encamped Land, caving to accompany to the way by on a hill, within five mile of the Arcadians, had 3 who pains the confines of Heraelea, encreasing still the number of his fires, which Sea, randed appliatica, intending to make a cut he caused hastily to be quenched from after and Thrasia, intending to make a cut and the approximate and Country to the Pro-Supper The enemics perceiving this, though pont. The Mutiners who had landed at Calpont. I have the purpose to take spoils in them in the dark, which caused them in all poss by ingering and themselves into ten Com-haste to dislodge. Early in the next morning bytaning, are Captain leading his own Repanies, every Captain leading his own Regiment into fome Village, five or fix miles der, to have given battel found that his defrom the Sea; in the greater Towns were vice, to affright the Thracians, had taken full two Regiments quartered: and fo was that effect; but he marvelled that the Greeks part of the Country surprised on the sudden, were also departed, concerning whom he and facked all at one time. The place of learned by enquiry, that they removed at Rendevous was an high piece of Ground, break of day, and perceived by figns that where some of them arrived, finding no di- they had taken the way to the Port of Calfurbance; others, not without much trou- phas, in which journey he overtook them. ble and danger: two Companies were bro- They embraced him and his, with great joy: ken and defeated, only eight men escaped, confessing that they themselves had thought the reft were all put to the fword. For the the fame which the enemies did, looking Thracians which had flipt at first out of the that he should have come by night; wherein Souldiers hands, did raile the Country; and finding themselves deceived, they were affinding the Greek loaden with booty, took fraid left he had for faken them, and therethe advantage of their disorder, cutting in fore hastened away to overtake him, and pieces those two Regiments: which done, joyn with him So they arrived at the Haven they attempted the reft, encompassing the of calphas, where it was decreed, That whohill whereon they encamped. One great ad- foever from thenceforth made any motion

ø. XV.

and how the Army returned into Greece. The occasions of the War between the Lacedæmonians and the Persians.

He Haven of Calphas lay under a goodly head-land, that was very composition were, the Thracians yielded to strong, and abounding with all kind of all; but pledges for affurance they would give | Grain and Fruits, except Olives. There was none, without which the Greeks well knew, also Timber for building and shipping, and that all promifes of such people, especially so | a very convenient Sea for a great City. All incensed, were nothing worth. In the mean which commodities that might have allured time Xenophon holding his way quietly the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant, through the In-land Region, did enquire of caused them to haste away, fearing lest fome Travellers, whether they knew ought | Xenophon flould find fome device to have of any Grecian Army, passing along those settled himself and them in that place. For parts: and receiving by them true informa- the greater part of them had good means to tion of the desperate case into which these live at home; neither did they so much for Gallants had foolifhly thrown themselves, he hope of gain follow Cyrus in that War, as in marched directly towards the place where regard of his Honour, and the love which they lay, taking with him for guides, them they bare unto him: the poorer fort were who gave him the intelligence. His horse-men such as left their Parents, Wives, and Chilhe sent before to discover, and to scour the dren, to whom (though failing of the riches wayes; the light armed foot-men took the which they had hoped to purchase) they hill tops on either hand, all of them setting were now desirous to return. But whether it fire on what loever they found combustible: were so that Xenophon found advantage by whereby the whole Country feemed to be their own superstition, to make them stay, Hhhh 2

which they greatly suspected; or whether stain them in the place, and ships to carry were inforced to abide in the place till vi- their dinners, than another day falling; and cruals failed: neither would the Captains not to regard the uneasse return, which lead them forth to forrage the Country, un-might ferve to stay Cowards from running til the Sacrifices should promise good success. away but to wish unto the Enemy a fair and Cherisophus was dead of an Ague, and his easie way, by which he might fly from them. ships were gone, being returned to the Hera- These perswasions were followed with so cleans, of whom they were borrowed. His valiant execution, that both Persians and Brfollowers were joyned to the rest of the Ar- thinians being chased out of the field, abanmy, which the greater it was, the more pro- doned the Country forthwith, removing vision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For their Families, and leaving all that could which cause, he that was chosen Colonel in not suddenly be conveighed away, to the to the place of Cherisophus, would needs ad- discretion of the Greeks, who at good leasure venture to gratifie the Souldiers with the gathered the Harvest of these bad Neighspoil of some Villages that stood near at bours fields. This was the last fight which hand; in which enterprise he found ill suc- they had on the side of Asia. For they were cess, the whole Country lying in wait to in- not only suffered quietly to enjoy the spoil trap him, and an Army of Horse being set by of the Country, but when the opinion grew Pharnabazus the Satrapa, or Vice-roy of Phry- common in those parts, that it was the intent gia, to the affiftance of these Bythinian Thra- of Xenophon to plant a Colony on the Port of rest to a certain Mountain there by. The Souldiers had no mind to stay. Wherefore news of this overthrow coming to Xenophon, entring further into Bythinia, they took a he led forth a part of the Army to the rescue great booty, which they carried away unto of those that survived, and brought them Chrysopolis, a City near unto Chalcedon, fafe to the Camp; upon which the Bythinians where they fold it. Tharnabazus, Lieuteto the very Tents. This new courage of the might breed in them a defire to visite his enemy, together with the present condition Province, where they might have found

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the figns appearing in the entrails, did in them away? Wherefore he willed them deed forbid their departure; fo long they rather to fight well that day, having eaten cians, which troops falling upon the Greeks that were feattered abroad in feeking booty, flew five hundred of them, and chafed the make offer of their best assistance. But the made an offer that night, and breaking a nant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly *Corps du garde*, flew some, pursuing the rest fear, lest their long stay in that Country of the Army, so disheartned and unfurnished great wealth, and little power to guard it. of necessaries, caused the Greeks to remove Therefore he sent to the Lacedamonian Adtheir Camp to a place of more strength; miral, intreating him with much instance which having intrenched and committed to and large promifes to wast them over into the defence of fuch as were least able to endure travel, Xenophon with the firmest and condescending, promised to give the Souldibest able men went forth, both to bury those ers pay, as soon as they arrived at Byzantiwhich were lately flain, and to abate the um. So were they carried out of Asia at the inpride of the Thracians, and their affiltants. treaty of the Persian, who in the height of his In this journey his demeanour was very ho- pride had thought them fo furely imprisonnourable. For having given burial to the ed with mighty Rivers, that he not only dedead, the enemy was discovered, lying on nied to permit their quiet departure, but the tops of the hills adjoyning, to whom willed them to furrender their Arms into (notwithstanding that the way was very his hands, and so to yield their lives to his rough & troublesome, so that some thought | discretion. How discourteously they were it a matter of too great danger, to leave at intreated by Anaxibius, and how, to requite their backs a wood fcarce passable) he his injurious dealings, they seized upon Bymarched directly, telling his men plainly, zantium, which by Xenophons perswasion that he had rather follow the enemy with they forbare to fack; I hold it superfluous half the number, than turn his back to them to relate. For the refidue of their doings with twice as many; and letting them further appertain little to the general course of know, that if they did not charge the Barba- things. But this expedition, as in all ages rians, he would not fail with the greater re- it was glorious, so did it both discover the folution to pursue them; from whom if they | secrets of Asia, and stir up the Greek to could fafely retire to the camp, yet what think upon greater enterprifes, than ever should they do there, wanting victuals to su- their forefathers had undertaken. Likewise CHAP. XI. it was the only remarkable action which the King, prepared to rebel; which they thought time afforded. For the Roman Wars did hi- fafer, than to fall into the hands of Tillapherinerto extend no further than to the next mes, who was now appointed Lieutenant, neighbouring-Towns of Italy; and in Greece both of his old Province, and of all that all things were quiet, the Lacedemonians ru- had belonged to Cyrus. Wherefore the Ioniling infolently, but without diffurbance. ans befought the Lacedamonians to fend Trucitis, that the feeds of the War short- them aid, whereby to recover their liberly following, which the Lacedamonians ty; and obtained their request. For a power made upon Artaxerxes, were already fown, was sent over, under conduct of Thimbro a before the Companies returned out of the Spartan, who befowed his men in such that Countries of Asia. For the Towns of Towns as had already revolted, to secure Jonia, which had fided with young Cyrus the Cities and their Fields, but not to make and Tiffaphernes, if not against the Great any offensive War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Affairs of Greece, whilft they were managed by the Lacedamonians.

ø. I.

How the Lacedamonians took courage by example of Xenophons Army, to make War upon Artaxerxes.

fifty five furlongs, spent in going and re-turning, which make of English miles about four thousand two hundred fourscore and one, a very painful march of one year and three months. Nevertheless, the civil di- The prosperous beginnings of the War in Asia. straction, wherewith Greece was miserably torn, and especially that hot fire of the Theban War, which, kindled with Persian gold,

If seems that the Lacedamonians did Estate; leaving it questionable, whether well perceive in how ill part Artax- Agesilaus having both the same, and far greaerxes took their favour shewed unto ter forces, could have wrought proportionhis Brother, and yet were timorous in able effects. Sure it is, that in the whole beginning an open War against him, space of two years, which he spent in Asia, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no his deeds procured more commendation of advantage might flip, which could ferve to magnanimity and fair behaviour, than of strengthen their Estate, by finding the Per- stout courage, and great or profitable atfan work beyond the Sea. But when Xeno chievements. For how highly loever it plea-phons Army had revealed the baseness of select Xenophon, who was his friend, and folthose effeminate Asiatiques, and rehearsed lower in this, and in other Wars, to extol his the many Victories which they themselves virtue; his exploits being only a few incurhad gotten, upon terms of extreme difad- fions into the Countries lying near the Sea, vantage; then was all Greece filled with de- carrying no proportion to Xenophons own fire of undertaking upon this huge unweildy journey, which I know not whether any Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the Age hath paralleled: the famous retrait of joynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew Conon the Briton with fix thousand men from out the way to Susa, whereof one handful Aquileia, to his own Country, through all had opened the passage to Babylon; and further, finding no power that was able to give despite of the Emperour Theodosus, being them refistance, in all that long journey of rather like it than equal. But of Agefilaus and four and thirty thousand two hundred and his Wars in Asia and Greece, we shall speak

ø. II.

Himbro receiving Xenophons men, began to take inTowns, and to entertain brake forth suddenly into a great flame, all such as were willing to revolt from the drew back out of Asia the power of the La- Persian, who were many, and some of them redamonians, to the defence of their own fuch, as had been highly beholding to the

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Aingywnotech to have had no other tand or discontent, than that they were to live under the Government of Tissaphernes, whom all the Governous firming in vain to have kept others did as vehemently hate, as the King it to the use of Pharnabazus. Now remainhis Master did love him. The managing of ed only two Cities, Gergethe and sceptis, the War begun by Thimbro, was for his op- which the Traytor held; who fearing all the war begun by termore, was for us preffions taken out of his hands; and committed to Dercyllidas a Spartan, who behaved dours to Dercyllidas, desiring leave to speak himself as a good man of War, and a wife with him, and pledges for his security: up-Commander. For whereas the Rule of the on the delivery of which, he issued out of low-Countries of Asia was divided between the comming it to the Camp, made of the countries of Asia was divided between the comming it to the Camp, made of the countries of the agree, Pharmarbazus being the worthier conditions as might feem reasonable, But man, but the other by his Princes favour he was plainly told by Dercyllidas, that the greater, and having the chief command other condition there was none, than to fet in those Wars against the Greeks; Dercylli- the Citizens freely at liberty. And presentdas, who did bear a private hatred to Phar- ly upon these words they marched toward wahazus (knowing well that Tiffaphernes was Scepfis. When Midias perceived that it was of a michieveus nature, and would not be in vain to strive against the Army, and the forry to fee his Corrival throughly beaten, Towns-men, who were all of one mind; he though to the Kings lefs) made an appoint | quietly went along with Dercyllidas, who ment with Tissaphernes, and forthwith entred remaining but a few hours in the City, dida Æolis, which was under the jurisdiction of facrifice to Minerva, and then leading away Pharnabazas, which Province in few daies, the Garrison of Medias, he left the City free,

he brought into his own power.

fame time fuffered a violent alteration, him, earneftly entreating that he might be which gave easie success to the attempts of suffered to retain Gergethe: but coming to Dercyllidas. Zenis a Dardanian had been the Gates, he was bidden to command Deputy to Pharnabazus in those parts; after his Souldiers that they should be opened; whose death his Wife Mania procured his for (quoth Dercyllidas) I must here likewise Office, wherein she behaved her self so well, do a facrifice to Minerva. The Traytor, not that the not only was beloved of the people daring to make denial, caused his Merceunder her Government, but enlarged her naries to open the Gates, whereby Dargl-Territory, by the Conquest of certain Towns lidas, taking possession of the place, tendred adjoyning; and fundry times gave affiftance pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to to Pharnabazus in his Wars against the My serve under his Ensigns. This done, all the fians and Persians. For the had in pay fome goods of Mania were scized upon, as belong Companies of Greeks, whose valour by her ing to one that had been subject to Phargood usage, did her great service. But some mabazus, who was enemy to the Greeks: and what before the arrival of Dercyllidas in so the murdrous wretch was sent away those parts, a Son-in-law of hers, called Mi- naked, not knowing in what part of the diss, whom she trusted and loved much, be- World he might find any place to hidehis ing blinded with ambition, found means to detefted head. Deryclidas having in eight stille her, and kill her Son of seventeen years daies taken nine Cities, purposed for the case old; which done, he seized upon two of of his Consederates to winter in Bythinia, to her principal Towns, wherein her treasure which end he took Truce with Pharnabalay, hoping to have been admitted into pof zus, who had not any defire of War. That fession of her whole Estate. Being denyed en- Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the trance by her Souldiers that lay in Garrison, Truce being continued, held; in which time, he fent Mellengers with Prefents to Phar- befides the walting of Bythinia, the neck of nabazus, desiring him to make him Gover- Land joyning Cherronea to the Main, was nour in the place of Mania. His Prefents fortified, being four or five miles inbreadth, were not only rejected by Pharnabazus, but by which means eleven Towns, with much revenge of his foul treafon threatned, where good Land belonging to them, were freed by the wicked villain was driven into terms from the incussions of the wilde Thracians, of almost utter desperation. In the mean and made sit and able to victual the Camp. time came Dercyllidas, to whom the Towns Likewise the City of Atarne was taken, of Mania, that held against Midias, did which was of great strength, and very well quickly open their Gates. One only Town stored with provision. After this, Derej lidas

Kingswho feem to have had no other cause of flood out four daies (against the will of the and departed toward Gergethe. Midias That Country of Æolis had about the did not forfake his Company, but followed

time of necessity; yet was he not in his own not adventure to finish by tryal of a battell. danger requited with the like. For Pharnabazus, having respect to the Kings service, came to affift his private enemy Tiffaphernes, and so passing into Caria, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards Ionia, hoping to find the Towns ill manned for relistance. As these Persians were desirous to keep the War from their own doors, so was Dercylli-

had command from sparta to divert the enjoy their own liberty and laws; but con-War into Caria, where was the feat of Tiffa- trariwife, on the other fide, That the Lacephernes; for that hereby it was thought demonians should depart Asia, and leave not uneafie to recover all the Towns of Io- the Towns to the Kings pleasure. This Treaty nia; pharax the Admiral of the fleet (which was of none effect; only it served to free the was a yearly office) being appointed to joyn Greeks from the present danger, and to gain with him. Though it was manifest that time unto Tissaphernes, who defired to avoid Tillaphernes had neglected Pharnabazus in theWar by procrastination, which he durst

ø. III.

How the Lacedamonians took revenge upon the Eleans for old displeasures. The discontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceived against the State of Sparta.

IN the mean feafon the Lacedamonians who found none able to withstand them das willing to free his Confederats the in Greece, began to call the Eleans to ac-Tonians from the spoil and danger of the compt for some disgraces received by them War, by transferring it into Caria. For which during the late Wars, when leifure cause he passed the River of Maander; and was wanting to the requital of such not looking to have been so soon encoun- petty injuries. These Eleans being Presitred,marched carelelly through the Coun- dents of the Olympian games, had fet a try: when on the very sudden the whole Ar- sine upon the City of Sparta; for Non-paymy of Tissaphernes & Pharnabazus was disco- ment of which, they forbad them to come vered, confisting of Persians, Carians, & some to the solemnity; and publickly whipt one Mercenary Greeks, who were all marshalled of them that was of note, for prefuming in very good order to present battail. The to contend against their decree. Likewise odds was too apparent, both in numbers they hindred Agis King of Sparta from doof men, and in readiness, as also in advantage | ing facrifice to Jupiter; and in all points of ground: for the Persian had a great mul- used great contempt toward the Spartans, titude of Horse, the Greek very few and who now had no business that could himfeeble, being to fight in an open plain. der them from taking revenge: and there-Therefore all the Ionians, together with the fore fent a peremptory message to the Ele-Ilanders and others, of fuch places as bor- ans, commanding them to fet at liberty the dered upon the Kings Dominions, did either | Cities which they held in Subjection. This betake themselves to present flight; or was the usual pretence, which they made abiding a while for thame , did plainly di- the ground of all their Wars: though litkover by their looks, that they meant not the they cared for the liberty of fuch Towns, to be more bold than wife. Only Dercyl- which they caused afterwards to become lidas with his Peleponnesians, regarding their followers, and little better than meer Vassals honour, prepared to endure the fight, of the Lacedamoaians. In their late Wars which must needs have brought them to with Athens, the strong opposition which destruction, if the counsel of Pharnabazus they found, caused this goodly Title of lihad been followed; who perceiving the op- berty to work very flowly: but having now portunity of so great a victory, was not wil- to do with a State of great spirit and small ling to let it slip. But Tissaphernes, who na- force, it gave present success to their desires. turally was a coward, feeing that counte- Two years together they fent an Army innance of refistance was made, began to con- to the Countrey of the Eleans: the first year fider what strange defence the Souldiers of an Earth-quake (held in those times a pro-Xenophon had shewed, and thinking that all digious fign, and which did alwayes forbid the Greeks were of the like resolution, held the prosecution of any enterprise in hand) it the wifest way to crave parley; the con- caused them to retire: the second year, all clusion of which was, That a Truce should the Towns of the Eleans did hastily revolt, be made, to last untill Tissaphernes might re and the City it self was driven to submisceive answer from the King, and Dercyllidas fion; consenting both to suffer their old subfrom sparta, concerning the demands pro- jects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to pounded in the Treaty; which were, on the have her own Walls thrown down. Only one part, That all the Greeks in Asia might the Presidentship of the Olympian games doubted that they would in time coming malice, that fending fome Companies of use modefily, finding themselves to stand at horse, they threw down his facrifice from the mercy of Sparta. In this expedition all the Altar. It was not then convenient time the Greeks were assistant to the Lacedamo- for Agesilaus to entangle himself and his nians, excepting the Corinthians and Boo- Countrey in a new War; therefore waiting tians, whose aid having been of as much better opportunity of revenge, he quietly importance in the late Peloponnesian War, as swallowed the contumely, and followed his the force of Sparta it felf, they could not main intendment. Having landed his men at smother their dislike of their unequal divi- Ephesus, he was entertained by Tissaphernes fion following the victory; which gave to with a Treaty of peace, wherein Agellans Sparta the command of all Greece; to Thebes peremptorily requiring that the Persian and Corinth, only fecurity against Athens, should restore to liberty all the Greek Towns but fuch a fecurity as was worse than the in Asia, was promised that the King, being first danger. For when the equal greatness of informed of his demand, should fend answer two mighty Estates, did counterpoise each to his good liking, if he would in the mean the other, it was in the power of these Neu- while make Truce. Truce was therefore tral Common-weals to adhere to either, as made, which Tisaphernes had fought, only the condition of their affairs required; but to win time of making provision for the when, to revenge injuries, they had by mortal hatred profecuted the War to extremity, and geting fupply of men and money tall hatred profecuted the War to extremity, from Artaxerxes, whill the Agefluus was buffer to the content of leaving the one City naked of power and | in fetling the estates of his confederate Cifriends, the other mightily increased in ties oc that fide of the Sea. The end of this both; it was then (if not necessary to obey long vacation from war was at the coming the greatness which themselves had made, down of these forces which Artaxerses yet) foolish and dangerous to provoke it. had fent: at what time Agefslaus received a Nevertheles, it was not the purpose of the plain message from Tissaphernes, that either spartans to take occasion of any quarrel, which they could not finish at pleasure, till fuch time as they had by victory or composition made some good end with the Persian, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

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Kings good.

Awas defirous to have the honour of the into that Countrey which was fittelt for victory, which not without cause, he expel their service. But the Greeks left him waiting pected upon those of Asia; and therefore there in vain, and marched directly into procuring a great Army to joyn with that Phrygia, where they took great spoyl with of Dercyllidas, he took his way in great out refistance, till such time as the Horsepompto Aulis in Beotia, a Haven lying opposite to the Iland of Eubea; in which small skirmish having the better of the place Agamemnon (leading the power of all Greeks, were the occasion that Agefilans re-Greece to the War against Troy many Ages turned to Ephefus. Although in this last before) had imbarked his men. In imitation fight only twelve men were loft, yet Agesof Agamemnon, he meant also to do sacri- lans perceiving by that tryal how hard it fice in Aulis, which the Thebans, Lords of would be to prevail, and hold the mastery that Countrey, would not permit, but faying, that the performance of such Ceremo-Horse, took all possible care to increase that nies in that place, belonged unto their Offi- part of his forces. By which means having

was lest unto them, which it was not to be | cers; they were so unable to coneeal their he must forthwith depart out of Asia, or make good his abode by strong hand. Agesilaus returning word, that he was glad to hear that his enemies had by perjury deserved vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade them; and fending word to all the Towns which lay between him and Caria, that they should provide victuals and other necessaries for his Army did easily make Tiffapher-The passage of Agesilaus into Asia. His War nes believe, that his intent was to invade that with Tislaphernes. How Tislaphernes was Province wherein Tissaphernes dwelt, and put to death; and the War diverted into which was unfit for Horse, in which part another Province, through perfivation and of his forces the Perfian had most configifts of Tithraustes his successour. How dence. Therefore Tissaphernes bestowing careles the Persian Lieutenants were of the all his Companies of foot in Caria, entred with his Horse into the plains of Meander, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a Gestlaus newly made King of Sparta, heavy foot-army, not suffering them to pass

entred upon the Country of Tiffaphernes, as thirty Talents. foon as the feafon of the year would permit, of Asia; he did not seek to finish the War, of making fuch end as best might stand with it feems that he much mistook his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aid which he did bring more gladly have taken it, if he could have feries. found fuch means whereby the danger it self might have been avoided: as not loving to have War, whilst by any conditions (honourable, or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the course which Tithraustes took at his first possession of the low-Countries. For he sent Embassadours to Agefilaus, in very friendly fort, letting him

enabled himself, whilst Winter lasted, he Tithraustes, who bought his departure with

This was a strange manner of War, both and not only took a great booty, but finding on the offensive, and on the defensive part. the Horse-men of Tissaphernes in the plain of For Agesilans having entertained great hopes Meander, without affiftance of their infan- of vanquishing the great King, was contentery, he gave them battel, and had a great ted to forbear his feveral Provinces, at the Victory, taking their Camp, in which he entreaty of the Lieutenants: and those Lieufound great riches. The blame of this loss tenants being employed by the King to mainfell heavy upon Tissaphernes, who either upon cowardife had absented himself from the if they failed, they knew that their heads battel, or following some other business, might easily be taken from their shoulders) was then at Sardis. For which cause his were little offended at any loss that fell on Master having him in distrust, and thinking their next Neighbour-Princes, which were that peace might be the sooner had, which subject likewise to the same Crown of Persta, he much defired, if the man, so odious to the so long as their own Government could be whole Nation of the Greeks, were taken out | preserved from waste and danger. The cause of the way; he fent into those parts Tithran- of this disorder on the Fersian side, I can fies a Persian, to cut off the head of Tissapher- ascribe to nothing so deservedly, as to the nes, and succeed him in the Government. corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Eu-Such was the end of this base and cowardly nuchs, Concubines, and ministers of plea-Politician, who little caring to offend Hea- fure, were able, by partial construction, to ven, when by perjury he could advance his countenance, or difgrace, the actions of fuch purposes on Earth, failed at the last, through as had the managing of things abroad; and too much over-weening of his own wife- to that foolish manner of the Kings (which dom, even in that part of cunning wherein was so usual that it might be called a rule) he thought himself most perfect; for sup- to reward or punish the Provincial Goverpoling, that by his great skill in fubtile ne- nour, according to the benefit or loss, which gotiation he should one way or other cir- the Country, given in charge unto each of cumvent the Greeks, and make them weary them, received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to pals, that as every one and, according to his Masters wish, bring all was desirous to make his own territory yield things freedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might find some opportunity man was careful to affilt his borderers, if loss or danger might thereby grow to himthe Kings honour and his own. Wherein felf and his but fate still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces, it had not been uneafie to recompence the spoil of one Country, by conquering another, in his time of danger, yet would he much or defending a third from far greater mi-

ø. V.

The War and Treaty between Agefilaus and Pharnabazus.

Gesilaus having thus compounded with Tithraustes, entred Phrygia, burning know, that the man who had been Authour and wasting the Country without resiof the War, was now taken out of the way; stance. He took the Palace of Pharnabaand that it was the Kings pleasure to let the zw, and by his Lieutenant drave him out of Greeks enjoy their own laws and liberty, the Camp. These Actions, together with upon condition, that they should pay him his honourable behaviour, which added the tribute accustomed, and the Army be much to their lustre, were more glorious forthwith dismissed. The answer to this pro- than profitable. For he did not win Cities and polition, was by Agesilaus referred to the Places of strength, which might have en-Council of sparta; in the mean season he creased his power, and given assurance to was content to transfer the War into the the rest of his proceedings: but purchased Province of Pharnabazus, at the request of fame and high reputation, by which he drew

CHAP. XI.

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unto him some that were discontented and ftood upon bad terms with the great King; whom he loft again as eafily, by means of some sleight injury done to them by his under-Captains. Pharnabazus did not enclose himself in any Town, for fear of being belieged, but keptsthe field, lying as neer as he could fafely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make fome good end by composition, which he found not uneafie to do. For the plea- by the City of sparta was not only driven fures, by him formerly done to the State of to look to her own, and give over her Sparts, in the times of their most necessity, great hopes of subverting the Empire, but had been fo great, that when he (ob- was beaten out of all that had been gottaining parley) did fet before their eyes ten by many late victories, and faw her his bounty towards them, and his love, Dominion restrained unto the narrow (which had been fuch, that befides many | bounds of her own Territory. He fent inother hazzards of his person, he had for the to Greece fifty talents of filver, to be imrescue of their sleet, when it was driven ployed in raising war against the Lacedomoto run a shore at Abyelus, adventured to nians; which treasure was by the subtle praride into the Seas as far as he could find clice of him that was put intruft withit in any ground, and fight on horfe-back such wife dispersed among the principal men against the Athenians) together with his of the Thebans, Argives, and Corinthians, that faith which had never been violated in all those Estats having formerly born secret word or deed: they knew not how to hateto that of sparta, were now defirous excuse their ingratitude, otherwise than of nothing so much, as of open war. And by telling him, That having War with his Master, they were inforced against their tude should, for want of present exercise, bewill, to offend him. Agefilaus did make a fair gin to faint and vanish away in idle words, offer to him, that if he would revolt from occasion was found out to thrust the Lacethe King to them, they would maintain demonians into Arms, that they themselves him against the Persian, and establish him might seem Authors of the quarrel. Some free Prince of the Countrey wherein he land there was in the tenure of the Lorium, was at that time only Deputy to Artax- to which the Thebans had in former timelaid erxes. But Pharnabazus told him plain- claim; but the Phocians either having the ly, That if the King his Master did put better title, or finding the greater favour, had him in trust to make war against them, he would not fail to do the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were either hired or perswaded to pay now to the taken out of his hand, and he commanded Thebans, who readily accepted it. The Fhoto obey another, he would then shift side, cians not meaning so to lose their Rent, made and betakehimself to their alliance. The a distress by strong hand, recovering a iffue of this parley was, That the Army great deal more than their own; which the should no longer abide in Phrygia, nor Thebans (as in protection of their new Teagain return into it, whilest employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse Phocis, wasting that Countrey in the manner revenge.

ø. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with gold from the Persian.

IN the mean while Tithrauftes, perceiving that Agesilaus meant nothing less than to return into Greece, and let Artaxerxes rest quietly in Asia, took a wife course, wheremade by Agestlams, and the withdrawing of of open war. Such were the beginnings of his forces out of those parts, were not professed hostility between Thebes & Sparts, fufficient to appeale Pharnabazus, whom & the first breaking out of their close emihe had not invaded for want of more necessary business elsewhere; but because his concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embassa-Countrey would yield great booty, and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means lence done by the Thebans, & requesting size. the Lacedemonians changed an honourable cour, they had very favourable audience, & Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards ready consent to their suite, it being the manrequited their unthankfulness with full ner of the Lacedemonians to defer the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occasion of revenge were offered, & then to discover their indignation in coldblood. At this time they had very good oportunity to work

should follow him with the strength of Peloponnesus. Lysander did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the Orchomenians to revolt from Thebes. Pausanias likewise raised all Peloponnefus, except the Corinthians (who refused, to affift him in that enterprise) meaning to joyn with Lyfander, and make a speedy end of the war. The confideration of fo great a was far too little to make relistance against dayes in banishment. fuch mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the Lacedamonians were otherwise affected in heart, than they durst utter in countenance; How Agefilaus was called out of Afia to help but the good wifnes of fuch people were little available, confidering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should do as little hurt as they could by which manner of tergiversation, the Corinthians did at that present cast themfelves into the displeasure of the Spartans, to the no great benefit of Thebes. Wherefore it

their own wils, having no other war to di- being defirous to do somewhat that might frurb them in Greece; and hearing out of Asia advance the business in hand, came to Halino news that could offend or trouble them. artus, where, though Panfanias did not meet wherefore they fent Lyander to raise all the him, as had been appointed, yet he attem-Countries about Phocis, and with fuch forces pted the Town, and was flain in fight by the as he could levie, to attend the coming of Thebans, who came hastily to the rescue. Paulanias King of Sparta (for Sparta, as hath As this victorie did incourage the Thebans. been shewed before, had two Kings) who so the coming of Pausanias with his great Army did again amaze them, with presentation of extreme danger; but their spirits were foon revived by the ftrong fuccour which was brought from Athens, in confideration of which, and of the late battel, Paufanias durst not hazzard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were flain, by composition, departed out of their Territory; for which, either danger, approaching fo fwiftly, caused the cowardise or indiscretion, he was at his re-Thebans to feek what help they could turn to Sparta condemned as a Traitor, and abroad, for as much as their own strength driven to flie into Tegea, where he ended his

ø. VII.

his Countrey. A victory of the Spartans. Conon the Athenian affifted by Pharnabazus, overcomes the Lacedamonian Fleet; recovers the mastery of the Seas, and re-builds the walls of Athens.

His good fuccefs, and the confederacy made with Athens, gave fuch reputawas thought the fafest course to procure the tion to the Thebans, that the Argives, Corinaffiltance of some Estate that might present- thians, Eubwans, Locrians, and Acarnanes, ly declare it felf on their fide, which would | did forthwith fide with them, and raifing and make their party ftrong. To this end they fent Embafiadours to Athens, excusing old offences, as either not committed by force of Sparta it felf was not great, but publick allowance, or done in time of the grew more and more by the adjunction of general war, and recompensed with friend- their Confederates. The Magistrates of this lately shewn in their refusal of assisting sparta perceiving the danger, sent for Pragiania, when he came in behalf of the Megilians, who readily obeyed them, and prothirty Tyrants against the good Citizens of miling his friends in Asia to return speedi-Athens. In regard of which, and for their ly to their affiftance, paffed the Streights of own Honour fake, they requested them of Hellespont into Europe. In the mean time, aid in the present war, offering to do the the Cities of the new league had given batbest that they could for the restoring of A- tel to the Lacedamonians, and the remainthens to her former estate and dignity. der of their Associats; but with ill success. For Thrasphulus and his Friends, who, persecuted when the right wing of each part had gotten by the Thirty, had been well entertained at the better hand, the Argives and Thebans re-Thebes, procured now the City to make a turning from the chale in some disorder, large requital of the courtesie which they were broken and deseated by the Lacedahad received. For it was decreed, that the monians, who meeting them in good order, State of Athens should not only refuse to won from them the Honour which they had aid the Lacedemonians in this War; but that gotten by forcing the left wing of the Lacet thould affift the Thebans, and engage it felf demonians and made the victory of that day in their cause. Whili Pansarias lay still waitenties their own. The reporters of this batterial water than the control of the still waitents. ing the arrival of his Confederates; Lysander tell meeting Agesilaus at Amphipolis, were by

him fent over into Asia, wherein it is not many losses, much defaced. For the Thebans likely that they brought much com- did in the battel of Coronea vanquish the fort unto his friend, who had fince his depar- Orchomenians, who stood epposite unto ture feen the spartan Fleet beaten, and Ly-them, and retired unbroken to Mount Helifander the Admiral flain. The fame man, con, opening way perforce when Agefilaus whose endeavour had brought the Atheni- charged them in the return from the purans into order by advancing the Sea-forces fute. Likewife Gylis was flain with a great of the Lacedemonians with money, and all part of his Army by the Locrians; and some manner of supplies, was now the occasion other exploits by the Lacedemonians perthat the power of Athens grew strong at formed against the Corinthians, were repay-Sea, when the City was disposled of her old reputation, and fearcely able to maintain parts adjoyning; many Towns being easily an Army by Land for her defence. Pharnaba- taken, and as easily recovered. The variety of zus considering how much it imported the which enterfeats was such, that the Thebans King his Master, to have the Greeks divided themselves were drawn by the loss of the hainto fuch factions as might utterly difable ven of Corinth, to fue for peace, but could not them from undertaking abroad, thought it get audience, till fuch time as the news came the fafest way for himself, during these of a great victory obtained by Iphierates, broils, to take fuch order, that he should General of the Athenian forces at Lechenn; not need any more to feek peace by intreaty whereupon the Theban Embassadors being and commemoration of old benefits, at their | fent for, and willed to do their mellage, rehands, who unprovoked, had fold his love for quired only in fcorn, to have a fafe conduct thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnish- given them, that they might enter into Coed Conon the Athenian with eight ships, who rinth. From this time forward the War was had escaped when the Fleet of Athens was made for a while only by incursions, wherein furprized by Lyfander at Agos - Potamos zgiv - the Achaens, Confederates of Sparta, felt ing him the command of a great Navy, most los, their whole State being endangewherewith he requited the loss received at red by the Acarnanians; who held with the Ægos-Potamos, by repaying the Lacedamoni- contrary fide, until Agefilaus repayed these ans with the like destruction of their fleet invaders with equal, or greater calamities, at Enidus. After this victory Conon failed to brought upon their own Lands, which did Athens, bringing with him, partly as the libe- fo afflict the Acarnans, that they were drirality of Pharnabazus, partly as the fruit of vento fue for peace. But the affairs at Sea his victory, fo ftrong a Navy, and fo much were of most consequence, upon which Gold, as encouraged the Athenians to re- the success of all depended. For when the build their Wals, and think more hopefully Towns of Asia perceived that the Lacedeupon recovering the Signiory which they monians were not only intangled in a hard had loft.

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s. VIII.

Dominion.

fome years the honour of their Estate, en- lus, took in Bizantium, Chalcedon, and other dangered very greatly by this loss at Sea. places thereabout, reducing the Isle of Les For Agestlans obtained the better with his bos to their ancient acknowledgement of horse-men from the Thessalians, who were Athens. accounted the best riders in Greece. He wastedBætia, and fought a great battel atCoronea against the Thebans and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marshall Gylis forraged the Countrey of Locris: which done, he returned home.

The gain of these victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by

War at home, but almost disabled to pass the Seas, having lost their Fleet at Cnidus; they foon gave ear to Pharnabazus, who promised to allow that they should use their of fundry small victories gotten on each part. own laws, if they would expell the spar-The Lacedemonians lose all in Asia; the tan Governours. Only the City of Abydus Athenians recover some part of their old did stand firm, wherein Dercyllidas lay, who did his best to contain all the Towns about Hellefront, in the Alliance of the TEvertheless, the Lacedamonians, by Lacedamonians; which he could not do, many victories at Land, maintained for because the Athenian Fleet under Thrash-

6. IX. The

ø. IX.

The base conditions offered unto the Persian by the Lacedamonian. Of Sundry fights and other passages in the War. The Peace of Antalcidas.

A perceive how uneafie a thing it would from Lesbos toward Rhodes, was flain by be to maintain the War against men as good as themselves, affisted with the treasures of long before joyned with the Lacedamoni-Persia: wherefore they craved peace of Artaxerxes, most basely offering not only ner) an Aristocratie, or the Government of a to renounce the Greeks inhabiting Afia, and few the principal Citizens; whereas contrato leave them to the Kings disposition; but riwise the Athenians were accustomed to put withall, to fet the Illanders, and every Town the Soveraignty into the hands of the peoin Greece, as well the little as the great, at | ple, each of them feeking to assure themfull and absolute liberty, whereby they faid | selves, by erecting in the Town of their Conthat all the principal Estates of their Coun- federates aGovernment like unto their own: try would be so weakened, that no one, nor which doing (where more especial cause did all of them should be able to stir against the not hinder) caused the Nobility to favour Great King. And fure it was, that the power | Sparta, and the Commons to incline to of the Country being so broken and rent Athens. The people of Agina roved upon the into many small pieces, could neither have coast of Attica which caused the Athenians disquieted the Persian, by an offensive War, to land an Army in Egina, and besiege their nor have made any good defence against | Town: but this siege being raised by the afhim, but would have left it easie for him in sistance of the Lacedemonian Fleet, the Islanthe Lacedamonians, did by their feveral Emfriends and foes on the fudden to an equality. Especially Strutbas, whom Artaxerxes had fent as his Lieutenant into the low-Countries, did feek to repay the harm done by Agesilaus in those parts: which his intent appearing plain, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, Thimbro was fent great actions worthy of remembrance. Thim away into Cyprus a greater force than his

bro was flain by Struthas, and in his place Diphridas was fent, who demeaned himfelf more warily. Dercyllidas was removed from his charge at Abydus, because he had not impeached Thrasybulus in his enterprizes about Hellespont; Anaxibius, who succeeded him. was furprized and flain in a skirmish by Iphi-Bout this time the Spartans began to crates the Athenian. Thrasybulus departing the way at Aspendus. The City of Rhodes had ans, who erected there (as was their mancontinuance of time to have taken the Ci- ders began a-new to molest Attica, which ties one after another, till he had made him- caused the Athenians to man their ships felf Mafter of all. The Spartans were not again, that returned beaten, having loft four ignorant of this, but were so carried with of thirteen. The loss of these ships was soon envy, that perceiving how the dominion of recompenced by a victory which chabrias the the Seas was like to return to Athens, they Athenian General had in Egina, whereupchose rather to give all from themselves and on the Islanders were fain to keep home, and others, and make all alike weak, than to per- leave to the Athenians the Seas free. It may mit that any of their own Nation should | well seem strange that the City of athens, hagrowstronger than themselves, who so lately | ving but newly raised her walls, having not hadcommanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the fire accepted; both in regard that the other Effates of Greece, who had in only depending upon the affiftance of fuch the Kings behalf joyned together against | Confederates, as, carried unto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute bassadors oppose themselves unto it; and in the common cause, would send a Fleet and for that it was thought fafelt for Artaxerxes | an Army to Cyprus, in defence of Evagoras, rather to weaken the Lacedamonians yet when the Mastery of the Seas was so ill asmore, than by interpoling himself to bring fured, that an Island in the eye of Pyraeus, had ability to vex the coast of Attica. But as the over-weening of that City did cause it usually to embrace more than it could compass; so the insolency and shameless injustice of the people, had now bred in the chief Commanders, a defire to keep themselves far out of fight, and to feek employments at into Asia to make War upon Struthas; and such distance as might secure them from the others were appointed to other places: eyes of the envious, and from publick judgwhereby the War being scattered about, all ments, out of which few or none escaped. For the Isles and Towns on the firm Land, which cause Timotheus did pass away much grew almost to the manner of Pyracy and part of his time in the Isle of Lesbos, Iphicra-Robbery affording many skirmishes, but few tes in Thrace; and Chahrias now did carry

Country could well have spared with which risons, for which they wanted mony; and he returned not when the business in Cyprus other States by the miseries of the war came to an end, but lought new adventures whereof they faw no end; that all (excepting in Egypt; whereby arole neither thanks to the Thebans) did consent unto these Articles. himself, nor profit to his City, though ho- This was called the peace of Intalcidas: nour both to him and it. The Athenians be- whereof the Lacedemonians taking upon ing thus carcless of things at hand, had a no- themselves the execution, did not only comtable blow given unto them, shortly after pel the Argives to depart out of Corinth that Chabrias was gone to Cyprus, even with- (which, under pretence of defending, they in their own Haven. For Teleutias, a Lacede- held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as monian, being made Governour of Agina, Patrons, but as Lords) and the Thebans to conceived a frong hope of furprizing the leave Baotia free, of which Province Thebes Navy of Athens, as it lay in Pireus; thinking had alwaies held the Government, the Thearight, that it was a harder matter to en- bans themselves being also comprehended counter with ten ships prepared for the fight, under the name of the Beotians; but caused than with twenty lying in harbour, whose the Mantineans to throw down their own Mareners were afleep in their Cabbins, or City, and to dwell in Villages: alledging than drinking in Taverns. Wherefore he failed they had formerly been accustomed to to by night into the mouth of the Port, which do, though purposing indeed to chaffle entring at the break of day, he found (ac-them, as having been ill-affected to spartain cording to his expectation) most of the men the late War. By these courses the Lacedeon shore, and few or none left aboard to monians did hope that all the small Towns make refiftance: by which means he took in Greece would, when occasion should remany ships laden with merchandizes, many quire it, willingly follow them in their wars, fisher-men, passengers, and other Vessels, as Authors of their liberty; and that the also three or four Gallies; having funk or great Cities having lost all their dependants, broken, and made unferviceable, as many of would be unable to make opposition. the rest as the time would suffer. About this time Pharnabazus, the Lieutenant of Phrygia, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in marriage with whom he lived about the Court; and many Officers that favoured the Lacedamonians, were placed in the lower Asia; by whose assistance the Fleet of Sparta grew victorious about Hellespont; in fuch wife that perhaps they should not have needed the peace, which they themselves proties of Greece, and dividing the Country into as many feveral States as were petty Boroughs in it. Thus Artaxerxes having bought his own peace with mony, did likewise by his dom, was taken by the Olynthians, who folmony become Arbitrator and decider of lowing the usual pretence of the Lacedemoprus should be his own; the Isles of Lemnos, and of Apollonia, being nearest unto the danand the necessity of maintaining many Gar- subject unto her, and sight in her defence.

ø. X.

The War which the Lacedamonians made uppon Olynthus. They take Thebes bytrea-Son; and Olynthus by famine.

Hilst these wars, which ended with-out either victory or profit, consumed the riches and power of Greece, the Cicured by Antalcidas, from the Great King, the conditions whereof were fuch as are mentioned before, giving freedom to all the Cirible to places far removed, and to Spartait self. Great part of Macedonia, together with Fella, the principal City of that King-Controversies between the Greeks, disposing nians, to set at liberty the places over which of their business in such wise, as stood best King Amyntas did tyrannize, had almost now with his own good. The Tenor of Artax- driven him out of his Dominions, and taken erxes his Decree was, That all Asia and Cy- all to themselves. The Citizens of Acanthus, Imbrus, and scirus, be subject to Athens; all ger of those incroaching neighbours, acother Greek Towns, as well the little as the quainted the Lacedamonians with their fear, great, be fet at liberty; and that whosoever affirming that this Dominion of the Olynthishould refuse this peace, upon them the ap- ans, would be too strong for all Greece, if provers of it should make war, the King af- continuance of time should give it reputafifting them by Land and Sea, with men, and tion, which only it wanted : wherefore they ships, and treasure. The Athenians were so requested affistance, but in such terms as did discouraged by their losses at Sea; the Lace- sound of compulsion, protesting that either chemonians by revolt of their confederates, they must war upon Olynthus, or become two thousand being fent presently away, solemn feath being then held in the City, two monaids to be seconded by a greater *Phyllidas* promised the Governours, who with promise to be seconded by a greater *Phyllidas* promised the Governours, who with promise two thousand gave such were insolent and lustful men, that he would Army. White the war, as agreed with their convey unto them that night the most beginning to the war, as agreed with their convey unto them that night the most beautiful to the war. fmall number, the body of the Army following them, furprized the Cittadel of Theber, should take their pleasure. Having cheared mg tnem, any need into the hand of Phabi-which was betrayed into the hand of Phabidas the Lacedemonian, by some of the Magi-Wine, he told them when the time of perfirstes, who fought to strengthen their fa- formance (which they urged) came, that he trates, who flavery of their Country. The could not make good his promife, unless Thebans were ill-affected to Sparta, but had they would difinife their followers, because not in any point violated the peace lately the Gentlewomen, who attended without not in any point made between them; which caused the La the Chamber, would not endure that any of naue octions to doubt whether this act of the servants should see their faces. Upon Phebidas were more worthy of reward or this occasion the attendants were dismissed, der it self unto their obedience.

of the History of the World.

ø. XI.

How the Thebans recovered their liberty, driving out the Lacedæmonian Garrison.

passed undiscovered unto the house of cha- part of their ancient Inheritance had been ron, whom Phyllidas the Scribe had drawn taken from the Lacedemonians, and not a

Hereupon was made a hafty levy of men, into the confpiracy. The day following, a of punishment. In conclusion, profit fo far and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies over-weighed honefty, that the deed was and their Maids, brought into the place; approved, many principal Citizens of Thebes who taking advantage of the Governours approximated to death, many driven into baloofe behaviour, flew them all upon the fudnilhment, and the Traitors rewarded with den with Daggers, which they brought hidthe Government of the City: by whose auden under their garments. Then presently thority, and the force of the Garrison, the casting off their disquise, they went to other Thebans were compelled to serve the Lace-places, where feigning themselves to come demonians, in all, and more than all that they to the Governours upon business, they got could require. This access of power having admittance, and likewise slew those which ftrengthened the Lacedemonians, caused were of the Lacedemonian faction. By the them to entertain the greater forces about like device they brake into the prison, flew Olynthus, which (notwithstanding the loss of the Gaoler, and set at liberty such as they one great Battel, and fome other disafters) thought meet; and being followed by these they compelled at length by famine to ren- desperate men, proclaimed liberty, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captain of the Castle hearing the sudden Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be ftronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwife mistrusted, that it was a practice to discover such as would be forward upon occasion of revolting. But as soon as day-A Fter this Olynthian War, which endured light revealed the plain truth, all the people took arms and belieged the Castle, sending Estate in Greece was able to make head hastily to Athens for fuccour. The Garrison against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long also sent for aid unto the Towns adjoyning, ere the *Thebans* found a means to shake off whence a few broken troops coming to the their yoak, and gave both example and refcue, were defeated on the way by the means to others to do the like. One of the horse-men of Thebes. On the other side, the banisht men found by conference with a banished Thebans did not only make speed Scribe of the Theban Magistrates, coming to to affist their Country-men, but procured Athens, that the tyranny wherewith his some Athenians to joyn with them, and there-Country was oppressed, pleased him no bet-ter than it did those, who for fear of it were Castle was yielded, more through fear than fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid any necessity, upon condition that the Soulbetween these two, that soon found very diers might quietly depart with their Arms; good fuccess, being managed thus. Seven of for which composition, the Captain at his the banished men forsook Athens privily, return to Sparta was put to death. When and entred by night into the fields of Thebes; the news of the doings at Thebes, and the where spending the next day secretly, they success arrived at sparta, an Army was raised came late in the evening to the Gates like forthwith, and all things prepared as earnesthusband men returned from work, and fo ly for the recovering of that City, as if some CHAP. XII

red to her own liberty. Cleombrotus, one of attempt upon the Haven of Athens; which the Kings, was fent on this Expedition, who failing to take, he wasted the Country adhaving wearied his followers with a toilfome joyning, and drave away Cattel, caufing by Winters journey, returned home without this outrage the Athenians to enter with all with part of his Army, at Thespies, to inset were before very carefully seeking how they the Thebans; who doing them some displea- might possibly withdraw themselves.

Town perfidiously usurped by them, resto-sures, made large amends by a foolish

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing Estate of Thebes, from the Battel of Leuctra, to the Battel of Mantinæa.

ø. I.

How Thebes and Athens joyned together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peacefor for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The Battel of Leuctra. and beginning of the Theban greatness.

respects withstanding the commodity of such a War, unable to relieve their com-Sparta were to be neglected; the practice plaining friends, resolved to settle the affairs of which Doctrine, even by the best and of Greece, by renewing that form of peace wifelt of them, did greatly blemith that which Antalcidas had brought from the Per-Estate: but when it was put in execution by sian. Wherefore they sent Messengers to infufficient over-weening men, it feldome Thebes, peremptorily fignifying, That it was failed to bring upon them, inftead of profit unjuftly expected, both flame and lofs. And so it befel them in these enter-based and with them to sparta; who prizes of Thabidas, upon the Castle of Thebes, readily condescended, fearing otherwise that and sphodrias upon the Piraus. For, how-they should be left out of the Treaty of foever Agefilaus did spoil the Country about Peace: which came to pass, being so wrought Thebes, in which he spent two Summers, yet by the couragious wildom of Epaminondas, the diligence of the Thebans repaired all, who understood it far better than his Coun-

abroad, failing to the Isle of Corcyra, where offered to swear to the Articles in the name they ordered things at their pleasure, and of the Bactians, Agesilans required themto having in some fightsat Sea prevailed, began, swear in their own name, and to leave the as in the Peloponnesian War, to surround Pe- Beatians free, whom they had lately redu-Loponnesus with a Navy; afflicting so the La- | ced under their obedience. Whereunto Epacedemonians, that, had not the Thebans by minondas made answer, That the City of their infolency wearied their friends, and sparta should give example to Thebes by setcaused them to seek for peace, it had been ting the Laconians free; for that the Signiovery likely that the end of this War, should ry of Baotia did by as good right appertain have foon come to a good end, which to the Thebans, as that of Laconia to the nevertheless, being projecuted by the The- Spartans. This was well and truly spoken; bans (who opposed at once both these two but was heard with no patience: for Agestgreat Estates) left the City of Sparta as lans bearing a vehement hatred unto those

He Lacedamonians were men proud and tyrannous. But the Athenians of great resolution, and of perceiving how Thebes encroached every much gravity in all their pro- day upon her weak Neighbours, not sparing ceedings; but one difhonour- fuch as had been dependants upon Athens, able Rule they held, That all and finding themselves, whilst engaged in who by the good fucces of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the sirft. try men, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treaty the Lacedamonians and Athenia The Athenians likewise began to look nians did soon agree; but when the Thebans much dejected, as the beginnings found it of Thebes, by whom he was drawn back out and effeminate.

6. II.

fteth the Territory of Lacedamon.

of Asia into Greece, and disappointed of all rated at Athens, where the general liberty the glory which he had hoped to atchieve of all Towns, as well small as great, was by the Fersian War, did now passionately ratisfied under the stile of the Athenians, and by the replant and the Emptions at li-their affociates. Hereupon began fresh gar-berty; and finding it as obstituately resulted, boils. The Mantineans, claiming power by he dath the name of the Thebans out of the this Decree to order their affairs at their league. At the same time Cleombrotus the own pleasure, did (as it were) in despisht of other King of Sparta, lay in Phocis, who re- the Spartans, who had enforced them to raze reived command from the Governours of their Town, re-edifie it, and allie themselves Sparta forthwith to enter upon the Land of with such of the Arcadians as stood worst the Thebans with all his power; which he affected to sparta. The Arcadians, a strong did and was there flain at Lendra, and with Nation, confifting of many Cities, were him the Flower of his Army. This Battel of distracted with factions; some desiring to Lentira, being one of the most famous that hold good correspondency with the Lacedeever were fought between the Greeks, was monians; some to weaken and keep them not fo notable for any circumstance fore- low; yet all pretending other ends. The going it, or for the managing of the fight it Lacedamonians durft not give impeachment felf, as for the death of the King, and many to the Mantineans, nor take upon them to Citizens of Sparta; but especially, for that correct their ill-willers among the Arcaafter this Battel (between which and the dians, till fuch time as the factions brake out conclusion of the general Peacethere passed into violence, and each party called in but twenty daies) the Lacedamonians were forein help. Then was an Army fent from neverable to recover the strength and re- Sparta, as it were in defence of the people putation which had formerly made them re- of Tegea, against the Mantineans, but indoubted far and near; whereas contrariwife deed against them both. Agesilans had the the Thebans, whose greatest ambition had in leading of it, but effected nothing. The former times confined it felf unto the little Thebans had by this time subdued the Pho-Region of Beotia, did now begin to under- cians, and were become head of the Lotake the leading and command of many crians, Acarnanians, Eubwans, and many people and estates, in such wise, that ibon others; with the power of which Countries after they brought an Army of threescore they entred Peloponnesus in favour of the and ten thousand strong unto the Gates of Arcadians, who had, upon expectation of sparta. So much do the afflictions of an their coming, abstained from giving Battel hard War, valiantly endured, advance the to Agefilaus. The Army of the Spartans beaffairs of the distressed, and guide them into | ing dismissed, and Epaminondas joyned with the way of Conquest, by stiffening that re- the Arcadians, the Region of Laconia was infolution with a manly temper, which wealth vaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no and ease had through luxury, retchlesness, Oracle could have found belief if any had and many other vices or vanities, made rufty | foretold it. Almost 600 years were spent, fince the Dorians, under the posterity of Hercules, had feized upon Laconia; in all which time the found of an enemies Trumpet was not heard in that Country. Ten years were How the Athenians took upon them to maintain | not fully past, fince all Greece was at the dethe Peace of Greece. New troubles hence votion of the Spartans : but now the Region arifing. Epaminondas invadeth and wa- which neither Xerxes with his huge Army could once look upon, nor the mighty for-ces of Athens, and other enemy-States had He Athenians refusing to take advan- dared to set foot on, saving by stealth, was all tage of this overthrow fallen upon on a light fire, the very smoak whereof the their old Enemies, and new Confederates women of sparta were ashamed to behold. the Lacedamonians, did nevertheless finely All which indignity notwithstanding, the give them to understand, that their Domi- Lacedamonians did not issue out of spartato nion was expired, and therefore their pride fight, but fought how to preferve the Town, might well be laid away. For taking upon fetting at liberty as many of their Heilotes themselves the maintenance of the Peace or Slaves, as were willing to bear Arms in lately concluded, which Asoflans (perhaps defence of the State, and iomewhat pittfully of purpole to make benefit of quarrels that entreated the Alberians, to give them furnishes the state of the State, and iomewhat pittfully of purpole to make benefit of quarrels that might arife) had left unperfect, they aftern-bled the Deputies of all the estates confede-ponnesus, they received speedy assistance, the

Kkkk

CHAP. XII.

that Epaminondas returned without battel, ty. For the Arcadians confidering their own having re-builded the City of Messene, and numbers which they brought into the field peopled it a-new by calling home the anci- and having found by many trials that their ent Inhabitants, whom the Lacedamonians people were not inferiour to others in many ages before had chafed away to other litrength of body, in courage, or in good Countries, policiling their Territories them- Souldiership, thought it good reason that

ø. III.

wife, that they did no longer demand the next enterprise of the *Spartans* and their conduct of the Army, which was to be raif friends was upon these Arcadians, who relyed, nor any manner of precedence: but lend- ing too much upon their own worth, were ing Emballadours from sparta, and from all overthrown in a great battel, their calamity the Cities which held league with it, unto being as pleafing to their Confederates, as Athens, they offered to yield the Admiralty to their Enemies. to the Athenians, requesting that they themselves might be Generals by Land. This had been a composition well agreeing with the fituation and quality of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no mark or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot, whereof the Land-Army was compounded; who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of Athens, were to have served under the Lacedemonians. Wherefore it was agreed that that without their aid, the fuccess of all enthe Authority should be divided by time, terprises proved so ill; whereas they them the Athenians ruling five dayes, the Lacede- felves had by their own power accomplishmonians other five, and fo fuccessively that ed very well whatsoever they took in hand, each of them should have Command of all, and were become not only victorious over both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, the Lacedamonians, but Patrons over the that in this conclusion vain ambition was Thessalonians, and moderators of great quarmore regarded than the common profit; rels that had rifen in Macedonia; where which must of necessity be very flowly ad- compounding the differences about that vanced, where confultation, resolution, and Kingdom, as pleased them best, they carperformance are fo often to change hands. ried Philip the son of Amyntas, and father of This appeared by a fecond invasion of Pelo-Alexander the Great, as an Hostage unto ponness, wherein the Thebans found their Thebes. Having therefore obtained such cnemies foundbleto impeach them, that har reputation, that little feemed wanting to ving fortified Ishmus from Sea to Sea, as in make them absolute Commanders of all former times they had done against Xerxees, Greece, they fought means of alliance with they were driven out of their frength by the Persian King, to whom they sent Embal-Epaminondas, who forraged the Country fadour the great and famous Captain Pelopiwithout refistance. But as the Articles of das, whose reputation drew Artaxerxes to to those ends for which it was concluded 560 monians, and that the Ashenians should forthe example of it wrought their good, by bear to fend their ships of War to Sea; only

Athenians came forward more flowly, fol filling the enemies heads with the like vanithey should in like manner share the Government, with their friends the Thebans; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by increasing whose greatness they The Composition between Athens and Sparta should strengthen their own yoke. Hereupfor command in War against the Thebans; on they began to demean themselves very who again troade and spoil Peloponnesus. infolently, whereby they grew hateful to The unfortunate prefumption of the Arca their Neighbours, and suspected of the Thebans in an ill time. For, a motion of general peace having been made (which took not effect, because the City of Messen was the reputation of the spartans, in fuch not abandoned to the Lacedemontans) the

ø. IV.

The areat growth of the Theban Estate. Embas-Jages of the Greeks to the Perlian; with the reasons why he most favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitless issue of the Embassages.

He Thebans especially rejoyced at the Arcadians misfortune, confidering, this league between Athens and Sparta did, grant unto the Thebans all that they defined; by dividing the conduct in such manner, whereof two especial points were, That disable the Society, and make it insufficient Messene should remain free from the Lacedothe latter of these two was somewhat quali- these times, in that great rebellion of all the the fied with reference to further advice. The Maritimate Provinces. For had then the other States of Greece did also send their affairs of Greece been so composed, that any

Embaffadours at the same time, of whom few one City might without empeachment of or none received much contentment. For the the rest have transported an Army to affist King having found by long experience, how the revolting Satrapa, or Vice-royes of Caria, far it concerned him to maintain a fure par- Phrygia, Lydia, Myfia, Lycia, Pifidia, Pamphytyin Greece, did upon many weighty consi- lia, Cilicia, Syria, and Fhanicia; humane derations resolve to bind the Thebans firmly reason can hardly find the means, by which unto him; justly expecting, that their great- the Empire could have been preserved from ness should be on that fide his own fecurity. that ruine, which the Divine Counsel had The Athenians had been ancient enemies to deferred unto the dayes of Alexander. But his Crown; and having turned the profit of this great conspiracy of so many large and their victories upon the Persians to the pur- wealthy Provinces, wanting a firm body of chase of a great Estate in Greece, maintained good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space their Signory in fuch puillant manner, that discussed, and vanished like a mist, without (fundry grievous misfortunes notwith- effect: these effeminate Assatiques, wearied standing) they had endured a terrible War, quickly with the travels and dangers inciwhereinthe Lacedamonians being followed dent to War, forfaking the common cause; by most of the Greeks, and supplied with and each man striving to be the first, that by treasure, and all forts of aid by Darius No- treason to his company should both redeem thus, were not able to vanquish them till the former treason to his Prince, and purtheir own indifferetion brought them on chase withall his own promotion with entheir knees. The Lacedamonians being victo-crease of riches. Of this commotion, which rious over Athers, had no sooner established in course of time followed some actions not their Dominion at home, then they under- as yet related, I have rather chosen to make took the Conquest of Asia, from which short mention in this place, than hereaster though by the commotion raised in Greece to interrupt the Narration of things more with Persian gold, they were called back, yet important; but for that it was like a sudden having renewed their power, and fetled ftorm, rashly commenced, idlely followed, things in Greece, it was not unlikely, that and foolifhly laid down, having made a they should upon the next advantage have great noise without effect, and having small pursued the same enterprise, had not they reference to any other action agreeable; as been empeached by this Theban War. But also because in the whole reign of Artaxthe Thebans contrariwise had alwaies disco- erxes, from the War of Cyrus to the invasion vereda good affection to the Crown of Per- of Egypt, I find nothing (this infurrection, fia. They had fided with Xerxes in his inva- and a fruitless journey against the Cadustans fion of Greece; with Darius and the Lacede- excepted) worthy of any mention, much less monians against Athens: And finally having of digression from the course of the business offered much contumely to Agesslaus when in Greece. All, or the most of his time passed he put to Sea, they drew him home by ma- away so quietly, that he enjoyed the pleaking War on the Confederates of Sparta, fures which an Empire so great and wealthy Besides all these their good deservings, they could afford unto so absolute a Lord, with were no Sea-men, and therefore unlikely to little difturbance. The troubles which he look abroad; whereupon if perchance they found were only, or chiefly, Domestical; should have any desire, yet were they dis- growing out of the hatred which Parysatis abled by the want of good Haven Towns; the Queen-Mother bare unto his wife stawhich they could not feize upon without tira, and to fuch as had been the greatest open breach of that peace, whereof they in- enemies to her fon Cyrus, or gloried in his tended to become the Executors, giving li-death: upon whom, when by poyfon and berty to all Cities that had at any time been mischievous practices she had satisfied her free. Wherefore Artaxerxes did wholly feminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth condescend unto the requests of Pelopidas, as she wholly applyed her self to the Kings diffarforth as he might, without giving open position, cherishing in him the lewd desire of defiance to the rest of Greece; and by that marrying his own Daughter, and filling him mean he purchased his own quiet, being ne- with the perswasion, which Princes not enver afterward molested by that Nation in dued with an especial grace, do readily enthe lower Asia. The ill means which the tertain; That his own will was the supreme Greeks had to disturb Artaxerxes, was very law of his subjects, and the rule by which beneficial to the Estate of Persia shortly after all things were to be measured & adjudged

CHAP. XII.

been adverse to Thebes, was now, by mise-

ries of this grievous War, driven to become

Neutral) took occasion hereby, and by

fome diforders among the Arcadians, to vifit

peloponnesus with an Army, confisting of all

the power of Thebes. A great tumult had

rifen in Arcadia about confecrated mony,

which many principal men among them had

laid hands on, under pretence of employ-

mony which had come into their hands, pro-

thereby caused was so great, that the priso-

ners were forthwith enlarged, and the Arca-

to be good or evil. In this imaginary hap-pines *Pelopidus*, and the other Embaliadors low, did now conjoyn their forces against of Greece, both found and left him; but left the Thebans, who fought to make themselves him by so much more assured than they Lords of all. The Eleans, Corinthians, and found him, by how much the conclusion of Achaians, followed the party of these ancient this Treaty with them, being altogether to Governing Cities; either for the old reputahis own advantage, did feem to promife, if tion of them, and benefits received, or in not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the diflike of those, who by strong handwere fame felicity to him and his, or (at the least) ready to become Rulers, to which authority a full fecurity of danger from Greece, whence they could not fuddenly aspire without some only could any danger be feared. But such injury and much envy. The City of Theles foundations of eternity laid by mortal men abounding with men, whom necessity had in this transitory world, like the Tower of made warlike, and many Victories in few Babel, are either shaken from heaven, or years had filled with great spirits; and being made vain and unprofitable, ere the frame fo mighty independants, that she had reducan be raifed to full height, by confusion of ced all the continent of Greece without Pelptongues among the builders. Hereof was ponnessus (the Region of Attica, and very litfound a good example in the Thebans, and the part beside, excepted) under such acother Estates of Greece that had sent Embas- knowledgement, as wanted not much of sadours to the Persian. For whereas it had meer Vassallage, did hope to bring all Pelobeen concluded, that all Towns, as well the ponnesus to the like obedience, wherein allittle as the great, should be set at liberty, ready she had set good footing by her conand the Thebans made Protectors of this junction with the States of Argos, and of Arcommon peace, who thereby should become cadia. The Argives had been alwayes bad the Judges of all Controversies that might Neighbours to the Spartans, to whom they arise, and Leaders in War of all that would thought themselves in ancient Nobility Suenter into this Confederacy; the Kings let- periours, but were far under them in valour, ters being folemnly published at Thebes, in having been often beaten out of the field by the presence of Embassadours drawn thi- them, and put in danger of losing all : which ther from all parts of Greece; when an oath caused them to suspect and envy nothing was required for observation of the form of more than the greatness and honour of peace therein fet down, a dilatory answer was made by the Embaliadours, who said, that they were sent to hear the articles, not to swear unto them. Hereby the Thebans her enemies whensoever they found herenwere driven to fend unto each of the Cities | tangled in a difficult War. As the Argives to require the Oath; But in vain. For when were, in hatred of sparta, fure friends of Thethe Corinthians had boldly refused it saying, bes, so the Arcadians, transported with a that they did not need it; others took cou- great opinion of their own worthines, had rage by their example to do the like, difap- formerly renounced and provoked against pointing the Thebans of their glorious hopes, them their old Confederates and Leaders, to whom this negotiation with Artaxerxes the Lacedamonians, and were now become gave neither addition nor confirmation of very doubtful adherents to the Thebans. In greatness, but left them as it found them to which regard, it was thought convenient by relye upon their own fwords.

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ø. V.

How all Greece was divided between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.

THe condition of things in Greece at that time did frand thus. Athens and sparta, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envy of the others greatness drawn all their follo- not relinquishing the old, because they wers into a cruel intestine War, by which found that howsoever these Arcadians were the whole Country, and especially the enemies to the Lacedamonians, they should

Epaminondas. and the State of Thebes, to fend an Army into Peloponnesus, before such time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutral, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And furely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, confidering that without confent of the Thebans, they had made peace with Athens, which was very strange, and seemed no less to the Athenians themselves, who holding a firm league with sparta at the same time when the Arcadians treated with them, did nevertheless accept this new Confederacy,

hereby be drawn fomewhat further from other hope of fecuring their own effate their alliance with Thebes, which without could not be thought upon) did now very them was unlikely to invade Peloponnelus gently yield to the Arcadians, that the comwith a strong Army. But this did rather ham and of the Army in chief, should be given with a tribus any means fray the coming of for the time, to that City in whose Territory Epaninondas; who finding the way fome- it lay. what more clear for him (because the City of Corinth, which lay upon the Isthmus, and had

ø. VI.

A terrible Invalion of Peloponnelus by Epaminondas.

Ertain it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm confent, and uniform care of the common fafety. For befide the great forces raifed out of the other parts of Greece, the Argives and ing it to publick uses. In compounding the Messenians prepared with all their strength differences grown upon this occasion, such to joyn with Epaminondas; who having as had least will to render account of the lyen a while at Nemea, to intercept the Athenians, received their intelligence, that the cured the Captain of some Theban Souldiers, Army coming from Athens would pass by lving in Tegea, to take prisoners many of Sea, whereupon he disledged, and came to their Country-men, as people desirous of in- | Tegea, which City, and the most of all Areanovation. This was done: but the uproar | dia befides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the Thebans, would be upon such dians, who had in great numbers taken of the Arcadians as had revolted; which Arms, with much ado scarce pacified. When caused the Lacedamonian Captains to fortifie Mantinea with all diligence, and to fend complaint of the Captains proceedings came to Thebes, Epaminondas turned all the blame | for Agesslaus to Sparta, that he bringing with upon them, who had made the peace with him all that small force of able men which Athens, letting them know, that he would remained in the Town, they might be strong be flortly among them, to judge of their enough to abide Epaminondas there. But Epaminondas held fo good espial upon his fidelity, by the affiftance which they should give him, in that War which he intended to | Enemies, that, had not an unknown fellow brought hafty advertisement of his purpose make in Peloponnesus. These Lordly words to Agesilaus, who was then well onward in did greatly amaze the Arcadians; who the way to Mantinea, the City of Sparta needing not the aid of fo mighty a power as had fuddenly been taken. For thither with he drew along with him, did vehemently all fpeed and fecrecy did the Thebans march, suspect that great preparation to be made who had furely carried the City, notwithagainst themselves. Hereupon such of them standing any defence that could have been as had before fought means to fettle the afmade by that handful of men remaining fairs of their Country, by drawing things to within it, but that Agefilaus in all flying hafte fome good conclusion of peace, did now got into it with his companies, whom the forthwith fend to Athens for help, and with-Army of his Confederates followed thither. all dispatched some of the principal among them as Embassadours to Sparta, by whom to the rescue as fastasit was able. The arrival of the Lacedamonians and their friends, as it they offered themselves to the common decut off all hope from Epaminondas, of taking fence of Peloponnesus, now ready to be invasparta, so it presented him with a fair advanded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the Lacedemonians, who feared nothing tage upon Mantinea. It was the time of Harvest, which made it very likely, that the more than the coming of Epaminondas, against whom they well knew, that all their | Mantineans, finding the War to be carried forces, and best provisions, would be no more from their walls into another quarter, would than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing use the commodity of that vacation, by therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they | fetching in their Corn, and turning out their (who had been accustomed unto such a supremacy, as they would in no wife commu- near, that might impeach them. Wherefore nicate with the powerful City of Athens, till he turned away from Sparta to Mantinea,

HAP. XII.

fending his horse-men before him, to seize courage in their first growth, and leave some upon all that might be found without the memorable character of his Expedition, re-City. The Mantineans (according to the folved to give them Battel, whereby he reaexpectation of Epaminondas) were scattered sonably hoped both to settle the doubtful abroad in the Country, far more intent up- affections of his own Affociats, and to leave on their Harvest business, than upon the war, the Spartans as weak in spirit and ability, as whereof they were fecure, as thinking them- he found them, if not wholly to bring them felves out of distance. By which prefumpti- into subjection. Having therefore warned on it fell out, that great numbers of them, his mento prepare for that Battel, wherein and all their Cattel, being unable to reco- Victory should be rewarded with Lordship ver the Town, were in a desperate case; and of all Greece; and finding the alacrity of his the Town it felf in no great likelihood of Souldiers to be such as promised the accomholding out, when the enemy should have plishment of his own desire; he made shew taken all their provision of victuals, with so of declining the enemy, and intrenching many of the people as had not over-dearly himself in a place of more advantage, that he been redeemed, by that Cities returning to by taking from them all expectation of fociety with Thebes. But at the same time, fighting that day, he might allay the heat of the Athenians coming to the fuccour of their their valour, and afterward strike their Confederates, whom they thought to have fenses with amazement, when he should found at Mantinea, were very earnestly en- come upon them unexpected. This opinion treated by the Citizens to rescue their deceived him not. For with very much tugoods, and people, from the danger where- mult, as in fo great and fudden a danger, the into they were fallen, if it were possible by enemy ran to Arms, necessity enforcing their any couragious adventure to deliver those resolution, and the consequence of that daies who otherwise were given as lost. The The- service, urging them to do as well as they bans were known at that time to be the best might. The Theban Army consisted of thirty Souldiers of all the Greeks, and the commen- thousand foot, and three thousand horse; dation of good horsemanship had alwaies the Lacedemonians and their friends were been given to the Thessalians, as excelling in short of this number, both in horseand in that quality all other Nations; yet the re- foot, by a third part. The Mantineans (begard of honour fo wrought upon the Athe- cause the War was in their Country) stood nians, that for the reputation of their City, in the right wing, and with them the Lacewhich had entred into this War upon no demonians; the Athenians had the left wing; necessity of her own, but only in desire of the Achaans, Eleans, and others of less acrelieving her distressed friend, they issued count, filled the body of the Army. The forth of Mantinea, not abiding folong as to Thebans stood in the left wing of their own refresh themselves, or their horses, with Battel, opposite to the Lacedamonians, hameat; and giving a lufty charge upon the ving by them the Arcadians, the Enbeans, enemy, who as bravely received them, after | Locrians, Sicyonians, Meffenians, and Theffaa long and hot fight, they remained Masters lians, with others, compounding the main of the field, giving by this Victory a fafe Battel; the Argives held the right wing; the and easie retrait to all that were without horse-men on each part were placed in the the walls. The whole power of the Baotians | flanks, only a troop of the Eleans were in the arrived in the place foon after this Battel, rear. Before the foot-men could joyn, the whom the Lacedemonians and their affistants were not far behind.

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ø. VII.

The great Battel of Mantinæa. The honourable death of Epaminondas, with his commendation.

that his attempts of surprizing Sparta and ment; but finding the Theban horse to have Mantinea having failed, the impression of given them over, and withall discovering terrour which his name had wrought in the fome Companies of foot, which had been fent Peloponnessans, would soon vanquish, unless about by Epaminondas, to charge their Batby some notable act he should abate their tel in the rear they brake upon them, routed

encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the Thebans prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant refistance of the Athenians: who, not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were overlaid with numbers, and so beaten upon by Theffalian flings, that they were driven to forfake the place, and leave their infantery naked. But this retrait was the less disgrace-Paminondas, confidering that his Com-mission was almost now expired, and and did not fall back upon their own footthem, and hewed them all in pieces. In the tue of Epaminondas, who being in the head mean season the Battel of the Athenians had not only to do with the Argives, but was the Lacedamonians fquadron, and forced it not only colled by the Theban Horse-men, in to give back in disaray, was furiously charsuch wife that it begun to open, and was ready to turn back, when the Elean squadron of Horse came up to the relief of it, and restored all enthat part. With far greater violence did the Lacedamonians and Thebans meet, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; fo that equal courage, and equal loss on both sides made the hope and appearance of Victory to either equally doubtful : unless perhaps the Lacedamonians being very firm abiders, might feem the more likely to prevail, as having born the first brunt and fury of the on-fet, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by difcipline, as it were by Nature, to excel in patience, whereof the Thebans, by practice of a few years, cannot be thought to have gotten a habit fo fure and general. But Epamithe Thebans, who may justly be said to have carried the Victory, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the Battelwas fought, having driven the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alby chance in their own flight, finding them behind their Army, and the retaining of Leuctra and Mantinea were two fair daughtheir dead bodies; it was a ceremony reters, in whom his memory should live. gardable only among the Greeks, and ferved meerly for oftentation, shewing that by the the enemy could not get from them otherwife than by request. But the Thebans arri-

of that Warlike troop of men, which broke ged on the fudden, by a desperate Company of the Spartans, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheless, with a singular courage, maintained the fight, using against the enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his own body 5 till at length by a Spartan, called Anticrates, he received to violent a stroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the Iron and a piece of the trunchion in his breaft. Hereupon he funk down, and was foon conveyed out of the fight by his friends; having by his fall somewhat animated the Spartans (who fain would have got his body but much more inflamed with revengeful indignation, the The? bans, who raging at his heavy mischance, did with great flaughter compel their difordered enemies to leave the field; though long nondus perceiving the obstinate stiffness of they followed not the chase, being wearied the Enemics to be such, as neither the bad more with the sadness of this disaster, than fucces of their own horse, nor all the force with all the travel of the day. Epaminondas of the Baotian Army, could abate so far, as being brought into his Tent, was told by the to make them give one foot of ground; ta- Phylicians, that when the head of the Dart king a choice company of the most able men, should be drawn out of his body, he must whom he cast into the form of a Wedge, or needs dye. Hearing this, he called for his Diamond, by the advantage of that figure | shield, which to have lost, was held a great against a squadron, and by his own exceed-dishonour: It was brought unto him. He ing virtue, accompanied with the great bade them tell him, which part had the Vifireigth and resolution of them which fol- ctory ; answer was made, that the Baotians lowed him, did open their ranks, and cleave | had won the field. Then faid he, It is a fair the whole Battel in despight of all resistance. time for me to dye; and withall sent for Thus was the honour of that day won by lolidas and Diophantes, two principal men of War, that were both flain: which being told him, He advised the Thebans to make peace, whilst with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a General. Herewithall he willedged by the Athenians, as a token that the led, that the head of the weapon should be Victory was partly theirs, the flaughter of drawn out of his body, comforting his those Mercenaries upon whom they lighted | friends that lamented his death, and want of iffue, by telling them, that the Victories of

So died Epaminondus, the worthiest man that ever was bred in that Nation of Greece, fight they had obtained fomewhat, which and hardly to be matched in any Age or Country: for he equalled all others in the feveral virtues, which in each of them were vedat the general immediate end of the bat- fingular. His Justice and Sincerity, his Temtel; none daring to abide them in the field: perance, Wildom, and high Magnanimity, whereof a manifest confession is expressed were no way inferiour to his Military virfrom them, who forfook the place which tue; in every part whereof he fo excelled, they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent that he could not properly be called a Wafor trial of their ability and prowefs. This rie, a Valiant, a Politick, a Bountiful, or an was the last work of the incomparable vir- Industrious, and a Provident Captain. Nei-

ther was his privateConversation unanswer- offend her Neighbours, and therefore might able to those high parts, which gave him well be allowed to shew that anger in cepraise abroad. For he was Grave, and yet remonies, which had no power to declare if very Affable and Courteous; resolute in pub- self in execution. This Peace, as it gave lick business, but in his own particular ca- some breath and refreshing to all the Counfie, and of much mildness: a lover of his try, so to the Cities of Athens and sparta in People, bearing with mens infirmities, witty afforded leifure to feek after wealth by foand pleasant in speech, far from insolence, rein employment in Egypt, whither Agesilaus Mafter of his own affections, and furnished was sent with some small forces to affish, or with all qualities that might win and keep indeed as a Mercenary, to ferve under Tuchor love. To these graces were added great King of Egypt in his War upon syria, Chabriability of body, and much Eloquence, and as the Athenian, who had before commandvery deep knowledge in all parts of Philoso- ed under Acoris King of Egypt, went now as phy and Learning, wherewith his mind be- a voluntary, with fuch forces as he could ing enlightened, rested not in the sweetness raise, by entreaty, and offer of good pay, to of Contemplation, but brake forth into fuch the same service. These Egyptian Kings deeffects as gave unto Thebes, which had ever- scended from Amyrtaus of Sais, who rebelmore been an underling, a dreadful repu- led against Darius Nothus, having retained tation among all people adjoyning, and the the Country, notwithstanding all intestine highest command in Greece.

6. VIII.

Of the Peace concluded in Greece after the Battel of Mantinæa. The Voyage of Agefilaus into Egypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made between him and Pompey the Ro-

His Battel of Mantinea was the greatest that had ever been fought in that stand had not proved a false Traitor, joyning Country between the Naturals; and the last. With Nectanebus, who rose against his Prince, For at Maranthon, and Plataa, the populous and helping the Rebel with that Army Armies of the barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard trial to the Grecian valour; neither were the practice of good of his own Country, though it feem Arms and Art Military, fo perfeft in the beginnings of the Peloponnesian War, as long continuance, and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted, which were undertaken against forein enemies, proving for the most part unfortunate. But in this last fight all Greece was interefled, which never had more able foldiers, and brave Commanders nor ever contended for Victory with greater care of the fuccefs, or more obstinate resolution. All which, notwithstanding, the issue being such as hath up another King; to whom all, or most of been related, it was found best for every the Egyptians yielded their obedience. But particular Estate, that a general Peace Agestians fighting with him in places of adshould be established, every one retaining vantage, prevailed so far, that he left Nettawhat he prefently had, and none being for- nebus in quiet possession of the Kingdom; ced to depend upon another. The Messenians who in recompence of his treason to the were by name comprized in this new league; | former King Tachos, and good service done which caused the Lacedamonians not to en- to himself, rewarded him with two hundred ter into it. Their standing out hindred not and thirty Talents of filver, with which the rest from proceeding to conclusion, con- booty failing homewards, he died by the fidering that Sparta was now too weak to way. He was a Prince very temperate, and

diffentions, and forein invalions, during three Generations of their own race, were fo well acquainted with the valour of the Greeks, that by their help (eafily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not only to affure themselves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoyning, which were held by the Persian. What the issue of this great enterprize might have been, had it not fallen by Domestical Rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is, that the Rebellion it felf had foon come to nothing, if Agewhich the mony of Tachos had waged. This falshood Agesilaus excused, as tending to the rather, that he grudged because the King took upon himfelf the conduct of the Army, using his service only as Lieutenant, who had madefull account of being appointed the General. Howfoever it came to pass, Tachos being shamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had reposed his chief confidence, fled unto the Persian, who upon his submisfion gave him gentle entertainment; and Nectanebus (who feems to have been the Nephew of Tachos) reigned in his flead. At the same time the Citizens of Mendes had set were before him; so Agesilaus had at one things, in any other Nation.

valiant, and a good Leader in War, free time or other some quarrel with every valiant, and a good with Town in Greece, had made a War in Alia. any blemilh of luft; which praises are the and medled in the business of the Egyptians, any premiure and the discipline in which variety he went beyond all his fers aumin was fuch as did endue every one of Predecessors: yet not winning any Counot spans (not carried away by the vio-the Citizens (not carried away by the vio-the Citizens (not carried away by the viothe Citizens (not can death all, or the lent fream of an ill nature) with all, or the lent fream of an ill nature) with all, or the chief of these good qualities. He was nechief of these good qualities. He was nechief of these good qualities. He was nechief of these good qualities. enter or the S arrogant; perverle, unjust them was the last great Captain which his vertneres very management which his and vain-glorious, measuring all things by Nation brought forth in time of liberty, and and value grotion and obstinately profecuting each of them ruined the liberty of his Counhis own will, and obstinately profecuting his own win, whose ends were beyond try by his own Lordly wilfulnes, We may hope. The Expedition of Xenophon hadfil- therefore well fay Similia magis omnia quam led him with an opinion; that by his hand paria; the resemblance was nearer than the the Empire of Persia should be overthrown; equality. Indeed the freedom of Rome was with which conceit being transported, and lost with Pompey, falling into the hands of finding his proceedings interrupted by the cefar, whom he had inforced to take Arms: Thebans and their Allies, he did ever after yet the Roman Empire stood, the form of bear fuch hatted unto Thebes, as compelled Government only being changed: But the that Estate by meer necessity to grow war- liberty of Greece, or of Sparta it self, was not like, and able, to the utter dishonour of forfeited unto the Thebans, whom Agesslaus sparta, and the irrepairable loss of all her had compelled to enter into a victorious former greatness. The commendations given War; yet the Signiory, and ancient renown to him by Xenophon his good friend, have of sparta was prefently loft; and the freecaused Plut arch to lay his name in the bal- dom of all Greece being wounded in this Thelance against Pompey the great; whose acti- ban War, and after much blood lost, ill heaons (the folemn gravity of carriage excep- led by the Peace ensuing, did very soon upted) are very disproportionable. Yet we on the death of Agestlam, give up the ghost, may truly say, That as rompey made great and the Lordship of the whole Country was Wars under fundry Climates, and in all the feized by Philip King of Macedon, whose Provinces of the Roman Empire, exceeding actions are now on foot, and more to be rein the multitude of employments all that garded than the Contemporary paffages of

Finis Libri Tertii.

CHAP. I.



THE OF THE

Intreating of the Times from the Reign of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that King. dom, in the Race of ANTIGONUS.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip the Father of Alexander the Great, King of Macedon.

ø. I.

What Kings reigned in Macedon before Philip.



riority, do still, as in for-

tion of each other.

liberty, with as happy ficcess as ever Nati- (of whom we are now to speak) they had so on had, and with no less honour, than hath little regard, as they grew even then more ever been acquired by deeds of Arms. And violent in devouring each other, when the having had a trial and experience more faft-growing greatness of such a Neighbourthan fortunate, against those Nations, they King, should, in regard of their own lafeties, fo little regarded what might come from have ferved them for a ftrong argument of

HE Greeks of whom we them, who had so often forfeited the repuhave already made large tation of their forces, as whatfoever could difcourfe, not as yet wearicd with intestine War, home, they transported over the Hellenor made wife by their font, as sufficient, to entertain and buse vain contention for super them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with evemer times, continue the invalion and valta- ry man of mark in the world, that they underfall, and perish by the hands and harms Against Xerxes, the greatest Monarch of which they least fears to fared it at this time that part of the world, they defended their with the Greeks. For of Philip of Macedon

poses of the Macedonians, because those and twenty years. Kings and States, which fate nearer them Perdiccas the first, the son of Tyrimas gobetween them and this inundation, than by Perdicas. feek to rampire and re-enforce their own fields, which by the Level of reason they might have found to have lien under it. It (1) was therefore well concluded by Orofius: Gracia Civitates imperare singula cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt 3 The Cities of them to command all.

Macedon, the fon of Ofiris, or, as other Authors affirm, of Jupiter and Æthra, is the next North-west, by the Thracians and Illyrians; and on the South and South-west by Thef-

faly and Epirus.

Their Kings were of the family of Teme-Oracle to lead a Colony into Macedon, de- nius of Clotarius the fon of Fredegunda. parted thence with many people: and as he was marching through that Countrey, the and twenty years. weather being rainy and tempestuous, he espied a great herd of Goats, which fled reigned fifty years; He lived at such time the storm as fast as they could, hasting them as Darius Hystaspes, after his unprosperous to their known place of covert. Whercupon return out of Scythia, fent Megabazus with **salbine, Caramus, calling to mind , that he had also for The by another Oracle been directed, to follow required **Amyntas** to acknowledge him for the first troop of beasts, that should either his Supream Lord, by yielding unto him lead him, or flie before him; he pursued Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as these Goats to the Gates of Edessa, and being you have heard before, were for their inso-City without resistance, and possess it. Soon was the son of Amyntas, and his Successor.

union and accord. But the glory of their after this, by the overthrow of Ciffeus, Cara- Eufeb. it persian victories, wherewith they were pam- nus became Lord of the rest of Macedon, and chro. nred and made proud, taught them to neg- held it eight and twenty years. Comus fucleft all Nations but themselves, and the ra-ceeded Caranus, and reigned twelve years. ther to value at little the power and pur- Tyrimas followed Carns, and ruled eight

kings and states, with the time of Amyntas, than they did, had in the time of Amyntas, the Father of Philip, to much weakned them, and won upon them, that they were not (a much renowned: Solimas, Pliny, Juffine, Eu-Sol.c. 14.

and won upon them, that they were not (a much renowned: Solimas, Pliny, Juffine, Eu-Sol.c. 14.

by Themphilips Anticohemic and other Plin. 1.4. and won upon them, that the Grecians perfected themselves) in any selicity, Theophilus, Antiochemus, and other selicity to recover their own, much affirm, that he appointed a place of burial one age, meny or teoret than own, mach allowed the place of burnal lefs to work any wonders againft their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Phiderers. that the Kingdom should so long continues on sare, storm-like, sudden and violent; and his Line and Race, as they continued to lay that it is then over-late to repair the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once swollen, fast-running, and inraged. No, the Greeks did rather imploy themselves, in nide failed in him: a thing rather devised breaking down those defences which stood after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold

> Argaus succeeded unto Perdiccas, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Philip the first, his succellor, reigned eight Euseb. in and twenty years.

Æropus followed Philip, and governed fix and twenty years: in whole infancy the Greece lost their command, by striving each of Illyrians invaded Macedon, and having obtained a great victory, they purfued the same The Kingdom of Macedon, fo called of to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the Macedonians, gathering new forces, and resolving either to recover their former Region towards the North which borde- loss, or to lose at once both their Kingdom reth Greece . It hath to the East, the Age- and their King they carried him with them an Sea; it is bounded on the North and in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten, (their King being present) or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no nus, of the race of Hercules, and by Nation | man so void of honour and compassion, as Argives; who are lifted as followeth. About to abandon their natural Lord, being an In-Eufeb. fome fix years after the translation of the fant, and no way (but by the hands of his mian. The. Assirian Empire, Arbaces then governing servants) able to defend himself from de-Ant. & c. Media; Caranus of Argos, commanded by an fruction. The like is reported by Aimo-6, 82.

Alcetas fucceeded Æropus, and ruled nine

Amentas the first succeeded Alcetas, and undiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason | lent behaviour towards the Macedonian La-Her. Est. of the darkness of the air, he entred their dies, slain by the direction of Alexander, who

Alexander

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Amyntas, governed Macedon three and for his return from the Asian expedition, to pass ty years. He did not only appeale the wrath by the way of Macedon into Greece. of Megabazus, for the flaughter of the Per-fun Embafladors, by giving Gygea his Sifter, Argens, and Alexander. Pansanias fucceeded an Pic. his father Argens, and having reigned to Bubares of the blood of Persia; but by his father Eropus, and having reigned one Down. that match he grew fo great in Xer- year, he was driven out by Amyntas the son xes grace, as he obtained all that Region of Philip, the son of the first Perdiccas, the between the Mountains of Olympus and He- fon of Alexander the Rich; which Philip mus, to be united to the Kingdom of Mace- was then preferved, when Archelaus the don. Yet could not these benefits buy his Bastard slew his Brother Ferdiceas, his Uncle affection from the Greeks. For Xerxes be- Alcetas, and his fon Alexander. This Anna-That Est ing returned into Asia, and Mardonius made tas reigned (though very unquietly) four General of the Persian Army; Alexander and twenty years; for he was not only infeacquainted the Greeks with all his intents sted by Pausanias, assisted by the Thraciani. and purposes against them. He had three and by his brother Argans, incouraged by

lived in the time of the Feloponnesian war, the other fide, the Olynthians, his Neighand reigned in all eight and twenty years. bours neer the Ægean Sea, made themselves The wars which he made were not much for a while Masters of Pella, the chief City remarkable: the Story of them is found of Macedon. here and there by pieces in Thucydides his first fix Books. He left behind him two rydice the Illyrian, three sons; Alexander fons; Perdiceas, who was very young; and the fecond, Perdiceas the third, and Philip

Archelaus, who was base-born.

the custody and care of Archelaus, was at se- He had also by his second Wife Greathree ven years of age cast into a well and drown- Sons; Archelaus, Argeus, and Menelaus, afed by his falle Guardian: who excufing terward flain by their brother Philip. He this fact to Cleopatra the mother of the had more by a Concubine, Ptolomy furnamed young King, faid, That the child in following | Alorites, of the City of Alorus, whereinhe a Goose hastily, fell thereinto by misadven- was born. ture. But Archelaus stayed not here: for having thus dispatched his brother, he slew above one year, in which time he was invaboth his Uncle Alcetas the fon of Alexan- ded by Pausanias, the fon of Eropus, but der the Rich, and Alexander the fon of this defended by Iphicrates the Athenian, while Alcetas, his Cousin Germain, and enjoyed he was at that time about Amphipolis. He the Kingdom of Macedon himself four and was also constrained (for the payment of twenty years.

Gorg. Ariffotle make mention, though he made who had subjected his Father Amyntas to in Fol. 5. himself King by wicked murder, yet per- the payment of tribute. After this, Alexanformed many things greatly to the profit | der being invited by the Alevade against of his Nation. It is faid, That he fought by Alexander the Tyrant of Pheres in Theffaly, all means to draw Socrates unto him, and having redeemed his brother Philip; to draw that he greatly loved and honoured Eury- the Thebans to his affiftance, entred into Conpides the Tragedian. He had two fons, federacy with Pelopidas, being at that time in Archelaus and Orestes.

ther; and having reigned feven years, he was for the gage of his promifes to Pelopidas. flain in hunting, either by chance, or of But Eurydice his Mother falling in love with purpose, by Crataus.

the education of Aropus of the Royal death of Alexander her fon, with a purpose blood of Macedon, and had the same mea- to confer the Kingdom on her Paramour, fure which Archelans had measured to his which Ptolomy Alorites did put in execution: Pupil; for Eropus murthered him and usur- by means whereof, he held Macedon for ped the Kingdom, which he held fome fix three years, but was foon after flain by years: the same who denyed passage to Perdiccasthe brother of Alexander. Diodore

Alexander surnamed the Rich, the son of Agesilans King of Sparta, who desired, after

fons, Perdiceas, Alcetas, and Philip.

Perdiceas the fecond, the fon of Alexander, two years disposiest of Macedon: but on

Amyntas the fecond, had by his wife Futhe fecond, Father of Alexander the Great: Perdiccas the third, being delivered to and one Daughter called Euryone or Exione,

Alexander the second reigned not much nenty years.

This Archelaus, of whom both Plato and brother Philip in Hostage with the Illyrians, the same Countrey, with whom he also left Archelaus the second, succeeded his Fa- Philip with divers other principal persons, her Son-in-law, who had married her Orestes his younger son was committed to Daughter Euryone or Exione, practifed the naul it and faith, That Amyntas his Father by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by by whom he was conveyed to Thebes, there all fides and quarters of his Country: vet fecond time by Alexander his brother.

practice of Eurydice his mother, as Alexan-

ø. II.

The beginning of Philip's reign: and how he delivered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it intangled.

Philip the second, the youngest son of Amyntas by Eurydice, having been inftructed in all knowledge requisite unto the Government of a Kingdom, in that excellent between him and the Athenians for that education which he had under Epaminondas, making an escape from Thebes, returned | Iy renowned and honoured by all the into Macedon, in the first year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, which was after the building of Rome three hundred fourscore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the King- | The good success which Philip had in many endom was invironed, he took on him, not as a King (for Perdiccas left a fon, though but an Infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of War.

and his hath it etherwise of Philip being made and that the Athenians with a Fleet delivered him for hostage to the Illgrians, Land under Mantias, did beat upon him on to be kept: others report that Philip (while after he had practifed the men of War of his Father was yet living) was first ingaged Pannonia, and corrupted them with gifts : to the Thebans, and delivered for hoftage a and had also bought the King of Thrace from Paufanias, he forthwith made head against Perdices the third, after he had flain the Athenians his stiffest enemies; and, for Alorites his base Brother, Governed Macedon the first, he prevented their recovery of five years, and was then flain in a battel Amphipolis, a City on the frontier of Maceagainst the Illyrians, according to Diodorus; don: and did then pursue Argaus, the son but Jufin affirmeth that he perished by the of Eropus, set against him by the Athenians, and followed him so hard at the heels; in his retrait from Æges, that he forced him to abide the battel: which Argans loft, having the greatest part of his Army slain in the place. Those of the Athenians, and others which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a strong piece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the present fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the Vanquishers life and liberty to return into Attica. Whereupon a peace was concluded present, and for this clemency he was great-Greeks.

o. III.

terprises.

Ow had Philip leasure to look North-ward, and to attend the Illyrians and Yet his fruitful ambition foon over-grew his | Pwonians, his irreconcileable enemies and modesty, and he was easily persuaded by borderers: both which he invaded with so the people to accept both the title of King, prosperous success, as he slew Bardillis, King and withall, the absolute rule of the King- of the Illyrians, with seven thousand of his dom: And, to fay the truth, the necessity of Nation, and thereby recovered all those the State of Macedon at that time required places which the Illyrians held in Macedon: a King both prudent and active. For, be- and withall, upon the death of the King of fides the incursions of the Illyrians and Pan- Pannonia, he piere dthat Country, and after nonians, the King of Thrace did set up in op- a main Victory obtained, he enforc'd them position, Pausanias; the Athenians, Argam; to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, fons of the late Usurper Eropus: each of than (without staying to take longer these labouring to place in Macedon a King breath) he hasted speedly towards Larisia, of their own election. These heavy burdens upon the River Peneus in Thessaly, of which when Philip could not well bear, he bought Town he foon made himself Master; and off the weightiest by mony, and by fair pro- thereby he got good footing in that Counmiles unloaded himself of so many of the try, whereof he made use in time following. rest, as he ran under the remainder happily Now although he resolved either to subdue enough. For, notwithstanding that his the Thessairs, or to make them his own brother Perdiccas had his death accompani- against all others, because the horse-men of ed with four thousand Macedonians, befide that Country were the best, and most feared those that were wounded and taken pri- in that part of Europe; yet he thought it most foners; and that the Pannonians were for his lafety to close up the entrances out destroying all before them in Macedon; of Thrace, lest while he invaded Thessaly and

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tions, lying towards the North, should either hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; withdraw him, or over-run Macedon, as in but the Greeks themselves, beating down former times. He therefore attempted Am- their own defences, to give him an easie past phipolis, seated on the famous river of stri- sage; and beating themselves, to give him mon, which parteth Thrace from Macedon; Victory without peril; left nothing unperand won it. He also recovered Pynda, and formed towards their own slavery, saving (to the North of Amphipolis) the City of the title and imposition. Of this War the Crenides (sometime Datus) and called it af- Thebans (made over-proud by their Victory ter his name, Philippi: to the people where- at Leuttra) were the inflamers. For at the of, Saint Paul afterward directed one of his Council of the Amphytiones, or of the ge-Epistles. This place, wherein Fhilippi stood, neral Estates of Greece, in which at that time is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, they swayed most, they caused both the Lagreatly to the advancement of Philips af- cedemonians and Phocians to be condemned fairs, he drew yearly a thousand talents, in greater sums of mony than they could which make fix hundred thousand French | well bear; the one for surprizing the Castle Crowns.

disburden the Thracian shores of the Atheni- to the Temple of Delphos. The Phocians an Garrisons, to which he had given a great being resolved not to obey this Edict, were blow by the taking in of Amphipolis, he en- secretly set on, and encouraged by the Lacetred into league with his Fathers malicious demonians: and for refusal were exposed enemies, the Olynthians; whom the better as Sacrilegers, and accurfed to all their to fasten unto him, he gave them the City of neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then Pynda with the territory, meaning nothing lawful to invade, and destroy them at their less than that they should enjoy it, or their pleasures.

own Estate, many years.

ground upon the Greeks, he took the fair fame dice of hazzard that Cafar after many occasion to deliver the City of Pheres in Ages following did; but had not the same Theffaly, from the Tyrants Lycophron and chance. Yet they dealt well enough with Tifiphonus: who, after they had conspired all the enemies of their own Nation, And with Thebe the wife of Alexander, who usur- the better to bear out an ungracious quarped upon the liberty of that State, they rel, of which there was left no hope of comthemselves (Alexander being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppressible for seeing that for the ploughing of fion that Alexander did, till by the affiftance a piece of Apollo's ground, they had so much of Philip they were beaten out, and Pheres offended their Neighbour-god, and their restored to her former liberty. Which act Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not beof Philip did for ever after fasten the Thes- fall them than already was intended; they falians unto him, and, to his exceeding great resolved to take the gold with the ground, advantage, binde them to his service.

ø. IV.

ad, eight years after the battel of Mantinea, and Locrians; but being beaten in the fourth, and about the eighth year of Artaxerxes their Leader Philomelus cast himself head-Ochus, began that War, called Sacred. Now, long over the Rocks. as all occasions concur towards the execution of eternal providence, and of every great | su, both to defend themselves against their alteration in the World, there is some pre- bad neighbour Philip, who encroached upon ceding preparation, though not at the first them, and to draw others into their quarrel, easily discerned; so did this revengeful ha- rendred themselves to the Athenians. Philip tred by the Thebans, Theffalians, and Locri- prepareth to get them into his hands, and at ans, conceived against the Phocians, not the siege of Methone lost one of his eyes, It is

Greece towards the South, those ample Na- only teach Philip how he might with half a rowns.

And that he might with the more ease ploughing up a piece of ground belonging

The Phocians perfwaded thereunto by Now that he might by degrees win Philomelus, a Captain of their own, call the and either to perish for all, or to prevail against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they took out of the Temple in the beginning of the Of the Phocian War which first drew Philip War, was ten thousand talents, which in those dayes served them to wage a great many men; and fuch was their fuccessin the Bout this time, to wit, in the fecond beginning of the War, as they won three Ayear of the hundred and fixth Olympi- great battels against the Thebans, Thessalians

In the mean while the Cities of Chersone-

direct his arrow toward him, and that it was the ans were very frong, and had ever more written on the shaft thereof: After Thilippo; both braved and beaten the Macedonians. After to Philip: for to he was called that gave It is faid, that Philip having put to death paint the wound. This City he evened with Archelaus his half brother (for Amontas had

while Philip was buffed on the border of elder brother by the same Mother being white Theffalians ingaged in the dead, he determined to rid himself also of holy War, entred Thessaly with new forces, the rest) the two younger held themselves not find leafure to invade them. Hereupon all things were lawful that might ferve his their City of Coronea. But Philip, impatient of his late misadventure, after he had re-enforced his Army, returned with all speed into Thessaly, there to find again the honour which he lately loft : and was the fecond time encountred by Onomarchus, who brought into the field twenty thousand foot, and five hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for Onomarchus was by Philip furmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Army overturned, fix thousand flain, and three thousand taken: of which number himself being one, was among others hanged by Philip. Those that fled, were in part received by the Athenian Gallies, which failed along the coast, commanded by Chares 5 but the greatest number of those that took the Sea, were therein devoured ere they recovered them. Lycophron was now again driven out of Theffaly, and Pheres made free as before.

s. V.

Of the Olynthian War. The ambitious pradices of Philip.

Rom hence Philip resolved to invade By gifts the Macedon clave Gates alunder, favour his entrance into those parts; and therefore with the help of the Lacedamonians, they retrench'd his paffage at the Streits of Thermopylis. Whereupon he re-ruption and fraud, than he did by force. For turned into Macedon, and after the taking as he had in all the principal Cities of Greece of Missberne, Torone, and other Towns, he his fecret workers (which way of Conquest quarrelled with the Olynthians, whom not was well followed by Philip the second of

faid, That he that fhot him, did purposely and bought his peace of them. For the Olynthree fons by Eurydice the Mother of Philip, The Tyrant Lycophron before mentioned, and three other fons by Gygaa: but Philips being affilted by Onomarchus, Commander within Olymbus; and that the receiving of of the Phocian Army, in place of Philomelus, them by the Olynthians was the cause of the For hereby the Phocians hoped to enter- War, Justine affirmeth. Just quarrels are rain the Thessalians at home, as they should ballanced by just Princes, but to this King was Philip the second time called into The fla- turn; all his affections, and passions, how by; but both the Theffalians and Macedonia divers foever in other men, were in his amans (Philip being present) were utterly over- bition swallowed up, and thereinto convertthrown by Onomarchus; and great numbers ed. For he neither forbare the murder of of both Nations lost. From Thessalp, Ono- his own brothers, the breach of faith, the marching drew speedily towards Baeotia, and buying of other mens fidelity: he esteemed with the same Victorious Army brake the no place strong where his As loaden with forces of the Baotians, and took from them | gold might enter; nor any City or State unconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens forrow and subjection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of Olynthus, till he had inclosed all the power they had within their own walls, he entred their Territory, and by the advantage of a well-compounded and trained Army, he gave them two overthrows ere he fate down before the City it felf: which done, he bought Enthicrates and Lasthenes from their people, and from the fervice of their Country and Common-weale, by whose treason he entred the Town, slew his brothers therein, fackt it, and fold the Inhabitants for flaves by the drum. By the spoil of this place he greatly enriched himself, and had treasure sufficient to buy-in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For fo was he advised by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, That he should make his assaults with silver spears: Whereupon Horace well and truly laid,

> Diffidit Urbium Portas vir Macedo, & Subruit amulos Reges muneribus.

Hor, Carm. Od. 16,

And Kings envying his estate brought under.

And it is true, that he won more by corlong before he had wooed to his alliance, spain;) So when in the contention between

he was chosen the Arbitrator; he came not the superintendency of the Pythian games. to the Council accompanied with Piety and forfeited by the Corinthians, by being par-Justice, but with a powerful Army, and takers in the Phocian sacrilege. having beaten and flain both Kings, gave fentence for himfelf, and made the Kingdom

ø. VI.

How Philip ended the Phocian War.

ly War: the Baotians, finding themselves the Thracians to pay him the tenth part of unable to subsist without some present aid, all their revenues. But his next enterprise fent unto Philip for fuccour, who willingly against the Perinthians stayed his fury Perinvielded to their necessities, and sent them thins was a City of Thrace, seated upon Frofuch a proportion of men, as were neither fuf- | pontis, in the mid-way between selfos and ficient to master their enemies, nor to assure Byzantium, a place of great strength, and themselves; but yet to enable them to con- a people resolved to defend their liberty tinue the War, and to waste the strength of against Philip, where the Athenians incou-Greece. They also fent to Artaxerxes Ochus raged and affisted them. Philip sate down befor supply of treasure, who lent them thirty | fore it with a puissant Army, made many fair talents, which makes a hundred and four- breaches, gave many furious affaults, built fcore thousand Crowns: but when with these | many over-topping and commanding Towfupplies they had still the worst against the ers about it. But he was repelled with equal Phocians, who held from them three of the violence. For whereas Philip thought by his strongest Cities within Baotia it self, they continual assaults to weary them, and waste then belought Philip of Macedon that he both their men and munition, they were would affift them in person, to whom they supplied, not only from the Persian with would give an entrance into their Territo- | men and money, and succoured from Byzanry, and in all things obey his commande- tium, which frood upon the same Sea-coast, ments in War.

he knew himself in state to give the law to whatsoever was wanting to their necessity. both, and so quitting all his other purposes But because those of Byzantium by reason of towards the North, he marched with a spee- their neighbourhood, and easie passage by dy pace towards Beotia, where being arriv- water gave them often and ready help, Phied. Phallechus who commanded the Phocian lip removed the one half of his Army, and Army, fearing to thock with this victorious | befieged it, leaving fifteen thousand foot King, made his own peace, and withdrew | before Perinthus, to force it if they could: himself with a Regiment of eight thousand But, to be short, he failed in both attempts, Souldiers into Peloponnesus, leaving the Pho- (as all Princes commonly do that undertake cians to the mercy of the Conqueror; and divers enterprises at one time) and returnfor conclusion he had the glory of that War ed into Macedon with no less dishonour than called Sacred, which the Grecians with fo loss: whereupon he made an overture of many mutual flaughters had continued for peace with the Athenians, & greatly defired ten years; and, besides the glory, he posses it it to which though Phocion perswaded them himself of Orchomene, Coronea, and Corsia, in all he could, and that by the occasion offethe Country of the Exotians, who invited red they might greatly advantage their conhim to be victorious over themselves. He ditions; yet Demosthenes with his eloquence brought the Phocians into servitude, and prevailed in the refusal. In the mean while, wasted their Cities, and gave them but their Philip having digested his late affront, and Villages to inhabite, referving unto himself supplied his expence, by the taking of an the yearly tribute of threefcore talents, hundred threefcore and tenMerchantsfhips, which make fix and thirty thouland French he gathered new forces, and being accom-Crowns. He also hereby (besides the same of panied with his son Alexander, led them into piety for service of the gods) obtained the scythia; but he was also unprosperous in fame double voice in the Council of the that enterprife ; For the Triballi, a people of

the Competitors for the Kingdom of Thrace, Amphyctiones which the Phocians had, with

ø. VII.

How Philip with ill success attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.

Hilip, after his triumphant return into Macedon, by the Lieutenant of his Army "He War still continued between the Parmenio, slaughtered many thousands of Phocians and the Associates of the ho- the Illyrians and Dardanians, and brought but they were relieved from Athens, Chio, & Now had Philip what he longed for ; for Rhodes, by the conduction of Phocion, with

Mella, let on him in his return, wounded time in diffrace, and not imployed; info the spoils which he had gathered.

ø. VIII.

How Philip overthrowing the Greeks in the battel of Cheronæa, was chosen Captain-General of Greece. The death of Philip.

ed the decree of the Amphyctiones, in which with so many difficulties, continued for so Philip had a double voice, and who by rea- many Ages, and so often defended against fon that the Thebans and Locrians gave the greatest Kings, was now lost in a mocountenance and aid to the Amphissonians, ment, and for ever lost. the rest were not of themselves able to Now this advised King (never passionate conftrain them, they befought Philip to come to his disadvantage) to the end he might obin person to their affistance. Now you tain the Soveraignty over all Greece, and be must think that Philip was not long in re- acknowledged for their Captain-General folving upon this enterprise; he needed against the Persians, without any further no drawing on, whom nothing could keep hazzard or trouble, was content to let go back; nor other diffwasion than a mastering those Athenians that were taken at this batpower could hold thence. He therefore tel of Cheronea, as he also forbare to attempt commanded his Army forthwith to march; anything against their City: but in Thebes the same being compounded of thirty thou- (which lately by the vertue of Epaminondas fand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and triumphed over the rest) he lodged a Garwith as much expedition as could be made, rifon of Macedonians. And being foon after he entred Phocis, won Platea, and brought | (according unto the long defire which he into subjection all that Region.

Therest, and especially the Athenians, although they had good cause to fear that a great part of this ftorm would fall on them-

felves, yet were they diffwaded by Demostbenes from accepting fuch reasonable conditions of peace as Philip offered, and rather | Parmenio, transported the fame over the made choice (having drawn the Thebans to | Hellespont into Asia, to begin the War. Of joyn with them) to leave the enjoying of his enterprise against Persia, he sought suctheir estates & their freedom to the chance | cels from the Oracle at Delphos, from whence of one battell, than to hold it either by com- he received such another convertible ridpolition, or by the grace of Philip. But this dle, as Crafus did when he attempted Cyrus, their Oratours eloquence cost them dear. and was in like fort mistaken in the ex-It is true, that he could far more eafily mind position. them of the vertue of their Ancestors than But as it is hard to discern and withstand make them fuch as they were. He might the flatteries of our own appetites, fo did repeat unto them (with words moving paf- Philips ambitious defire to invade Persia, fior) the wonders they wrought at Mara- abuse his judgement, so far, that the death, thon, but he could not transform the Mace- wherewith himself was threatned, he undonians into Persians, nor draw from the derstood to be delivered of his enemy, whom dead, a Miltiades, an Ariftides, a Themistocles, he intended presently to invade. Before or a cimon, or any of those famous Com- his purposed departure into Asia, he prepa-

him, and took from him the greatest part of much as when the Armies of Philip and the Confederates incountred, although some thousands of the Athenians did abide the killing, and the like number well-near of the Thebans died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that fide to hold up the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the Macedonians, incouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as Mong these Northern Nations (part it gave to Philip so shining a victory, that Alexander by the light thereof found his way. he spent some eight years; and in the ninth (in despight of all the Nations interjacent) year, after the end of the holy War, he into Persia, India, and Egypt; so it cut to the was, by his great advantage, invited ground, and gave end and date to all the again by the Grecians to their affiftance. Grecian glory; Yea their liberty (faith For the Citizens of Amphissa having disobey- Curtius) with their large Dominion won

> had nourished of this Soveraignty) by the general States at Corinth , styled the first Commander of all the Grecians, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Army of great strength, and under the Commandment of Attalus and

manders, whose great vertues they had pay- red for the marriage of his Daughter Cleaed with the greatest ingraritude that ever patra, with Alexander King of Epirus; to Nation did. A Phocion they had, but by the which feaft and pastimes thereat appointed, strength of a contrary faction he was at this he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the

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from whom he received much honour subjection of that famous Nation of Greece, and many rich prefents: but this was which for fo many ages had defendand many then precents. For, ed it felf against the greatest King of the indeed the feast of his Funeral. having refused to do justice to one Pau-having refused to do justice to one Pau-fanius, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom Attalus (greatly favoured by Phi-whom Attalus (greatly favoured by Phiwhom around (greatly layouted then left of them, both for their valour and judgeto be carnally abused by divers base persons; ment in the War, were no less worthis Panfarias grew into fo great a detectatons rangamas grew into io great a coul a fact, ware a Crown: For it was faild of Partion of the Kings partiality in fo foul a fact, as, when Philip was paffing twards the Theamenio (whom Alexander, ungrateful to ter, he drew a fword from under his long fo great vertue, impioully murthered) garment and wounded him to death, when That Parmenio had performed many things he had lived fix and forty years, and challenging eternal fame, without the reigned five and twenty. Justine reports it, King; but the King without Parmenio nethat Olympias incouraged Panfanias to mur- ver did any thing worthy of renown: as der the King her husband, 5 which after his for the reft of his Captains, though condeath she boldly avowed, by the honour tent to obey the Son of sich a Father, yet the did unto Paufanias, in crowning his dead did they not after Alexanders death endure body, in confecrating his fword unto Apollo, to acknowledge any man Superiour to themby building for him a monument, and other felves.

qualities and issue.

like Graces.

from the World, when he had ma- we find a good example in his dealing with ftered all opposition on that side of the Arcadion and Nicanor. Whom when for Sea, and had feen the fruits of his hopes, their evil speech of Philip, his familiars and labours, changing colour towards perswaded him to put to death, he an ripeness and perfection; yet he was here twered them, That first it ought to be in happy, that he lived to fee his confidered, whether the fault were in fon Alexander at mans estate, and had them that gave him ill language, or in himfelf been an eye-witness of his re-himfelf; Secondly, that it was in every folution and fingular valour in this last mans own power to be well spoken of;

which himself meant to creek, as the per- upon he told those that had perswaded formance and finishing was far more ea-fie to Alexander, though more glorious, better Physician for evil speech than they than the beginnings unto Philip, though were. less famous. For, besides the recovery of Macedon it self in competition be- remembred by Cicero and Gellius, and by tween him and the fons of Aropus, the Dion and Chrysoftome exceedingly comone affifted by the Thracians, the other mended. His Stratagems are gathered by by the Athenians; and besides the re- Polyanus and Erontinus; his wise sayings, gaining of many places possess by the by Plutarch. And albeit he held Mac-Illyrians, the crushing of all those Nor- don as in his own right 3, all the time thern Kings his Neighbours, the over- of his reign, yet was he not the true and throw of Olynthus, a State that denext Heir thereof; for Amyntus the lon piled the power of his Father, the of his brother Perdicess (of whom he had many Maritimate Cities taken, of great the Protection during his infancy) had

principal persons of the Grecian Cities, strength and ancient freedom; and the

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature and his excellent education had enriched him year year of Alexanders great valiant, Wife, Learned, and Master of ness were laid by Philip. Of his laudable his Affections, he had this savour of Piety, that he rather laboured to satisfie those that were grieved, than to suppress Gw although he were then taken them. Whereof (among many other) and this was shortly proved; for after The foundation of whole future great- Philip relieved their necessities, there ness he had laid so soundly for him, with one none within his Kingdom that did him more honour then they did. Where-

His Epistles to Alexander his son are

daughter Cyna, who had by him a daughter the was afterward by her Father-in-law Ancalled Eurydice, who was married to Philips tipater put to death. base son Aridaus, her Uncle by the Mothers By Cleopatra the Neece of Attalus, he had fide: both which Olympias, Philips first Wife, Caranus, whom others call Philip: him Olymand Mother to Alexander the Great, put to pias, the Mother of Alexander the Great. death; Aridaus by extreme torments, Eury- caused to be rosted to death in a copper dice the strangled.

the race of Achilles) Alexander the Great, fo murdered at the Mothers brest. and Cleopatra. Cleopatra was married to her Uncle Alexander, King of Epirus, and was after her brother Alexanders death flain whom after he had gotten with child, he at Sardis, by the commandement of Anti- married to an obscure man, called Laeus.

had Cyna, married as is shewed before.

the right. This Amyntas he married to his der, after he had taken Pidna, married; but

Pan. Others lay this murder to Alexander philip had by this Olympias, the daughter himself. By the same Cleopatra he had likewise of Neoptolemus, King of the Moloffians (of a daughter called Europa, whom Olympias al-

> By Phila and Meda he had no iffue. He had also two Concubines, Arlinge

who bare Ptolomy King of Egypt, called the By Audata, an Illyrian, his fecond Wife, he Son of Lagus, but esteemed the Son of Philip: by Philinna, his fecond Concubine, a By Nicalipolis, the Sister of Jason, Tyrant publick Dancer, he had Aridem, of whom we of Pheres, he had Theffalonica, whom Caffan- shall have much occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of ALEXANDER the Great.

ø. I.

A brief rehearfal of Alexanders doings, before he invaded Alia.

very of their former liberty, and to advent he fame title of General Commander) but

Lexander afterwards called the ture it by force of arms. Alexanders young Great, fucceeded unto Philip his years gave them hope of prevailing, and Father; being a Prince no less his suspected severity increased courage in valiant by Nature, than by E- those, who could better resolve to die, than ducation, well instructed, to live flavishly. But Alexander gave no time and inriched in all forts of Learning to those swelling humours, which might and good Arts. He began his reign over the speedily have endangered the health of his Macedonians four hundred and seventeen Estate. For after revenge taken upon the years, after Rome was built, and after his Conspirators against his Father, whom he own birth twenty years. The strange dreams slew upon his Tomb, and the celebration of of Philip his Father, and that one of the gods his Funerals, he first fastened unto him his in the shape of a Snake, begat him on Olym- own Nation, by freeing them from all exa-Pias his Mother, I omit as foolish tales; ctions and bodily slavery, other than their but, that the Temple of Diana (a work | service in his Wars; and used such Kingly authe most magnificent of the world) was sterity towards those that contemned his burnt upon the day of his birth, and that fo young years, and fuch elemency to the rest firange an accident was accompanied with that perswaded themselves of the cruelty of the news of three feveral Victories, obtained his disposition, as all affections being pacified by the Macedonians, it was very remarkable, at home, he made a present journey into and might with the reason of those times be Peloponnesus, and so well exercised his spirits interpreted for ominous, & fore-shewing among them, as by the Counsel of the States the great things by Alexander afterward of Greece, he was, according to the great deperformed. Upon the change of the King, fire of his heart, elected Captain-General the Neighbour-Nations, whom Philip had against the Fersians, upon which war Philip opprest, began to consult about the reco- had not only resolved, (who had obtained

Mmmm 2

menio and Attalus, a part of his Army, to dours to pacifie the King, and to be received mento and attains, a part of the again into his grace. Alexander was not long recover fome places on Asia-side, for the again into his grace. Alexander was not long fafe descent of the rest.

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pied all Alexanders affections; those fair easily drawn from great purposes by such marks of Riches, Honour, & large Domini- occasions as may easily be taken off, neither on, he now floot at both fleeping & waking 5 hath any King ever brought to effect any all other thoughts and imaginations were great affair, who hath intangled himfelf in either grievous or hateful. But a contrary many enterprises at once, not tending to wind arifeth : for he receiveth advertise- one and the same certain end. ment, that the Athenians, Thebans and Lacedemonians, had united themselves against towards the South, he resolved to assure him, and, by affiltance from the Persian, hoped those Nations which lay on the North-side for the recovery of their former freedom. of Macedon, to wit, the Thracians, Triballes. Hereunto they were perswaded by De- Peones, Getes, Agreans, and other salvage peomosthenes, himself being thereto perswaded ple, which had greatly vexed with incursiby the gold of Persia: the devise he used ons, not only other of his Predecessors, but was more subtile than prositable; for he even Philip his Father: with all which, after caused it to be bruited, that Alexander was divers Overthrows given them, he made flain in a battail against the *Triballes*, and brought into the assembly a companion Notwithstanding this good success, he could whom he had corrupted, to affirm that him- not yet find the way out of Europe. There is felf was present, and wounded in the battail. nothing more natural to man than liberty: There is indeed a dertain Doctrine of Poli. the Greeks had enjoyed it over-long & loss it cy (as Policy is now a-days defined by false- too late to forget it; they therefore shake off hood and knavery) that devised rumors and the yoke once again. The Thebans, who had in lies, if they serve the turn but for a day or their Citadel a Carrison of a 3000. Macedons. two, are greatly available. It is true, Com- attempt to force it; Alexander hastnethto mon people are sometimes mockt by them their succour, & presents himself with 30000. as Souldiers are by falle alarums in the wars; foot, all old fouldiers, & 3000.horfe, before but in all that I have observed, I have found the City, and gave the Inhabitants somedays the fucces as ridiculous as the invention. For to resolve, being even heart-fick with the as those that find themselvs at one time abu- defire of passing into Asia. So unwilling, infed by fuch like bruits, do at other times neg- | deed, he was to draw blood of the Grecians, lect their duties, when they are upon true by whom he hoped to serve himself essereports, and in occasions perillous, summoned | where, that he offered the Thebans remission, to assemble; so do all men in general con. if they would only deliver into his hands domn the Venters of Such trumpery, and for Phenix and Prothytes, the stirrers up of the them, fear upon necessary occasion to enter-tain the truth it self. This labour unlooked fortune of Alexander, (which bare all refifor, and loss of time, was not only very griev- | stance before it, like the breaking in of the ous to Alexander, but by turning his sword Ocean Sea) instead of such an answer, asmen from the ignoble and effeminate Fersians, besieged and abandoned should have made, against which he had directed it, towards demanded Philotas and Antipater to be delithe manly and famous Grecians, of whose vered unto them; as if Thebes alone, then affiftance he thought himself affured, his layed in the ballance of Fortune with the present undertaking was greatly disordered. Kingdom of Macedon, and many other Pro-But he that cannot endure to strive against vinces, could either have evened the scale the wind, shall hardly attain the Port which or swayed it. Therefore in the end they pehe purposeth to recover: and it no less be- rished in their obstinacy. For while the Thecometh the worthielt men to oppose missor- bans oppose the Army assailant, they are tunes, than it doth the weakest children to charged at the back by the Macedonian Garbewail them.

wards these Revolters, as that himself, with fand sold for slaves, at the price of four the Army that followed him, brought them hundred and forty talents. This the king did the first news of his preparation. Hereup to the terrour of the other Gracian Cities. on all stagger, and the Athenians, as they Many arguments were used by Cleades one were the furt that moved, fo were they the of the priloners, to persuade Alexander

had transported under the leading of Par- first that fainted seeking by their Embassain refolving; for the Persians perswaded him This enterprise against the Persian occu- to pardon the Gracians. Wise men are not

And having now quieted his borderers rison their City taken and razed to the He therefore made fuch expedition to- ground, fix thousand flain, and thirty thou-

to forbear the destruction of Thebes. He my, consisting of two and thirty thousand perswaded of Alexander's death, they rebel- maternal Ancestor. led but against his successour. He also befuddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof | dy to the grave, and left him there. and stoned him to death.

into their City fo many of the Thebans, as he so much scorned the Army of Macedon, had escaped and fled unto them for suc- and had so contemptible an opinion of Alexcour, Alexander would not grant them ander himself, as having stiled him his serpeace, but upon condition to deliver into vant on a letter which he wrote unto him, his hands both their Orators which perswa- reprehending his disloyalty and audacity ded this fecond revolt, and their Captains; (for Darius intitled himself King of Kings, yet in the end, it being a torment unto him and the Kiniman of the gods) he gave orto retard the enterprize of Persia, he was der withall to his Lieutenants of the lesser content that the Orators should remain, Asia, that they should take Alexander alive, and accepted of the banishment of the Cap- whip him with rods, and then convey him tains; wherein he was exceeding ill-advi- to his presence: that they should fink his sed, had not his fortune, or rather the pro- ships, and send the Macedons taken prisovidence of God, made all the resistance ners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into Æthiagainst him unprofitable: for these good opia, or some other unhealthful part of Leaders of the Gracians betook themselves Africa. to the service of the Persian, whom after a few daies be invaded.

6. II.

the Persians upon the River of Granicus.

Spont, and being ready to dif-imbark, he name and countenance of their King were threw a Dart towards the Asian shore, as wont to prevail against those of less courage in the future to posses. He landed his Art to arm themselves with Iron and Steel

prayed the King to believe that they were foot, and five thousand horse, all old Soulrather mif-led, by giving hasty credit to false diers, near unto Troy, where he offered a reports, than any way malicious; for being folemn facrifice upon Achilles Tomb, his

But before he left his own coast, he put fought the King to remember, that his Fa- to death, without any offence given him, all ther Philip had his education in that City, his Mother-in-laws Kinsmen, whom Philip yea, that his Ancestour Hercules was born his Father had greatly advanced, not spatherein: but all perswasions were fruitless; ring such of his own as he suspected. He also the times wherein offences are committed took with him many of his tributary Prindo greatly aggravate them. Yet for the ho- ces, of whose fidelity he doubted; thinking nour he bare to learning, he pardoned all by unjust cruelty to assure all things, both in therace of Pindarus the Poet, and spared, the present and suture. Yet the end of all and fet at liberty Timoclea, the Sifter of The- fell out contrary to the policy which his agencs, who died in defence of the liberty of Ambition had commended unto him, though Greece against his Father Philip. This noble agreeing very well with the justice of God; woman being taken by a Thracian, and by for all that he had planted, was foon after himravished, he threatned to take her life withered, and rooted up; those, whom he unless the would confess her treasure: the most trusted, were the most traiterous: his led that Thracian to a Well, and told him, mother, friends, and children, fell by fuch that the had therein cast it: and when the another merciles sword as his own, and all Thracian stooped to look into the Well, she manner of confusion followed his dead bo-

When the knowledge of Alexander's Now because the Athenians had received landing on Asia side was brought to Darius,

In this fort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartless multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished Macedonians: But the ill destinies of men bear them to the ground, How Alexander passing into Asia, fought with by what strong considence soever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heap into the Henall was now quieted at home, field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at allof Antipater both Greece and Macedon, in For, besides that they were menutterly unthe first of the Spring did pass the Helle- acquainted with dangers, men, who by the a token of defiance, commanding his Soul than themselves; men that took more care diers not to make any waste in their own how to embroider with gold and filver their Territory, or to burn, or deface those buil- upper garments, as if they attended the indings which themselves were presently and vasion but of the Sun-beams, than they did against

the hardy Macedonians; I fay, befides all that the Persian horse-men fought with great thefe, even the opinion they had of their fury, though in the end scattered; and laftown numbers, of which every one in parti- ly, how those Gracians in Darius his pay, own numbers, or manufacturn holding themselves in one body upon a to fight, filled every one of them with the piece of ground of advantage, did (after care of their own fafety, without any intent mercy was refused them) fight it out to the at all to hazard any thing but their own last; how doth it then resemble truth, that breath, and that of their horses, in running such resistance having been made, yet of away. The Macedonians, as they came to Alexander's Army therefell but twelve footfight, and thereby to enrich themselves with men, and two and twenty horse-men? the gold and jewels of Persia, both which they needed; fo the Persians, who expected nothing in that War but blows and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the A digression concerning the desence of hard King, who had power to constrain them in affembling themselves for his service; but their own fears and cowardife, which in time of danger had most power over them, they only then obeyed, when their rebellion against so servile a passion did justly and violently require it. For, faith Vegetius, Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prelium cu- thereof without a blow, some one or two pit, ita formidat indoctus; nam sciendum est Towns excepted. For in all invasions, where in pugna usum amplius prodesse quam vires. As the Nations invaded have once been beaten the well-practifed Souldier descres to come to upon a great advantage of the place, as in battel, fo the raw one fears it: for we muß defence of Rivers, Streights, and Mountains, understand, that in fight it more avails to have they will soon have perswaded themselves, been accustomed unto the like, than only to that such an enemy upon equal terms and have rude firength. What manner of men the even ground, can hardly be refifted. It was Persians were, Alexander discovered in the therefore Machiavels counsel, That he first encounter; before which time it is said, by those that write his story, that it was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake And to fay truth, few Regions of any great the Conquest of an Empire so well peopled, circuit are so well senced, that Armies of with an handful of men, or the success he had were more to be wondred at. For at the River of Granick, which severeth the Territory of Tray from Fropontis, the Persians passage or other is commonly left unguardfought to frop his passage, taking the higher ed: if all be defended, then must the forces ground and bank of the River to defend, of the Country be distracted; and yet light which Alexander was forced (as it were) to ly fome one place will be found that is declime up unto, and scale from the Level of fended very weakly. How often have the the water. Great refistance (faith Curtius) Alpes given way to Armies, breaking into was made by the Persians, yet in the end Alexander prevailed. But it seems to me, that the Victory then gotten was exceeding eafie, and that the twenty thousand Persian footneen, said to be slain, were rather killed in the back, in running away, than hurt in the | hind them: for they are of too large extent, bosoms by refitting. For had those twenty thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse-men, or, after *Plutarch*, two thousand when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers*, and five hundred horse-men, dyed with had undertaken to hinder France the French their faces towards the Macedonians, Alex- King from descending into the Dutchy of ander could not have bought their lives at Milan: but whilft these Patrons of Milan, fo fmall a rate, as with the loss of four and whom their own dwelling in those Mounthirty of all forts of his own. And if it were tains had made fittest of all other for such a alfo true, that Plutarch doth report, how fervice, were busied in custody of the Alpers, Alexander encountred two of the Persian Francis appeared in Lombardy, so much

against the sharp pikes, swords, and darts of Commanders, Spithridates & Rhesaches, and

o. III.

passages. Of things following the Battel of Granick.

"He winning of this passage did great-If the winning or true parage and grand ly encourage the Macedonians, and ly encourage the Macedonians, and brought fuch terrour upon all those of the lesser Asia, as he obtained all the Kingdoms which resolveth to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. fuch force as may be thought fufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the natural difficulty of the waies. One CHAP. II. the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by the greatest the less they had expected his dis, Ephefus, the Cities of the Trallians, and now much what shall we say of those Moun- Magnesia, which were rendred unto him. arrivan.

rains, which lock up whole Regions in fuch | The Inhabitants of which, with the people tames, which they leave but one Gate open? The of the Country, he received with great-Streights, or (as they were called) the grace, suffering them to be governed by Gates of Taurus in Cilicia, and those of Ther- their own Laws. For he observed it well; mopele, have seldom been attempted, per- Novum Imperium inchoantibus, utilis clemenhas because they were thought impreg- tia fama; It is commodious unto such as lav nable: but how seldom (if ever) have they the foundations of a new Sover aignty, to have been attempted in vain? Xerxes, and long the fame of being merciful. He then by Parafter him, the Romans, forced the entrance of menio wan Miletus, and by force mastered Thermopple; Cyrus the younger, and after Halicarnassas, which because it resulted obhim Alexander, found the Gates of Cilicia stimately, he razed to the ground. From been locked and barred, yet were those Queen, who had been cast out of all that hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his own disadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, having their means of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of fuch as are too good for them. Certainly if a River were sufficient defence against an Arme, the Hle of Mona, now called Anglesey, which is divided from North-Wales by an Army of Julius Agricola. But he wanting, and not meaning to spend the time in making veffels to transport his forces, did affay the foords. Whereby he fo amazed the enemies

sians were very dastards. der, to pass the River of Granick in face of cy, by hewing it in pieces. the enemy; not marching higher to feek an eatier way, nor labouring to convey his men thereby cut off no less of their reputation, Chio, and Coos: the charge whereof he fuch unable Protectors

Soon after this Victory he recovered Sarwide open; how strongly soever they had whence he entred into Caria, where Ada the Countries open enough to a Fleet that she held (except the City of Alinda) by Dashould enter on the back-side. The defence rim his Lieutenants, presented her self unofRivers, how hard a thing it is, we find ex- to him, and adopted him her Son and Sucamples in all histories that bear good wit- ceffor; which Alexander accepted in fo graness. The deepest have many Foods; the cious part, as he lest the whole Kingdom to fwiftest and broadest may be passed by her disposing. He then entred into Lycia, Boats, in case it be found a matter of diffi- and Pamphylia, and obtained all the Seaculty to make a bridg. He that hath men coasts, and, subjecting unto him Pisidia, he. enow to defend all the length of his own directed himself towards Darius (who was bank, hath also enow to beat his enemy; faid to be advanced towards him with a and may therefore do better to let him come marvellous Army) by the way of Phrygia: over to his loss, than by striving in vain to For, all the Province of Asia the less, bordering upon the Sea, his first Victory laid under his feet.

While he gave order for the government and fetling of Lycia, and Pamphylia, they fent Cleander to raise some new Captains in Peloponnesus, and marching towards the North, he entred Celenas, feated on the River Meander, which was abandoned unto him; the Castle only holding out, which the Sea, had been safe enough against the also after forty daies was given up: for so Romans, invading it under the conduct of long time he gave them to attend fuccours from Darius. From Celenas he past on through Phrygia towards the Euxine Sea. till he came to a City called Gordium, the Regal Seat, in former times, of King Midasi attending for ships and such like provision In this City it was, that he found the Gonby Sea; that furely believing nothing could dian-knot, which when he knew not how to behard or invincible to men, which came undo, he cut it alunder with his fword. For so minded to War, they humbly intreated there was an ancient Prophecy did promise for peace, and yielded the Island. Yet the to him that could untie it, the Lordship of Britains were men front enough, the Per- all Afia; whereupon Alexander, not refrecti ing the manner how, so it were done, assu-It was therefore wifely done of Alexan- med to himself the fulfilling of the Prophe-

But before he turned from this part of Asia the less towards the east, he took care to over it by some fafer means. For, having clear the Sea-coast on his back, and to thrust beaten them upon their own ground, he did the Persians out of the Islands of Lesbos, than of their strength, leaving no hope of committed unto two of his Captains, giving fuccour to the partakers and followers of them fuch order as he thought to be most convenient for that fervice; and delivering

unto them fifty Talents to defray the less material, as were also the forces and charge; and withall out of his first spoyl power of command, by which it wrought. gotten, he sent threescore Talents more to But he that would find the exact pattern of Antipater his Lieutenant in Greece and Ma- a noble Commander, must look upon such as ceden. From Celenas he removed to Ancira, Epaminondas, that encountring worthy now called Anguori, standing on the same Ri- Captains, and those better followed than ver of Sangarino, which runneth through themselves, have by their fingular vertue Gordium: there he mustered his Army, and over-topped their valiant enemies, and still then entred Paphlagonia, whose people sub- prevailed over those, that would not have mitted themselves unto him, and obtained vielded one foot to any other. Such as these freedom of tribute: where he left Catus Governour with one Regiment of Macedoni-

ans lately arrived. Here he understood of the death of Memnon, Darius Lieutenant, which heartned him and utterly subdue a multitude of service greatly to pass on towards him; for of this Nations, compounding the body of a gross only Captain he had more respect than of unwieldy Empire. Wherefore these Parcoall the multitude by Darins affembled, and Potentes, men that with little have done of all the Commanders he had besides. For much upon enemies of like ability, are tobe fo much hath the spirit of some one man ex- regarded as choise examples of worth; but celled, as it hath undertaken and effected great Conquerours, to be rather admired the alteration of the greatest States and for the substance of their actions, than the Common-weals, the erection of Monarchies, exquifite managing: exactness and greatness the Conquest of Kingdomes and Empires, concurring to seldom, that I can find no inguided handfuls of men against multitudes stance of both in one, save only that brave of equal bodily strength, contrived victories Roman, Cafar. beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearful paffions of his own that we return unto our Eastern Conquerfollowers into magnanimity, and the valour our; who is travelling hastily towards ciof his enemies into cowardize; such spirits licia, with a desire to recover the Streights have been stirred up in fundry Ages of the thereof before Darius should arrive there. world, and in divers parts thereof, to creck But first making a dispatch into Greece, he and cast down again, to establish and to de- sent to those Cities, in which he reposed ftroy, and to bring all things, Persons and most trust, some of the Person Targets States, to the same certain ends, which the which he had recovered in his first battel; infinite Spirit of the Universal, piercing, upon which, by certain inscriptions, he made moving, and governing all things, hath or them partakers of his Victory. Herein he dained. Gertainly, the things that this King well advised himself; for he that dothnot did, were marvellous, and would hardly as well impart of the honour which he gains have been undertaken by any man else : and in the Wars, as he doth of the spoils, shall though his Father had determined to have never be long followed of those of the betinvaded the leffer Afa, it is like enough that ter fort. For men which are either well born, he would have contented himself with some or well bred, and have more of wealththan part thereof, and not have discovered the of reputation, do as often satisfie themselves River of Indus, as this man did. The fwift with the purchase of glory, as the weak in course of victory, wherewith he ran over so | fortune, and strong in courage, do with the large a portion of the World, in so short a gain of gold and silver. space, may justly be imputed unto this, that he was never encountred by an equal spirit, Alexanders coming on, left some Companies concurring with equal power against him. to keep the Streights, which were indeed Hereby it came to pass that his actions being very defensible; and withall, as Curtius nolimited by no greater opposition, than defart teth, he began over-late to prise and put in places, and the meer length of tedious jour- execution the Counsel of Memnon: who in nies could make, were like the Coloffus of the beginning of the Wars advised him to Rhodes, not to much to be admired for the waste all the provisions for Men and Horse, workmanship, though therein also praise- that could not be lodged in strong places, worthy, as for the huge bulk. For certainly and alwayes to give ground to the invader, the things performed by Xenophon, discover | till he found some such notable advantage as brave a spirit as Alexanders, and working as might assuredly promise him the obtainno less exquifitely, though the effects were ing of Victory. For the fury of an invading

are, do feldom live to obtain great Empires. For it is a work of more labour and longer time to mafter the equal forces of one hardy and well-ordered State, than to tread down

Having thus far digreffed, it is now time

The Governour of Cilicia hearing of

with all the strength of Persia at once.

Xerxes, when he invaded Greece and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost only of their destruction.

the freedome of Rome, and his own life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of Naples, would needs fight a battel with the French by painful travel. to his confusion, though it was told him by honourable enough.

Prince of Orange in the Low-Countries.

se ; and King John (when the English were Alexanders coming, and as great cause

Army is best broken, by delayes, change of well-neer tired out, and would in short diet, and want, eating fometimes too little, time by an orderly pursuit have been wasted and fometimes too much fometimes reposing to nothing) constrained the black Prince themselves in beds, and more oftner on the with great fury, near Poitiers, to joyn battel cold ground. These and the like sudden al- with him: But all men know what lamentterations bring many difeases upon all Nati- able success these two French Kings found. ons out of their own Countries. Therefore Charles the fift of France made another kind if Darius had kept the Macedonians but a of Fabian-Warfare; and though the English while from meat and fleep, and, refusing to burnt and wasted many places, yet this King give or take battel, had wearied them with held his resolution to forbear blows, and his light horse, as the Parthians afterward followed his advice, which told him. That did the Romans, he might perchance have the English could never get his inheritance faved his own life, and his estate. For it was by smooth. And it is reported by Belloy and one of the greatest incouragements given by Herrault, that King Edward was wont to say Alexander, to the Macedonians, in the third of this Charles, that he wan from him the and last fatal battel, That they were to fight Dutchy of Guyen without ever putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy; wife men grow short-lived, and the charge his men; but Darius being invaded by the of things is committed unto fuch as either Greeks, and fighting at home, by being bea- cannot fee what is for their good, or know ten, loft his Kingdom. Pericles though the not how to put in execution any found ad-Lacedamonians burnt all in Attica to the vice. The course which Memnon had pro-Gates of Athens, yet could not be drawn to pounded, must in all appearance of reason hazzard a battel: for the invaded ought have brought the Macedonian to a great perevermore to fight upon the advantage of plexity, and made him frand ftill a while at time and place. Because we read Histories the Streights of Cilicia, doubting whether it to inform our understanding by the exam- were more shameful to return, or dangerous ples therein found, we will give some in- to proceed. For, had Cappadocia and Paphlaflances of those that have perished by ad- gonia been wasted whilst Alexander was far venturing in their own Countries, to charge off; and the Streights of Cilicia been defendan invading Army. The Romans, by fighting ed by Arsenes, Governour of that Province, with Hannibal, were brought to the brink with the best of his forces; hunger would not have fuffered the enemy, to fray the trial Pompey was well advised for a while, when of all means that might be thought upon, of he gave Cafar ground; but when by the forcing that passage: or if the place could importunity of his Captains he adventured | not have been maintained, yet might Cilicia, to fight at Pharsalia, he lost the battel, lost at better leisure have been so throughly spoiled, that the heart of his Army should have been broken, by feeking our miferies

But Arfenes leaving a small number to dea man of found judgement, that those Coun- fend the Streights, took the best of his Army fels which promife furety in all things, are with him, to waste and spoil the Country ; or rather, as may feem, to find himfelf some The Constable of France made frustrate work, by pretence of which he might hothe mighty preparation of Charles the Fift, neftly run further away from Alexander. when he invaded Provence, by wasting the He should rather have adventured his per-Country, and for bearing to fight; fo did the | fon in cuftody of the Streights, whereby he Duke of Alva weary the French in Naples, might perhaps have faved the Province; and and dissolve the boistrous Army of the in the mean time, all that was in the fields, would have been conveighed into strong The Leigers, contrary to the advice of Towns. So should his Army, if it were driven their General, would needs fight a battel from the place of advantage, have found with the Bourgonians, invading their Coun- good entertainment within walled Cities, try, and could not be perswaded to linger the and himself with his horse men have had time, and fray their advantage; but they loft the less work in destroying that little which eight and twenty thousand upon the place. was left abroad. Handling the matter as he Philip of Valois fet upon King Edward at Cref- did, he gave the Cilicians cause to wish for

to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder twelve several Nations, which the better to it. For cowards are wife in apprehending all avoid confusion, did hardly understand each forms of danger. These Guardians of the others language; and these marshalld in the torms of danger. These Quarters in the Streights, hearing that Argenes made all head of the reft, being beaten, might serve haste to joyn himself with Daring, burning very fitly to disorder all that followed them: down all as he went, like one despairing of in the tail of these Horses the Regiment of the defence, began to grow circumspect, and foot marched, with the Persians called Imto think that furely their General, who gave mortal, because if any died, the number was as lost the Country behind their backs, had presently supplied: and these were armed exposed themselves unto certain death, as with chains of gold, and their coats with the men that were good for nothing else but to fame metal imbroidered, whereof the fleeves dull the Macedonian fwords. Wherefore, were garnished with pearl; baits, either to not affecting to dye for their Prince and catch the hungry Macedonians withall, or to Country (which honour they faw that Arfenes himself could well forbear) they speedi- to cut, and to deface such glorious garments. ly followed the foot-steps of their General, But it was well said; Sumptuose indutus mi. gleaning after his Harvest. Thus Alexander les, se virtute superiorem aliis non existimet. without labour got both the entrance of Ci- cum in praliis oportest fortitudine animi, & licia, abandoned by the cowardife of his Enemies, and the whole Province that had been alienated from the Perstan fide by their exceedeth those in valour, whom he exceedeth in indiscretion.

6. IV.

Darius took in this expedition. He is vanquished at Issus; where his Mother, Wife, things following the battel of Islus.

who (as Curtius reports) had compound | pieta atque aurata seuta transfre Romanum pi ed an Army of more than two hundred and lum; For these plumed cress would wound no ninety thouland Souldiers, out of divers body, and the Roman pile would bore boks in Nations ; Justine musters them at three painted and gilded shields. hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; Plutarch, at fix hundred teen thousand were appointed more rich and thousand.

describes it, was rather like a Masker than rour) and these were honoured with the Tia man of War, and like one that took more the of the Kings Kinfmen. Then came Darius care to fet out his glory and riches, than to himfelf, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, provide for his own fafety, perfivading him- riding before his Chariot, which was supporfelf, as it feemed, to beat Alexander with ted with the gods of his Nation, caftand cut pomp and sumptuous Pageants. For, before in pure gold; these the Macedonians didnot the Army there was carried the holy Fire, ferve, but they ferved their turns of thefe, which the Persians worshipped, attended by by changing their massie-bodies into thin, their Priests; and after them three hundred portable and currant coyn. The headofthis and threefcore and five young-men, answer- Chariot was set with precious stones, with ing the number of the dayes of the year, co two little golden Idols, covered with an vered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of Jupiter drawn with white Horses, with their hinder part being raised high whereon Dari-Riders cloathed in the same colour, with us sate, had a covering of inestimable value. rods of gold in their hands; and after it, the This Chariot of the King was followed with Horse of the Sun: Next after these follow ten fumptuous Chariots, in-layed and gar- ted with filver, and their heads guilt; nifht with filver and gold; and then the which they meant not to imbrue in the Manual to the manual Vantguard of their horie, compounded of cedenian blood, for fear of marring their

perswade them that it were great incivility non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur; Let no man think that he gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparel they put on, that enemies are beaten. And it was perchance from the Roman Papyrius that this Of the unwarlike Army levied by Darius against advice was borrowed, who, when he fought Alexander. The unadvised courses which against the Samnites in that fatal battel, wherein they all fware either to prevail or dye, thirty thousand of them having appaand Children are made prisoners: of some relled themselves in white garments, with high crests, and great plumes of feathers, bade the Roman Souldiers to lavaside all IN the mean scason Darius approached, sear: Non enim cristas vulnera facere, o per

To fecond this Court-like company, fifglittering than the former, but apparelled The manner of his coming on, as Curtius like Women (belike to breed the more teropen-winged-Eagle of the same metal: The ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plaown person, two hundred of the blood Roy- Nations; for as the needy are alwayes adali blood, too Royal and precious to be spilt venturous, so plenty is wont to shun peril, and by any valorous adventure, (I am of opinion men that have well to live, do rather study that two hundred flurdy fellows, like the how to live well, I mean wealthily than care King, which if he had meant to have used, blows. he would have marshalled somewhat nearer

CHAP. II.

being led by sifgambis the Kings Mother, the outfides of the Persians, and never have and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, looked into the intrails of Beafts for fuccess. followed by a great train of Ladies their at- For leaving the description of this second tendants on horse-back, with fifteen Wa- battel (which is indeed no-where well degons of the Kings children, and the wives of scribed; neither, for the confusion and hasty the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and running away of the Alians, could it be) we fifty Concubines, and a world of Nurses and have enough by the slaughter that was made Eunuchs, most sumptuously apparelled. By of them, and by the few that fell of the Macewhich it should seem that Darius thought donians, to inform us what manner of resithat the Macedonians had been Comedians stance was made. For if it be true that threeor Tumblers; for this troop was far fitter | score thousand Persian footmen were slain in to behold those sports than to be present at this battel, with ten thousand of their horsebattels. Between these and a company of men; Or (as Curtius faith) an hundred thonflight-armed flaves, with a world of Varlets, | fand footmen, with the fame number of was the Kings treasure, charged on six hun- horsemen, and besides this slaughter, 40000 dred Mules, and three hundred Camels, taken prisoners, while of Alexanders Army brought, as it proved, to pay the Macedoni- there miscarried but two hundred and fourans. In this fort came the May-game-King | score of all forts, of which numbers Arrianus languages, and for their numbers impossible effeminate, and fo rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but have encouraged the naked'st Nation of the world against them. We find it in daily experience, whatfoever elfe hath been wont to move and incourage Vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common Souldier, in comparifon of spoil and riches. The rich ships are boorded upon all disadvantage, the rich Towns are furioufly affaulted, and the plentiful Countries willingly invaded. Our English Nation have attempted many places in the Indies, and run upon the Spaniards headlong, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Pistolets; which had they been put to it upon the like disadvantages in Ireland, or in their Peeces and Pikes against their Commanders, contesting that they had been brought without reason to the butchery and

beauty. He had for the proper Guard of his | fuccess, that is ordained against the richest switzers, would have done him more to dye (as they call it) honourably. Car on fervice) and these were backt with thirty il n'y a rien a gaigner que des coups, volontiers thousand foot-men, after whom again were iln'y vapas. No man makes haste to the marled four hundred spare horses for the ket, where there is nothing to be bought but

Now if Alexander had beheld this preparation before his confultation with his Sooth-Now followed the Rere-ward, the same sayers, he would have satisfied himself by into the field, incumbred with a most un- and other Historians cut off almost the one necessary train of Strumpets, attended with half; I do verily believe, that this small troups of divers Nations, speaking divers number rather died with the over-travel and pains-taking in killing their enemies, to be marshalled; and for the most part so than by any strokes received from them. And furely if the Persian Nation (at this time degenerate and the basest of the World) had had any favour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers, they would never that all discourse of Magnanimity, of Nati-onal Vertue, of Religion, of Liberty, and price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings children; had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the Kings safety and his estate at less. Darius by this time found it true, that Charidemus a banished Gracian of Athens had told him, when he made a view of his Army about Babylon, to wit, That the multitude which he had affembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in paffing by they would devour than to the Macedonians, whom they meant any poor Country, they would have turned to affail; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattelled in groß squadrons, which they call their Phalanx, well covered with Armour for defence, and furnished flaughter. It is true that the War is made with weapons for offence of great advanwillingly, and for the most part with good tage, would make so little accompt of his Nnnn 2

delicate Fersians, loving their ease and their it is truly said of those men, who, by being palat, being withall ill armed and worse acquainted with dangers, fear them not disciplined, asexcept it would please him to That, Neglecto periculo imminentis mali, opus entertain (having so great abundance of ipsum, quantumois difficile, aggrediumur: treasure to do it withall) a sufficient number They go about the business it self, how hard so of the same Gracians, and so to encounter ever it be, not standing to consider of the danthe Macedonians with men of equal cou- ger, which the mischief hanging over their rage, he would repent him overlate, as heads may bring: and as truly of those that

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Darius (who had been accustomed to no- lity enough, and to spare, till dangers appear; thing so much as to his own praises, and to but when peril indeed comes, they get them nothing fo little as to hear truth) as he com- gone. manded that this poor Grecian should be presently slain: who while he was a fundring trait, advised Darius to retire his Army into in the Tormentors hand, used this speech to the plain of Mesopotamia, to the end that the King, That Alexander, against whom he had given this good counsel, should affuredly revenge his death, and lay deferved | invironed the Macedonians on all fides with punishment upon Darius for despising his his multitude; and withall they counselled

rata ejus Principis salus est, cujus aures itafor- Fortune, whereby he might have fought mamata sunt, ut aspera que utilia, nec quicquam ny battels, and have brought no greater nisi jucundum accipiat; That Princes safety is numbers at once than might have been well in a desperate case, whose cars judge all that is marshalled and conducted. But this Council profitable to be too sharp, and will entertain was so contrary to the cowardly affections of nothing that is unpleasant.

of Council; Libertas consilii est ejus vita, & and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The essentia, qua ereptà consilium evanescit.

advice given him by the Gracian Souldiers often in the alteration of Kingdoms and that ferved him, who intreated him not to Estates, by taking understanding from the fight in the Streights: But had they been Governours, so as they can neither give not Counsellers and Directors in that War, as discern of Counsels. For Darius that would they were underlings and commanded by needs fight with Alexander upon a streightothers, they had with the help of a good ned piece of ground, neer unto the Cityof troup of horse-men been able to have opposed the fury of Alexander, without any to fight than Alexander could, (who by the affiftance of the Persian foot-men. For when advice of Parmenio staied there, as in a place Darius was overthrown with all his coward- of best advantage) was utterly overthrown, ly and confused rabble, those Gracians, un- his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and der their Captain Amyntas, held firm, and Children (whom the Gracians his followers marched away in order, in despight of the had perswaded him to leave in Babylon, or Vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily elsewhere)taken prisoners, and all their train dismayed: we read in Histories ancient and of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jemodern, what brave retraits have been wels, and Honour. It is true, that both the made by them, though the rest of the Army Queen, with her Daughters, who had the in which they have ferved, hath been good hap to be brought to Alexanders prebroken.

perials were beaten by the French, a squa- and their Jewels and rich Garments restored dron of Spaniards, old Souldiers, came off unto them; and though Darius Wife was a unbroken and undifinayed; whom when most beautiful Lady, and his Daughters of Gafton de Foix, Duke of Nemours, and Ne excellent form, yet Alexander mastred his phew to Lems the twelfth, charged, as hol- affections towards them all: only it is reding the Victory not entire by their escape, he was overfurned and slain in the place. For

taught by the miserable success like to sol- know the Wars but by hear-say; Quid valentes sunt & prævalentes ante pericula, in But this discourse was so unpleasing to ipsis tamen periculis discedunt; They have abi-

These Gracians also that made the re-Alexander being entred into those large fields and great Champians, he might have him to divide that his huge Army into parts, It was the faying of a Wise man: Despe- not committing the whole to one stroke of the Persians, as they perswaded Darius to in-For liberty in Council is the life and effence viron the Gracians which gave the advice, infinite wisedom of God doth not work al-Darius did likewise value at nothing the wayes by one and the same way, but very sence, were entertained with all respect due At the battel of Ravenna, where the Im- unto their birth, their Honours preferved,

non, her Husband lately dead, who was ta- peace, but fuch as rather became a Conquerken flying from Damascus by Parmenio, at or, than one that had now been twice shamewhich time the Daughters of Ochus, who fully beaten, not youch fafing in his direction. reigned before Darius, and the Wives and to stile Alexander King. It is true, that the Children of all the Nobility of Persia in ef-Romans, after that they had received an fides.

with divers other of his chief Captains, Alexander disdained the offers of Darius. (casting the Crown from his head) hardly and sent him word, that he not only directed escaped.

After this overthrow given unto Darius, all Phanicia (the City of Tyre excepted) was vielded to Alexander, of which Farmenio was made Governour.

Cities of great importance, of which one strato was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged Alexander. Good fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heels; the less, overthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlacome to divide Kingdoms.

It was a good defire of this new King, when speaking to Alexander, he wisht that he could bear his prosperity with the same moderation, and quietness of heart, that he himself that which he commended in another mans defire: for it was a fign that he did but accompany, and could not Govern his felicity.

feet, fell into captivity; at which time also overthrow by Pyrrhus, returned him a more Darius Treasure (not lost at Issue) was seiz- scornful answer upon the offer of peace, than ed, amounting to fix thousand and two they did before the trial of his force. But hundred talents of coin, and of Bullion five as their fortunes were then in the Spring, for hundred talents, with a world of riches be- that of Darius had already cast leaf; the one a refolved, well armed and disciplined Darius himself leaving his brother dead, Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. his letter to a King, but to the King of Darius himfelf.

6. V.

Aradus, Zidon, and Biblos, maritimate How Alexander besieged and wan the City of Tyre.

A Lexander coming near the City of Tyre, received from them the present of a for Antigonus, Alexanders Lieutenant in Asia golden Crown, with great store of victuals, and other prefents, which he took very gonians, and others lately revolted; Arifto- thankfully, returning them answer, That he demus, Darius Admiral, had his Fleet partly defired to offer a facrifice to Hercules, the taken, and in part drowned by the Macedo- | Protector of their City, from whom he was nians newly levied; the Lacedamonians that | descended. But the Tyrians like not his comwarred against Antipater were beaten; four pany within their Walls, but tell him that thousand of those Greeks which made the the Temple of Hercules was seated in the old retrait at the last battel, for saking both the | City adjoyning, now abandoned and desoparty of Darius and of Alexander, and led by late. To be short, Alexander resolved to Amyntas into Egypt, to hold it for themselves, enter it by force : and though it were a were buried there; for the time was not yet | place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Island whereon it was built, was Alexander to honour Epheltion, whom he eight hundred furlongs from the Main, yet loved most, gave him power to dispose of the | with the labour of many hands, having great Kingdom of Zidon. A man of a most poor store of stone from the old Tyre, and timber estate, that laboured to sustain his life being sufficient from Lybanus, he filled the passage of the Royal blood, was commended by the of the Sea between the Island and the Main, people unto him, who changed his Spade which being more than once carried away into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a by the strength of the Sea upon a storm of Beggar and a King in one and the same wind, sometime by the Tyrians fired, and fometime torn afunder; yet with the help of his Navy which arrived (during the fiege) from Cyprus, he overcame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had spent seven months in that attempt. The Tyrians in the beginhad done his adverfity; but ill done of ning of the fiege had barbaroufly drowned Alexander, in that he would not perform in the messengers sent by Alexander, perswading them to render the City, in respect whereof, and of the great loss of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those that esca-While he made some stay in those parts, ped the first fury, to be hanged on Crosses he received a letter from Darius, importing on the Sea-shore, and reserved for slaves the ransome of his Wife, his Mother, and his (faith Diodore) thirteen thousand; Arria-Arrian Children, with some other conditions of mis reckons them at thirty thousand. Many

ferved Alexander, conveyed great numbers He found better men in this place than he away by shipping unto their own City.

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Happy it was for Apollo that the Town was taken: for one of the Tyrians having Gaza, that he was forced to fend for a new dreamt, that this god meant to forfake the supply into Greece. Here it was that Alexan-City, they bound him fast with a golden der first began to change condition, and to chain to the Idol of Hercules; but Alexander, like a gracious Prince, loofed him again.

It is true, that it was a notable entermade greater. For Nebuchodonofor had taken it before, and filled up the chanel that thorow his feet, and caused him to be drawn lay between the Island and the Main.

The Government of this Territory he he committed to socrates, and Andromachus his torments. And what had he to counte-Lieutenant under Parmenio; Epheftion had nance this his tyranny, but the imitation of charge of the Flect, and was directed to find Alexander at Gaza towards Egypt.

ø. VI.

deals graciously with the Jews.

IN the mean while Darius fends again to Alexander, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and layeth the loss of the last Battel to the streightness of the place: he hoped to terrifie him by threatning to encompass him in the plain Countries, he bids him to confider, how impossible it was to pass the Rivers of Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, and the rest, with all such other fearful things: for he that was now filled with nothing but fear, had arguments enow of that nature to present unto another. All the Kingdoms between the River admired it. Josephus reports it, that he fell of Alss, and the Hellesport, he offered him to the ground before the high Priest, asrein Dower with his beloved Daughter. But verencing the Name of God, and that Par-Alexander answered, That he offered him menio reprehended him for it. Howsoever nothing but his own, and that which victo it was, I am of opinion, that he became fo ry and his own virtue had polleft him of; confident in his enterprize, and fo affured of That he was to give conditions, and not to the fucces after the Prophecy of Daniel receive any, and that he having passed the had been read unto him, wherein he saw Sea it felf, diffained to think of refiftance in himself, and the Conquest of Persia fo directly transporting himself over Rivers. It is said, pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could That Parmenie, who was now old, and full discourage him, or fear him. He confessed to of honour and riches, told the King, That Parmenio (laith Josephno) that in Dio a City were he Alexander, he would accept of Da of Macedon, when his mind laboured the rim his offers; to which Alexander answer- Conquest of Asia, he saw in his sleep such a ed, That so would he, if he were Parmenio.

Daries, thuts the Gate against him, and dehand, with afturance of victory. This apparatus to the Country of the Towns of the Country of the Towns of the Country of the Towns of the Country of the Count fends the Town with an obstinate resolutirition, formerly apprehended only by the on, at the fiege whereof Alexander received light of his fantafie, he now beheld with his a wound in the shoulder, which was dange- bodily eyes, wherewith he was so exceed-

more had died, had not the Zidonians, that rous, and a blow on his legge with a ftone, did at the former Battels; for he left so many of his Macedonians buried in the Sands of exercise cruelty. For after that he had entred Gaza by affault, and taken Betis (whom Josephus calleth Babemesis) that was weakprize, and a difficult, but great things are ned with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the Affailants; he bored holes about the street, whilst he was as yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himfelf, difgave to Philotos the Son of Parmenio, Cilicia, dained to ask him either life or remission of his Ancestor Achilles, who did the like to Hector? It is true, that cruelty hath alwaies

fomewhat to cover her deformity. From Gaza (faith Josephus) he led his Ar-Likit. my towards ferusalem, a City, for the anti-How Darius offered Conditions of Feace to quity and great fame thereof, well known Alexander. Alexander wins Gaza, and unto him while he lay before Tyre; He had fent for some supply thither, which Jaddus the high Priest, being subject and sworn to Darius, had refused him. The Jewstherefore fearing his revenge, and unable to refift, committed the care of their estates and fafety to Jaddus, who, being taught by God, issued out of the City covered with his Pontifical Robes, to wit, an upper garment of Purple, embroidered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the Name of God was written, the Priests and Levites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner fo unufual, stately, and grave, as Alexander greatly But he goes on towards Egypt, and complete before Gaza. Gotic a Gibbal Complete But he goes on towards Egypt, and complete before Gaza. Gotic a Gibbal Complete But he goes on the same God by whom he was ing before Gaza, Gette, a faithful fervant to incouraged to purfue the purpose he had in

ingly pleased and emboldened, as contrary fell drops of blood; and that the like drops Religion.

ø. VII.

Alexander wins Egypt: and makes a journey to the Temple of Hammon.

valiantest man he had, but the command of put to ruine. one City, and to the veryest coward the goone city, and to the very the coward the go-vernment of all Egypt. When he had fet is ill described by Curtius: for he bounds it things in order in Egypt, he began to travel by the Arabian Troglodites on the South, beand he bringeth to pass what it pleaseth him; the South part of Marmarica. for it is also said, That when he had lost his to Jupiter's Temple.

Arrianus, from the report of Ptolomy, the alike true. But many of those wonders and prodigious things, are fained by those that have written the Story of Alexander; as, his head at the battel of Iffice; That a Swallow flew about his head when he flept, and for his own. could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at Halicarnaffeus, fore shewing had formerly consulted with this Oracle, the treason of Aropus, practised by Darius to The one when he was employed against have Main him; That from the Iron barrs of Gorgon; The other against Antens and Buffwhich the Tyrians made their defensive En- ris; and seeing these men had derived them-

ingly Please the Phenicians (who ho-were found in a loaf of bread, broken by a ned to have facked and destroyed Jernsa- Macedonian Souldier, at the same time; That peats have the fews all, and more than a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when they defired, both of liberty and immunity, he lay before Gaza, out of which there flew with permiffion to live under their own a Bird into the Air. The Spaniards in the with permanent in the Laws, and to exercise and enjoy their own Conquest of the West Indies have many such pretty tales; telling how they have been affifted in battel by the presence of our Lady, and by Angels riding on white horses, with the like Romish miracles, which I think themselves do hardly believe. The strangest thing that I have read of in this kind, being certainly true, was, That the Rom Jerusalem, Alexander turned again night before the battel at Novara, all the towards Egypt, and entred it, where Da- Dogs which followed the French Army, ran rius his Lieutenant, Aftaces, received him, from them to the Switzers, leaping and and delivered into his hand the City of fawning upon them, as if they had been bred Memphis, with eight hundred talents of trea- and fed by them all their lives, and in the fure, and all other the Kings riches. By this morning following, Trivulzi and Tremonille. we see, that the King of Persia, who had more Generals for Lewis the twelfth, were by of affection than of judgment, gave to the these imperial switzers utterly broken and

The place of this Idol of Jupiter Hazemon after God-head, towards Jupiter Hammon; fo tween whom and the Territory of Hammon, foolish had prosperity made him. He was to the Region Thebais, or the superiour Egypt, pass over the dangerous and dry Sands, with the Mountains of Lybia, and the River where, when the water which he brought of Nilus, are interjacent; and on the North on his Camels back was spent, he could not he joyns it to a Nation called Nasjamones, but have perished, had not a marvellous who bordering the Sea-shore, live (saith showre of rain fallen upon him, when his he) upon the spoils of shipwrack : whereas Army was in extreme despair. All men that the Temple or Grove of this Idol hath no know Egypt, and have written thereof, af- | Sea near it by two hundred miles and more, firm, That it never rains there: but the being found on the South part of Lybia; purpoles of the Almighty God are fecret, these Nassamones being due West from it, in

When Alexander came near the place, he way in those vast desarts, that a flight of sent some of his Parasites before him to pra-Crows flew before the Army; who making chile the Priests attending the Oracle, That faster wing when they were followed, and their answer might be given in all things, fluttering flowly when the Army was cast agreeable to his mad ambition; who affectback, guided them over those pathles Sands ed the title of Jupiter's Son. And so he was faluted, son of Inpiter, by the Devils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or Son of Lagues, fayes, That he was led by rather (as some think) defective in the Greek two Dragons; both which reports may be tongue; For whereas he meant to fay, o padion, he faid, O pai dios; that is, O son of Jupiter, instead of O dear son: for which Grammatical errour he was richly reward-That an Eagle lay hovering directly over ed, and a rumour presently spread, that the Great Jupiter had acknowledged Alexander

He had heard that Perseus and Hercules gines, when Alexander besseged them, there selves from the gods, Why might not he?

By this it feems, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fools, though in the hands of any one: whom therein the Rodeed he made himfelf one, by thinking to man Emperours also followed, not daring to cover from the worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirm their Senators, but to men of meaner rank his followers in the belief of his Deity, he and degree. He then gave order for the had practifed the Priests to give answer to founding of Alexandria upon the Westerfuch as confulted with the Oracle, that it most branch of Nilus. And having now fet-

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Alexander as his Son. cun. 1.4, ted, either by a Bos carried in a Boat, or us his ill fortune, one happy victory would by a Ram, or a Rams head, I fee that many readily have redeemed) he led his Army towife men have troubled themselves to find wards Euphrates, which passage, though the out; but, as Arrianus speaks of Dionysius or same was committed to Mazeus to defend. Liber Pater (who lived, faith St. Augustine, yet was it abandoned, and Alexander within Moses time) Ea que de diis veteres fabulis out resistance past it. From thence he march. suis conscripsere, non sunt minium curiose per- ed towards Tigris, a River for the swiftness veftiganda; We must not over-curiously search thereof called by the Persians, The Arrow. Con. Co. into the fables which the Ancients have written Here, as Curtius, and Reason it felf tells us.

World, the Devil, in this, and all other Idols, many weighty stones, and those that moved became speechless. For, that this Hammon not, but lay in the bottom, were soround was neglected in the time of Tiberius Cafar, and in the time of Trajan altogether forgotten, Strabo and Plutarch witness.

There is found near his Temple a Fountain called Fons solis (though Ptolomy in his their hands, and enterlacing armstogether, third African Table lets it farther off) that making one weighty and entire body toreat Mid-night is as hot as boiling water, and fift the fwift pallage, and furious race of the at Noon as cold as any Ice: to which I can- ftream. Befides this notable help, the Chanot but give credit, because I have heard of nel was so deep towards the Eastern shore, fome other Wells of like nature, and because where Darius should have made head, as the it is reported by St. Angustine, by Diodore, foot-men were enforced to lift their Bows, Herodotus, Fliny, Mela, Solimus, Arrianus, and Arrows, and Darts, over their heads to keep them from being moistened, and made in England are much warmer in the night unserviceable by the Waters. But it was truthan in the day.

ø. VIII.

How Alexander marching against Darius, was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.

Rom the Temple of Hammon he return-ed to Memphis, where, among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher Pfammones, who, belike understanding that he affected the title of Jupiters Son, told him that God was the Father-King of and sometimes mortal diseases: So had the all men in general; and refining the pride Empire of Perfia at this time brought it self of this haughty King, brought him to fay, into a burning and consuming Feaver, and That God was the Father of all mortal men, thereby become frantick, and without unbut that he acknowledged none for his children, fave good men.

He gave the charge of the several Provinccs of Egypt to leveral Governours, follow- Eastern shores of Typris, without any other

should be pleasing to Jupiter to honour led (as he could) the estate of Egypt, with the Kingdoms of the leffer Afia, Phanicia, and Who this Ammon was, and how represen- Syria (which being but the pawns of Darimight Darius eafily have repelled the inva-But this is certain and notable, that after ding Macedonian: for the violent course of the Cospel began to be preached in the the stream was such, as it drave before it and well polished by a continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on fo flippery a footing; nor the Macedonian foot-men to wade the River, otherwise than by joyning ly and understandingly said of Homer,

> Talis est hominum terrestrium mens, Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq;

The minds of men are ever so affected, As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that, as all Estates of the world, by the furfeit of mil-government have been subject to many grievous, derstanding, fore-shewing manifestly the diffolution and death thereof.

But Alexander hath now recovered the ing the rule of his Mafter Ariffothe, That difficulty, than that of the nature of the

place; where Mazens (who had charge to In omni prelio non tam multitudo, & virmen. as if with uneven forces he durst have multitude and rude andacity. charged them on even ground, when as with

wanting to the competency of the Army the Heavens themselves. which he conducted. Those things also out of fight, and far behind.

ø. IX.

The new Provisions of Darius. Accidents foregoing the Battel of Arbela.

resistance. Arrianus hath numbred them whole Army in effect perished. with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men | These Egyptians gave no other reason than the invading Army. But it is a Rule in the ter of terrour. Philosophy of the War;

defend the Passage both of Euphrates and tus indocta, quam ars & exercitium solent it) presented himself to the Macedonians, prestare victoriam; In every Battel skill and followed with certain companies of Horse- practice do more towards the Victory, than

While Alexander gave rest to his Army a multitude far exceeding them, he for- after the passage over Tygris, there happened fook the advantage which no valour of an Eclipse of the Moon, of which the Macehis enemies could easily have overcome. donians not knowing the cause and reason, But it is commonly feen, that fearful and were greatly affrighted. All that were ignocowardly men do ever follow those waies rant (as the multitude alwaies are) took it and counsels, whereof the opportunity is for a certain prefage of their overthrow and destruction, insomuch as they began not It is true, that he fet all provisions afire, only to murmure, but to speak it boldly; wherewith the Macedonians might serve That for the ambition of one man, a man themselves over Tygris, thinking thereby that disdained Fhilip for his Father, and greatly to have diffressed them; but the exe- would needs be called the Son of Jupiter, cution of good counsel is fruitless, when un- they should all perish; for he not only enfeafonable. For now was Alexander fo well forced them to make War against worlds of furnished with carriages, as nothing was enemies, but against Rivers, Mountains, and

Hereupon Alexander being ready to which he fought to waste, Alexander being march forward, made a halt, and to quiet now in fight, were by his Horse-men saved the minds of the multitude, he called before and recovered. This Mazeus might have him the Egyptian Astrologers, which foldone some daies before at good leisure; or lowed him thence, that by them the Soulat this time with fo great a strength of horse- diers might be assured that this defection men as the Macedonians durft not have pur- of the Moon was a certain prefage of good fued them, leaving the strength of their foot | success; for, that it was natural, they never imparted to the common people, but referved the knowledge to themselves, so as a forry Almanack-maker had been no fmall fool in those daies.

Of this kind of superstitious observation Cafar made good use, when he fought against Arioviftus and the Germans: for they being Arins, upon Alexanders first return out perswaded by the casting of lots, that if of Egypt, had affembled all the forces, they fought before the change of the Moon, which those Regions next him could furnish, they should certainly lose the Battel, Casar and now also were the Arians, Scythians, forced them to abide it, though they durst Indians, and other Nations arrived; Na- not give it; wherein, having their minds altions (faith Curtius) that rather ferved to ready beaten by their own superstition, and make up the names of men, than to make being resolutely charged by the Romans, the

of all forts ten hundred thousand, and of this, That the Grecians were under the horse four hundred thousand, besides armed aspect of the Sun, the Persians of the Moon; Chariots, and some few Elephants. Cur- and therefore the Moon failing and being tins, who musters the Army of Darius at darkened, the state of Persia was now in two hundred thousand foot, and near fifty danger of failing, and their glory of being thousand horse, comes (I think) nearer to obscured. This judgment of the Egyptian the true number; and yet feeing he had Priefts being noised through all the Army, more confidence in the multitude than in all were fatisfied, and their courage rethe valour of his Vassals, it is like enough doubled. It is a principle in the War, which, that he had gathered together of all forts though devised fince, was well observed some three or four hundred thousand, with then: Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugwhich he hoped in those fair plains of Asy- nam non ducat; Let not a Captain lead his ria, to have over-born the few numbers of Army to the fight, when it is possessed with mat-

It is truly observed by Curtius, that the

CHAP II

people are led by meeting it in all frories, hadulurpedupon his Islues, left not one of and often in our own, that by fuch inventhem to draw breath in the world within a tions, devised tales, dreams, and prophecies, few years after. The truth is, That Alexthe people of this Land have been car- ander in going for into the East, left beried head-long into many dangerous tu-him the reputation which he brought out of mults and influrrections, and still to their Macedon; the reputation of a just and pruown lofs and ruine.

certain Letters were surprized, written by abundance of prosperity, became a lover of Darius to the Gracians, perswading them wine, of his own flattery, and of extreme for great furnms of mony, either to kill or cruelty. Yea, as Seneca hath observed, the betray Alexander. But these, by the advice taint of one unjust slaughters, amongst maof Parmenio, he suppressed.

At this time also Darius his fair Wife, opprest with forrow, and wearied with tra- ctories obtained. But the Perstan Embasiavel, died. Which accident Alexander feem- dours fray his answer, which was to thisefed no less to bewail than Darius, who upon feet, That whatsoever he had bestowed on the first bruit, suspected that some disho- the wife and children of Darins, proceeded nourable violence had been offered her; from his own natural elemency and magnabut being fatisfied by an Eunuch of his own nimity, without any respect to their Malter; that attended her, of Alexander's kingly but thanks to an enemy was improper that respect towards her, from the day of her he made no Wars against adversity, but being taken, he defired the immortal gods, against those that resisted him; not against That if they had decreed to make a new Women and Children, but against armed Master of the Persian Empire, then it would enemies: and although by the retterated please them to confer it on so just and conti- practice of Darins, to corrupt his Souldiers, nent an enemy as Alexander; to whom he and by great fumms of mony to perswade once again, before the last tryal by Battel, of his friends to attempt upon his person, he had

fered these conditions of Peace.

would deliver up, and refign all Asia the not (were it otherwise and faithful) refolve less; and, with Egypt, oll those Kingdoms be- in haste to accept the same, seeing Darius tween the Phanician Sea, and the River of had made War against him, not as a King Euphrates; That he would pay him for the with Royal and overt-force, but as a Traitor ransome of his Mother, and his other by secret and base practice; That for the Daughters, thirty thousand talents, and Territory offered him, it was already his that for the performance thereof, he would own, and if Darius could bear him back leave his Son Occhus in hostage: To this again over Euphrates, which he had already they fought to perswade Alexander by such past, he would then believe that he offered arguments as they had. Alexander causing the Embassadours to be removed, advised with his Council, but heard no man speak but Parmenio, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perfwaded him to accept of these fair conditions. He told him, That the Empire between Euphrates and Hellespont, was a fair addition to Macedon that the retaining of the Tersian prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of far better use than their perfons, with divers other arguments; all which Alexander rejected. And yet it is probable, that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for virtue, as for fortune, and left himself a Successour of able age to have enjoyed his estate. which afterward indeed he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than him-

people are led by nothing fo much as by felf: who, to affure themselves of what they dent Prince, a Prince temperate, advised, and As Alexander drew near the Ferstan Army, grateful: and being taught new Lessons by ny, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts, and glorious vireason to doubt that the peace offered was That with his Daughter in marriage he rather pretended than meant; yet hecould him somewhat in his own power: Otherwise he propounded to himself for the reward of the War which he had made, all those Kingdoms as yet in Darius possession; wherein, whether he were abused by his own hopes or no, the Battel which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion he told them, that he came into Asia to give, and not to receive; That the Heavens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if Darius would be content to acknowledge Alexander for his Superiour, he might perchance be perswaded to give him conditions fit for a fecond Person, and his Inferiour.

6. X.

Costrongly fought as report hath made it.

than feel without.

Battels upon the River of Granick, and in them. Cilicia, the Macedonians were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true faying, Victoria victoriam parat, aufert; One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that have already had the better, taking firit away from those that have

been beaten.

Parmenio was in danger of being overthrown, who led the left wing; That Alex-The Battel of Arbela: and that it could not be ander's Rere-guard was broken, and his carriages loft; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides, Fortune her self Vith this Answer the Embassiadors re-turn; Darius prepares to fight, and Garland: And lastly, that Alexander in fends Mazeus to defend a passage, which he person wrought wonders, being charged in never dared yet so much as to hazard. Alex- his retrait. But in conclusion, Curtius deliander consults with his Captains. Parmenio vers us in account but three hundred dead perswades him to force Darius his Camp by Macedonians, in all this terrible daies work. night; so that the multitude of enemiesmight saying, That Ephelion, Perdiceas, and others not move terrour in the Macedonians being of name were wounded. Arrianus finds but few. Alexander disdains to steal the not a third part of this number slain; of the Victory, and resolves to bring with him the Persians there fell forty thousand (faith day-light, to witness his valour. But it was Curtius) thirty thousand, according Arriathe fuccess that made good Alexander's re- mis; ninety thousand, if we believe Diofolution, though the counsel given by Par- dore. But what can we judge of this great menio was more found: For it is a ground encounter, other than that, as in the two in War, Si pauci necessario cum multitudine former Battels, the Persians upon the first pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempore charge ran away, and that the Macedonians belli fortunam tentare. Notwithstanding up- pursued? For if of those four or five hunon the view of the multitude at hand, he dred thousand Asians brought into the field flaggers and trenches hinsfelf upon a ground by Darius, every man had cast but a dart or of advantage, which the Persian had aban- a stone, the Macedonians could not have doned: And whereas Darius for fear of fur- bought the Empire of the East at so easie a prize had ftood with his Army in Armour rate, as fix or feven hundred men in three all the day, and forborn fleep all the night, notorious Battels. Certainly, if Darius had, Alexander gave his men rest and store of sought with Alexander upon the banks of food; for reason had taught him this Rule Euphrates, and had armed but fifty or threein the War, In pugna Milites validius rest- score thousand of this great multitude, onfunt, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint; nam fames | ly with Spades (for the most of all he had intrinsecus magis pugnat, quam ferrum exte- were fit for no other weapon) it had been riùs: Souldiers do the better stand to it in impossible for Alexander to have past that fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and River so easily, much less the River of Tidrink; for hunger within, fights more eagerly gris. But as a man whose Empire God in his providence had determined, he aban-The numbers which Alexander had, faith doned all places of advantage, and suffered Arrianus, were forty thousand foot, and se- Alexander to enter so far into the bowels of venthousand horse; these belike were of his Kingdom, as all hope and possibility of the European Army: for he had besides, both escape by retrait being taken from the Ma-Syrians, Indians, Egyptians, and Arabians, codonians, they had presented unto them that followed him out of those Regions. He | the choice, either of death or victory; to used but a short speech to his Soldiers to en- which election Darius could no way concourage them. And I think that he needed strain his own, seeing they had many large little Rhetorick; for by the two former Regions to run into from those that invaded

ø. XI.

animumque victoribus auget, & adversariis Of things following the Battel of Arbela. The yeilding of Babylon and Sula.

Arius, after the rout of his Army, re-covered Arbela the same night, better Arrianus and Curtius make large descrip- followed in his flight, than in the fight. He tions of this Battel, fought at Gangamela; propounded unto them that ran after him, They tell us of many charges and re-charges; his purpose of making a retrait into Me-That the Victory inclined sometime to the dia, perswading them that the Macedonians, Persians, sometime to the Macedonians, That greedy of spoil and riches, would rather 00002

attempt bauyion, onju, and other vanquisherie, which so much softned the minds led with treasure, than pursue the vanquisheries, which so much softned the minds ed. This milerable refolution his Nobility of the Macedonians, not acquainted till now rather obeyed than approved.

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of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was vel, and hard lodging, began rather to be rendred to him: for the fear which con- forgotten, than neglected. ducted Darius, took nothing with it but ducted Darius, took nothing with it but Souldiers were crected, and Commanders souldiers were crected, and Commanders twice beaten, should rather have fent his appointed over them, who thereupon were treasure into Media, than brought it to Ar- stilled Chiliarchi. This new order Alexander bela, fo near the place where he abid the brought in, was to honour those Captains coming of his enemies; if he had been vi-Corious, he might have brought it after him to have deferved best in the late War. For at leifure; but being overcome, he knew it before this time the Macedonian companies unpofiible to drive Mules and Camels laden confifted but of five hundred. Certainly the with gold from the purfuing enemy, feeing drawing down of the foot-bands in this himself, at the overthrow he had in Cilicia, cast the Crown from his head, to run away with the more speed. But errours are then best discerned when most incurable; Et præterita magis reprehendi pessint quam corrigi;

From Arbela Alexander took his way towards Eabylon, where Mazeus, in whom less charged, and far better served. King Darius had mest confidence, rendred himfelf, his Children , and the City. Also the Command of any of his good Ships , but Captain of the Caftle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with slowers, nay sometime be made two Gentlemen of burnt Frankincense upon Altars of silver, as Alexander passed by, and delivered unto dersand degrees are fallen from the reputahim whatfoever was committed to his trust. The Magi (the Chaldwan Astrologers) followed this Captain in great folemnity to entertain their new King: after these came for Antipater sent him fix thousand foot, and the Eabylonian horse-men, infinite rich in five hundred horse out of Macedon; of attire, but exceeding poor in warlike fur- Thracians three thouland foot, and the like niture. Betweenthele (though not greatly number of horse; and out of Greece four to be feared) and himself, Alexander cau- thousand, and four hundred horse, by which fed his Macedonian foot-men to march. his Army was greatly frengthened: for When he entred the Castle, he admired the those that were infected with the pleasures glory thereof, and the abundance of trea- of Babylon, could hardly be brought again, fure therein found, amounting to fifty thou De quitter la plume pour dormir sur la dane; fand talents of filver uncoyned. The City it To change from foft beds to hard boards. felf I have elsewhere described, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the Territories about it, in charge with with the wonderful place of pleasure about three of his own Captains, to wit, Agathon, two miles in Circuit, furrounded with a wall Minetus, and Appolidorus; to supply all of fourfcore foot high, and on the top wants, a thousand talents: but to grace thereof (being under-born with Pillars) Mazeus, who rendred the City unto him. a Grove of beautiful and fruitful Trees, he gave him the title of his Lieutenant over which it is said that one of the Kings of Ba- all, and took with him Bagiffines that gave bylon caused to be built, that the Queen and up the Castle; and having describited to eveother Princesles might walk privately there-ry Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left in. In this City, rich in all things, but most Babylon, and entred into the Province 84of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King trapene: from thence he went on toward rested himself and the whole Army four and Susa in Persia, the same which Ptolomy, Hethirty daies, confuming that time in ban- radotus, and Elianus call Mennonia, fituate

attempt Babylon, Sufa, and other Cities fil- quetting, and in all forts of effeminate ex-Alexander from after Darins his departure pline of War, which taught them the fuffearrives at Arbela, which with a great mass rances of hunger and thirst, of painful tra-

latter age hath been the cause (faith the Marshall Monlust) that the title and charge of a Captain hath been bestowed on every Picque-Beauf, or Spurn-Cow; for when the Captains of foot had a thouland Souldiers It is easier to reprehend than amend what is under one Enfign, and after that five hundred, as in the time of Francis the first, the title was honourable, and the Kingswere Henry the eighth of England never gave the to men of known valour, and of great estate; quality Commanders in one ship: but all ortion they had.

While Alexander was yet in Babylon, there came to him a great supply out of Europe;

He left the Castle and City of Babylon.

CHAP. II. on the River Euleus, a City fometime go- the Duke (revolted from his Mafter) very verned by Daniel the Prophet. Abulites also, well wherewithall to have recovered his Governour of this famous City, gave it up favour. to the Conquerour, with fifty thousand talents of filver in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the War, with all other the treaphanes of Darius. In this fort, did those Vassals How Alexander came to Persepolis and of fortune, lovers of the Kings prosperity, not of his person, (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their own peace and safety with the Kings treasures. And herein was toward Persepolis, and when he sought hesiand are) purchase their own peace and safety plasmet Alexander well advised, that whatsoever to passithose Mountains which sunder suffa-Alexandre Alexandre Alexan beaten the Macedonians but in one battel, himself by retrait, causing his Foot to march rurned unto their natural Lord. Those that with their Targets from the stones tumbled to be used alone in great enterprises by those | end he found out another path, which a Ly-

While Alexander spoiled Arbela, Mazeus laid up in that City. But who hath fought out and friended fearful adverfity? It is cerbut the honest? for those that are but greedy of themselves, do in all changes of fortune only confult the confervation of their own greatness.

experience, when Don Pedro de Navarra,

with Fonterabe, in the year 1523.

Mazeus and others, in giving them titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and Darius mother and her children to repose themselves.

It is faid that Charles the fift, having promife, because he should thereby have left spoil and kill at their pleasure. There was

ø. XII.

burnt it.

with other Cities and Provinces by him con-quered; for if *Darino* (as yet living) had of his *Macedonians*, he was fored to fave all the Nobility of Persta would have re- close together, and to cover themselves are Traitors to their own Kings, are never on them from the Mountain-top. Yet in the Princes that entertain them, nor ever to be | cian, living in that Country, discovered unto trusted with the defences of any frontier- him, and came thereby suddenly in view of Town, or Fortress of weight, by the ren- Ariobarzanes, who being inforc'd to fight dring whereof they may redeem their liber- upon even ground, was by Alexander broty and estates lost. Hereof the French had ken, whereupon he fled to Persepolis; but (after that they of Persepolis had refused to being banished out of spain, was trusted receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the Macedonians, wherein he was flain. In like manner did King Francis might have furnish'd the King from Babylon; the first, in the year 1515, find a way over and while he stayed four and thirty dayes at the Alpes, the Smitzers undertaking to de-Babylon, Abulites might have holpen him | fend all the passages, who, if their footmanfrom sufa; and while he feasted there, Tiri- ship had not saved them upon the Kings dates from Persepolis might have relieved descent on the other fide, they had been ill him; for the great mass of Treasure was payd for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Four thousand Greeks, faith Curtius (Jufine numbers them but at eight hundred) tain, that benefits bind not the ambitious, having been taken prisoners by the Persians, presented themselves to Alexander now in fight of Persepolis. These had the barbarous Perfians so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their hands, nofes, ears, and other mem-The Government of Susa, with the Castle | bers, as they could no way have been known and Treasure, he committed to his own Ma- to their Country men, but by their voyces; cedonians, making Abulites, who rendred it to each of these Alexander gave three hununto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done dred Crowns, with new garments, and fuch Lands as they liked to live upon.

Tiridates, one of Darius his false-hearted Grandees, hearing of Alexanders approach, made him know that Persepolis was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in miled Charles of Bourbon the Government of the people to spoyl the Kings treasure. This Marfeilles, if he could have forc'd it, and City was abandoned by many of her Inhabiwhereof he made fure accompt, told some of tants upon Alexanders arrival, and they that his nearest Counsellors, that he meant no- stayed followed the worst Counsel; for all thing less than the performance of that pro- was left to the liberty of the Souldiers, to

no place in the world at that time, which, if cups all the reputation of his actions past. it had been laid in the ballance with Persepo- and that by descending, as it were, from the lis, would have weighed it down. Babylon reverend Throne of the greatest King, into m, would have weighed it down indeed, and sufficient very rich; but in Per-indeed, and sufficient very rich; but in Per-fepalis lay the bulk and main flore of the Perfans. For after the spoyl that had been and all other Nations. For being perswaded. made of money, curious plate, bullion, Ima- when he was inflamed with wine, by the inges of gold and filver, and other Jewels, famous Strumpet This; he caused the most three remained to Alexander himself one fumptuous and goodly Castle and City of hundred and twenty thousand talents. He Persepolis to be consumed with fire, notwithleft the same number of three thousand Ma- standing all the arguments of Parmenio to cedonians in Persepolis, which he had done in the contrary, who told him that it was a Sufa, and gave the same formal honour to dishonour to destroy those things by the the traino: Tiridates, that he had done to perswasions of others, which by his proper Abulites; but he that had the trust of the vertue and force he had obtained; and that place was Nicarides, a creature of his own. it would be a most strong perswasion to the The body of his Army he left here for thirty Assans, to think hardly of him, and thereby dayes, of which the Commanders were Par-menio and Craterus, and with a thousand lieve that he which demolished the goodliest horse, and certain troops of chosen seot, he Ornaments they had, meant nothing less would needs view in the Winter-time those than (after such vastation) to hold their parts of Persta, which the Snow had covered; a fruitless and foolish enterprise, but, as se- tur; Cruelty doth commonly follow drunken 81. neca fayes: Non ille ire vult, sed non potest ness: For it so fell out soon after, and often, stare: He hath not a will to go, but he is una- in Alexander. ble to stand fill. It is faid and spoken in his praile, That when his Souldiers cryed out against him, because they could not endure the extreme frost, and make way, but with The Treason of Bessus against Darius. Darius extreme difficulty, through the flow, that Alexander forfook his horfe, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to thew how well himfelf can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwife take off their weariness that followed which he meant to have increased in Bahim, than his fometime forbearing to drink, did quench their thirst, that could less endure it. For mine own little judgement, I nies as he had, which was numbred at thirty shall rather commend that Captain that or forty thousand) he determined once makes careful provision for those that follow him, and that feeks wifely to prevent extreme necessity, than those witless arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and

We find in all the Wars that Cesar made, or the best of the Roman Commanders, that the provision of victuals was their first care. had ever ought him, with firm confidence, For it was a true faying of Coligni, Admiral that all the rest were of the same condition of France; That who so will shape that Beast (meaning War) must begin with his belly.

lis, where those Historians that were most to wit, Nabarwanes and Bessu, whereof the amorous of his vertues, complain, that the later was Governour of Badria, had conamorous of his vertues, compani, that the later was Covernous of his vertues, compani, that the was Covernous of his walonr, of his liberality of his priced against their Master; and therefore clemency towards the vanquished, and all advised the King to lay a new foundation other his Kingly conditions, were drowned for the War, and to purfue it by some such indrink; That he fmothered in carowling person for the present against whom neither

ø. XIII.

his death.

A Bout this time he received a newfupply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goes on to find Darius in Media. Darius had there compounded his fourth and last Army, Etria, had he not heard of Alexanders coming on, with whom (trufting to fuch compaagain to try his fortune. He therefore calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds unto them his refolution, who being desperate of good success, used silence for a while. Artabazus, one of his eldestmen of War, who had sometime lived with Philip of Macedon, brake the ice, and protesting that he could never be beaten by any adverfity of the Kings, from the faith which he (whereof they likewise affured Darius by the like protestation) he approved the Kings But Alexander is now returned to Persepo- resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, ed, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the mean while Naburganes with-drew himself, and Bessus followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Army. Artabazus, the Kings faithful fervant, perswaded him to be advifed and serve the time, seeing Alexander was at hand, and that he would at least make to follow their advice who from the beginning of the War gave him faithful counfel, though againft a Prince purely Heathenith but he inclined still to Beffus, who told him, and an Idolater. that the Greeks, with Patron their Captain, fafety, and honour.

King-like, to have dyed in the head of those leaving the rest to the mercy of the Macedofour thousand Greeks, which offered him nian swords. the disposition of their lives, (to which Are Polystratus a Macedonian, being by pursuit

the gods nor fortune had in all things dethe good and the good and the good and the good and the clared themselves to be an enemy: this precared inclined and in conclusion those ambitious Monsters that laid hand on advised the election of his fellow Traitor him, whom neither the confideration of his Besting, with promise that, the Wars ended, former great estate, nor the honour he had $B = \frac{B = \frac{1}{2} B^{2}}{1}$, the Empire should again be restored to Da-given them, nor the trust reposed in them, rius. The King fwollen with difdain, prest nor the world of benefits bestowed on towards Naburzanes to have flain him, but them, could move to pity: no, nor his pre-Bellin and the Battrians whom he command- fent advertity, which above all things should have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungrateful hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it; for, Infidelity hath no compassion.

Now Darius, thus forfaken, was bound and laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beafts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discovered; and, to add deshew of forgetting the offence made; which spight and derision to his adversity, they the King being of a gentle disposition, wil- fastned him with Chains of Gold, and so lingly yielded unto. Beffus makes his fubmif- drew him on among their ordinary Carrifion, and attends the King, who removes his ages and Carts. For Beffus and Naburzanes Army, Patron, who commanded a Regiment perswaded themselves to redeem their lives offour thousand Greeks, which had in all the and the Provinces they held, either by deliformer battels ferved Darius with great vering him a prisoner to Alexander, or, if that fidelity, and alwayes made the retrait in hope failed, to make themselves Kings by his fpight of the Macedonians, offered himself slaughter; and then to defend themselves to guard his person, protesting against the by force of Arms. But they failed in both. Treason of Bessus; but it was not his destiny | For it is against the nature of God, who is

Alexander having knowledge that Darius were corrupted by Alexander, and practifed was retired towards Badtria, and durft not the division of his faithful servants. Bessus abide his coming, hastened after him with a had drawn unto him thirty thousand of the violent speed, and because he would not Army, promiting them all those things, by force his footmen beyond their powers, he which the lovers of the World and them- mounted on horf-back certain felected comfelves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, panies of them, and best armed, and with six thousand other horse, rather ran than mar-Now the day following Darius plainly dif-ched after Darius, Such as hated the Treason covered the purpoles of Eessis, and being of Eessis, and fecretly forfook him, gave overcome with passion, as thinking himself knowledge to Alexander of all that had unable to make head against these ungrate- happened, informing him of the way that ful and unnatural Traytors, he prayed Arta- Bessus took, and how near he was at hand: bazus his faithful servant to depart from for many men of worth daily ran from him. him, and to provide for himself. In like fort Hereupon Alexander again doubled his he dicharged the reft of his attendants, all pace, and his Vant-guard being discovered fave a few of his Eunuchis 3 for his Guards by Besus his Rear, Besus brought a Horse to had voluntarily abandoned him: His Fersians the Cart, where Darius lay bound, perswabeing most base cowards, durst not under- ding him to mount thereon, and to save himtake his defence against 'the Battrians, not- self. But the unfortunate King refusing to withflanding that they had four thou fand follow those that had betrayed him, they Greek to joyn with him; who had beer able cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, to hate beaten both Nations. But it is true, and wounded the Beafts that drew him, and that him, which for fakes him elf, no man fol-flew two poor Servants that attended his lows. It had been far more Man-like, and perfon. This done, they all fled that could,

tabazus perswaded him) than to have lyen of the vanquished prest with thirst, as he

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was refreshing himself with some water that defended certain passages for a while. He he had discovered, espying a Cart with a passeth the River of Zioberis, which taking Team of wounded beafts breathing for life, beginning in Parthia, diffolves it felf in the and not able to move, fearched the fame, Caspian Sea: it runneth under the ledge of and therein found Darius bathing in his own Mountains, which bound Parthia and Hyreablood: And by a Persian Captive which fol- nia, where hiding it self under ground for lowed this Polyfiratus, he understood that it three hundred furlongs, it then rifeth again, was Darius, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. Darius also seemed greatly carta, or Zeudracarta, the same City which comforted (if dying men ignorant of the Ptolomy writes Hyrcania, the Metropolis of living God can be comforted) that he cast that Region, he rested fifteen dayes, bannot out his last sorrows unheard, but that by quetting and feasting therein, this Maccdonian, Alexander might know and take vengeance on those Traytors, which had dealt no less unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to Alexander by this messenger, which he befought him to pursue, not because Darius had defired it, but for his own honour, and for the fafety of all that did, or should after wear Crowns. He also having nothing else to present, rendred thanks to Alexander for the Kingly grace used towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, desiring the immortal gods to submit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking impatient Death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he defired water, which Polystratus presented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

d. XIV.

How Alexander purfued Bessus, and took into his grace Darius his Captains.

T was now hoped by the Macedonians, I that their travels were near an end, every pany him till she were made with child by man preparing for his return. Hereof when him: which done (refuling to follow him Alexander had knowledge, he was greatly into India) she returned into her own grieved, for the bounded earth sufficed not Country. his boundless Ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army far- ing this meeting of Thalestric with Alexanther into the East, but that which had most | der, and some contradicting it. But indeed, ftrength, was, that Beffus, a most cruel Tray- the letters of Alexander himself to Antipater, tor to his Master Darins, having at his devo- recounting all that befell him in those parts, tion the Hyrcanians and Bactrians, would in and yet omitting to make mention of this short time (if the Macedonians should re- Amazonian business, may justly breed suspiturn) make himself Lord of the Persian Em- tion of the whole matter as forged. Much pire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former more justly may we suspect it as a vaintale, travels. In conclusion he wan their consents because an Historian of the same time reato go on : which done, leaving Craterus with ding one of his books to Lysimachus (then certain Regiments of foot, and Amyntus with King of Thrace) who had followed Alexanfix thousand horse in Parthenia, he enters not der in all his voyage, was laught at by the without some opposition into Hyreania; for King for inserting such news of the Amathe Mardons, and other barbarous Nations, | 2013; and Lylimachus himself had never

and followeth its former course. In Zadra-

Phataphernes, one of Darius his greatest Commanders, with others of his best followers, fubmit themselves to Alexander, and were reftored to their places and Governments. But of all other he graced Artabazins most highly for his approved and constant faith to his Master Darius. Artabazus brought with him ten thousand and five hundred Greeks, the remainder of all those that had ferved Darius ; He treats with Alexander for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end, they render themselves simply without promife or composition: he pardons all but the Lacedamonians, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having flain himfelf. He was also wrought (though to his great dishonour) to receive Nabarzanes that had joyned with Beffus to murder Darius.

ø. XV.

of Thalestris Queen of the Amazons; where, by way of digreffion, it is shewed, that such Amazons have been and are.

TEre it is faid that Thalestris or Mino-I thea, a Queen of the Amazons, came to visit him, and her sute was, (which she eafily obtained) that the might accom-

Plutarch citeth many Historians, report-

heard of One that accompanied Alexander, took upon him to write his acts; which to Amazons, whom he tels us that the Scythians amplifie, He told how the King had fought call *Æorpatas*, which is as much as *Virici*fingle with an Elephant, and flain it. The das, or men-killers. And that they made in-King hearing such stuff, caught the book, cursion into Asia the less, fackt Ephelia, and and threw it into the river of Indus; faying, burnt the Temple of Diana, Manethon, and That it were well done to throw the Writer Aventinus report; which they performed we believe and know that there are Ele- thefilea, that she came to the succour of phants, though it were false that Alexander Priamus. fought with one; fo may we give credit unto Writers making mention of such Ama- inhabiting upon the River of Thermodoon. gons, whether it were true or falfe that they speaking confidently of the wars they made met with Alexander; as Plutarch leaves the with divers Nations, and of their overmatter undetermined. Therefore I will here throw. take leave to make digreffion, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some rians, reports the taking of Antiopa Queen modern discoverers touching these warlike Women, because not only Strabo, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether or no there were any fuch kind of people. Julius solinus feats them in the North parts of Asia the less. Pom. Mela finds two feeling, That fuch Amazons there were. The Regions filled with them; the one on the River Thermodoon, the other near the Ca. Spian Sea; Quas (faith he) Sauromatidas appellant; Which the people call Sauromatides. The former of these two had the Cimerians for their Neighbours; Certum eft (faith Vadianus, who hath commented upon Mela) illos proximos Amazonibus fuisse; It is certain that the Cimerians were the next Nations to the Amazons. Ptolomy fets them farther inrul lib.6. to the Land North-wards, near the Moun-Afte Tab tains Hippaci, not far from the Pillars of Plant, 6. Alexander. And that they had Dominion in the river of Amazon from Peru in the year tellus. Where they governed a people cal-Pandea the Daughter of Hercules, from

whom all the rest derive themselves. Claudian affirms, That they commanded many Nations: For he speaks (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

--- Medis levibusque gabæis Imperat hic Sexus: Reginarumque sub armis, Barbaria pars magna jacet.

> Over the Medes, and light Sabaans raigns This female fex: and under arms of Queen, Great part of the Barbarian Land remains.

Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in Lybia, who were more ancient (faith he) than those which kept the banks of Thermodoon, a River falling into the Euxine Sea, near Heraclium.

Herodotus doth also make report of these after it, who by inferting such fables, dispa- forty years after Troy was taken. At the raged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as siege of Troy it self we read of Pen-1.

Am. Marcellinus gives the cause of their L.22, c.7.

Plutarch in the life of Thefeus; out of Philochorus, Hellenicus and other ancient Histoof the Amazons by Hercules, and by him given to Theseus; though some affirm, That Theseus himself got her by stealth, when she came to visit him aboord his ship. But in fubstance there is little difference; all confame Author in the life of Pompey speaks of certain companies of the Amazons, that came to aid the Albanians against the Romans, by whom after the battel, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken up: and he faith farther, That these women entertain the Gelæ and Legales once a year, Nations inhabiting between them and the Albanians.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of Amazons that were in the old Hift. Ind. times, Fran. Lopez, who hath written the na-par, 1.6, 28. vigation of Orellana, which he made down Asia it felf toward India, Solinus and Pliny 1542. (upon which river, for the divers turnings, he is faid to have failed fix thouled the Pandeans, or Padeans, so called after | fand miles) reports from the relation of the faid Orellana, to the Councel of the Indies, That he both faw those women, and fought with them, where they fought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

It is also reported by Ulrichus Schmidel, that in the year 1542, when he failed up the Rivers of Paragua and Parabol, that he came to a King of that Country, called scherves, inhabiting under the Tropick of Capricorn, who gave his Captain Ernando Rieffere, a Crown of filver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queen of the Amazons in those

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the Kingdom of Congo, makes relation of such Amazons, telling us, That (agreeably to the reports of elder times) they burn off their right breafts,& live apart from men, fave at one time of the year, when they feast & accompany

CHAP, I

company them for one month. These (saith impoverished in their virtues, than inriched he) possess a part of the Kingdom of Mono- by their victories; and that it was hard to motapa in Africa, nineteen degrees to the judge whether the Conquerors, or the Con-Southward of the line; and that these women quered, were the baser slaves. Neitherwere are the strongest Guards of this Emperour, these opinions so reserved, but that the noise all the East-Indian Portugals know.

to justifie mine own relation of these Ama- fort, and those of whose judgments he was zons, because that which was delivered me most jealous; and making it known to the for truth by an ancient Cacique of Guiana, Army, that Bessus had assumed the title of how upon the River of Papamena (fince the a King, and called himself Artaxerxer, and Spanifi discoveries called Amazons) that that he had compounded a great Army of these women still live and govern, was held the Bactrians, and other Nations, he had for a vain and unprobable report.

o. XVI.

How Alexander fell into the Persian Luxury: and how he further pursued Bessus.

polis: so at this time his prosperity had so place, he, together with his own, caused all to much over-wrought his virtue, as he ac- be confumed with fire. Certainly, this could counted elemency to be but baseness, and not but have proved most dangerous unto the temperance which he had used all his him, seeing the common Souldiers had life-time, but a poor and dejected humour, more interest in these things which they rather becoming the inftructers of his youth, had bought with their painful travels, than the condition and state of so mighty a and with their blood, than in the Kings King as the World could not equal. For he ambition; had not (as Seneca often obperswaded himself, that he now represented served) his happy temerity overcome all the greatness of the gods; he was pleased things. As he was in his way, news came that those that came before him, should fall to him, that Satribarzanes, whom he had to the ground and adore him; he ware the established in his former Governmentover robes and garments of the Perstans, and com- the Arians, was revolted; whereupon leamanded that his Nobility should do the like: ving the way of Bactria, he fought him he entertained in his Court and Camp, the out ; but the Rebel, hearing of his confame shameless rabble of Curtifans, and So ing, fled to Besses, with two thousand Horse. domitical Eunuchs, that Darius had done; He then went on towards Beffus, and by and imitated in all things the proud, voluptu- fetting a great pile of wood on fire, with the ous, and detested manners of the Persians, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is fe- | fage over an high and unaccessable Rock, licity, as not with standing that he was fully which was defended against him with thirperfwaded, that the gods whom he ferved teen thousand foot. For the extremity of the (deteffing the vices of the invaded) affifted flame and fmoak forced them from the him in all attempts against them, he himself, contrary to the Religion he profelt (which civil War of France, certain Caves in Lanhow Idolatrous foever it were, could not be guedoc, which had but one entrance, and but fearful unto him by neglecting it) became that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of by imitation, and not by ignorance or edu- high Rocks, which we knew not how to encation, a more foul and fearful Monster than ter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by Darius, from whose tyranny he vaunted to certain bundles of straw, let down by an have delivered fo many Nations. Yea, those Iron chain, and a weighty stone in the midst, that were dearest and neerest unto him, be those that defended it, were so smoothered, gan to be ashamed of him, entertaining each as they rendred themselves, with their plate, tiers; That by his example, the Macedonians well mounted, mothered to death, together were in the end of fo many travels, more with their Horfes, by the Country-people,

of them came to his ears. He therefore I have produced these authorities in part, with great gifts sought to pacifie the better arguments enow to perswade them to go on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselves (so far ingaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoils of so many Cities, as the whole Army seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much unlike the warfare of Now as Alexander had begun to change the French having commanded every mans fardels to be brought into the Market advantage of a strong wind, won the pasplace, otherwise invincible. I saw in the third other with this, and the like fcornful dif- mony, and other goods therein hidden. courfe; That Alexander of Macedon was There were also some three years before my become one of Darius his licentious Courarrival in Guiana, three hundred Spaniards who did fet the long dry grafs on fire to the length to like well of the bufiness, he was Fastward of them (the wind in those parts told more at large what they were that had heing alwaies East) so as, notwithstanding undertaken it. There were nine or ten of their flying from the smoak, there was not them, all men of rank, whose names Dimmis any one that escaped. Sir John Burrowes (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned alfo, with a hundred English, was in great up to Niekomachus. Niekomachus had no danger of being lost at Margarita, in the sooner freed himself from the company of welf-Indies, by having the grafs fired behind this Traitor Dimnus, than he acquinted his him; but the smoak being timefully disco- own Brother Ceballinus with the whole severed, he recovered the Sea-shore with the story: whereupon it was agreed between los of fixteen of his men. I remember these them, that Ceballinus (who might with least things; but to give caution to those that suspition) should go to the Court, and utter thing of countries, that they alwaies, before him the whole business, declaring him to acthey pass into the Land, burn down the quaint the King therewith: which he prografs, and fedge, to the East of them; they mised to do, but did not. Two daies pasmay otherwise, without any other enemy sed, and Philotas never brake with the King than a handful of straw set on fire, dye the about the matter, but still excused himself

«. XVII.

Philotas and Parmenio.

Aria and Drangiana.

strained by fear, he made shew as if he had his Philotas: been won by perswasion; and by seeming at

death of Hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hive. to Ceballinus by the Kings want of leifure. This his coldness bred superion, and caused Ceballinus to addies himself to another, one Metron, Keeper of the Kings Armory, who A Conspiracy against Alexander; The death of forth-with brought him to Alexanders prefence. Alexander, finding by examination what had passed between Ceballinus and Phi-Lexander was, after he parted hence, lotas, did fully perswade himself that this /Ino where refifted, till he came into concealment of the treason, argued his hand Aria, to the East of Badria, where the chief to have been in the business. Therefore City of that Province, called Artacoana, was when Dimnus was brought before him, he a while defended against him, by the revolt asked the Traitor no other question than of Satribarzanes; but in the end he received this: Wherein have I so offended thee, that thou the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Mouldest think Philotas more worthy to be a Army was re-enforced with a new fupply King than 1? Dimnus perceiving when he offive thousand and five hundred foot, and was apprehended, how the matter went, had near five hundred horse, out of Greece, Thes- so wounded himself, that he lived no longer, falie, and other places. His journey out of than to give his last groan in the Kings pre-Persia into these parts, is very confusedly de- sence. Then was Philotas called, and charge feribed. For, having (as all his Hiftorians ged with the fulpition, which his filence tell us) a determination to find Bessies in might justly-breed. His answer was That Bastria, he leaves it at the very entrance, when the practice was revealed unto him by and takes the way of Hyrcania; from thence Nicomachus, he judging it to be but frihe wanders Northwards towards the obe volous, did forbear to acquaint Alexander scure Mardi, upon the Caspian-Sea, and therewithall, until he might have better thence over the Mountain Coronus into information. This errour of his, (if it were only an errour) although Alexander, for the At this time it was that the treason of notorious services of his Father Parmenio, Dimnus brake out, of which Philotas the Son of his Brother Nicanor lately dead, and of of Parmenio was accused, as accessary, if not | Philotas himself, had freely pardoned and principal. This Dimmis, having (I know given his hand for affurance; yet, by the innot upon what ground) conspired with some stigation of Craterus, he again swallowed his others against the life of Alexander, went Princely promise, and made his enemies his about to draw Nicomachus, a young man Judges. Curtius gives a note of Craterus in whom he loved, into the fame treason. The this business; How he perswaded himself, Youth, although he was first bound by oath that he could never find a better occasion to secrecy, when he heard so foul a matter to oppress his private enemy, than by preuttered, began to protest against it so vehe- tending Piety, and duty towards the King. mently, that his friend was like to have flain Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a him for security of his own life. So, con- note as much better, as it is most general, in

See how these great men cloathe their private the end, the King asked him, In what lan-In these fair colours of the publick good; And, to effect their ends, pretend the State, As if the State by their affection stood: And, arm'd with Power and Frinces jealousies. Will put the least conceit of discontent Into the greatest rank of treacheries, That no one actionshall seem innocent: Tea, valour honour bounty shall be made As accessaries unto ends unjust: And even the fervice of the State must lade The needfull'st undertaking with distrust; So that base vilenes, idle Luxury, Seem safer far, than to do worthily,&c.

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following the advice of Craterus, had refolved the next day to put Philotos to torment, contended among themselves, which of them yet in the very evening of the same night in should exceed in hatred towards him. which he was apprehended, he called him to Among many other arguments, which he a Banquet, and discoursed as familiarly used in his own defence, this was not the with him as at any other time. But when in weakest; That when Nicomachus defired to the dead of the night Philotos was taken in know of Dimnus, what men of mark and his lodging, and that they which hated him power were his partners in the confinacy began to bind him, he cryed out upon the as feeming unwilling to adventure himself King in these words; O Alexander, the malice with mean and base Companions) Dimnus of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is far more constant than the Chamber, Nicanor, Amyntas, and some word of a King. Many circumstances were others; but spake not a word of Philotos, urged against him by Alexander himself (for who by being Commander of the Hore, the Kings of Macedon did in person examine would greatly have valued the party, and the acculations of treason) and this was not have incouraged Nicomackus. Indeed, as the least (not the least offence, indeed, Philotas faid well for himself, it is likely that against the Kings humour, who desired to Dimmus, thereby the better to have heartbe glorified as a god) That when Alexander ned Nicomachus, would have named him, wrote unto him concerning the title given though he had never dealt with him in any him by Jupiter Hammon, He answered, That fuch practice. And for more certain proof, he could not but rejoyce that he was admit- that he knew nothing of their intents that ted into that facred Fellowship of the gods, practifed against the King, there was not and yet he could not but withall grieve for any one of the Conspirators, being many, those that should live under such a one as inforced by torments, or otherwise, that would exceed the nature of man. This could accuse him; and it is true, that adwas (faith Alexander) a firm perswassion un- versity being seldom able to bear her own to me, that his heart was changed, and that burden, is for the most part found so malihe held my glory in despight. See what a cious, as she rather desires to draw others ftrange Monster Flattery is, that can per-fwade Kings to kill those that do not praise ger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet and allow those things in them, which are at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the of all other most to be abhorred. Philotas extremity of refiftless and unnatural torwas brought before the multitude to hear ments, devised by his profest enemies, cratethe Kings Oration against him: he was rus, Cenus, Ephestion, and others, Philotos brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a Thief; where he heard himself, and they would have slain him forthwith. But he they would have slain him forthwith. But he his absent Father, the greatest Captain of the failed even in that miserable hope, and suf-World, accused; his two other Brothers, fering all that could be laid on flesh and Hellor and Nicanor having been loft in the blood, he was forced to deliver, not what present War. He was so greatly opprest with he knew, but what soever best pleased their grief, as for a while he could utter nothing cars, that were far more mercilels than but tears, and forrow had so wasted his spi- death it self.

(hate, | rits, as he fank under those that led him. In guage he would make his defence; he anfivered, In the fame wherein it had pleafed the King to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the Persans, as well as the Macedonians, might understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the affembly, that he disdained the language of his own Country; and fo with-drawing himself, left him to his merciless enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, Philotos greatly lamented, feeing the King, who had fo fharply inveighed against him, would not vouchfafe to hear his excuse. For not his enemies only were emboldened thereby Now, although it were so, that the King, against him, but all the rest, having discovered the Kings disposition and resolution, euffine greatly complaineth, as a matter to truth, he that had made the purchase for tears. and com in fua canfa quifque torquetur; all the glory and fame he had: That he e cum queritur ulrum sit nocens, eruciatur; might not therefore revenge the death of

It had been enough for Alexanders fafety, if Philotas had been put to death without torment; the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspectagainst him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in blood, the greatest motive of his own illintent. Therefore, Seneca, speaking of Alexander, faith thus ; Crudelitas minime humakum malum est, indignum tam miti animo; ferina istarabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abjecto homine, in silvestre animal transire, Cruelty is not a humane vice, it is unworthy of so mild a spirit: It is even a beaftly rage to delight in blood and wounds. and caffing away the nature of man, to become

a favage Monster.

For the conclusion of this Tragedy, Curtim makes a doubt, whether the confession

Of this kind of judicial proceeding St. An loved of the men of War, and, to fay the be bewalled, faith he, with Fountains of the King of the Empire of the East, and of es innocens luit pro incerto seelere certissimos his Son, though not upon the King, (for it on quia illud commissife detegitur fed was unlikely that he would have dishonourthat the committee refertur. What that we cd his fidelity in his eldest age, having now gration when one is put to torture in his own lived threefcore and ten years) yet upon easles and tormented whilft yet it is in que- those that by the witcherast of slattery had fin whether he be guilty; and being innocent, possest themselves of his affection, it was refifters affired punishment for a fault, of which lolved, that he should be dispatcht. Polydathere is no certainty: not because he is known mas was employed in this business, a man to have committed the offence, but because whom of all other Parmenio trusted most. others do not know that he hath not committed and loved best, who (to be short) finding him in Media, and having Cleander and other murderers with him flew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings Letters. Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militiæ domique clari viri; Multa sine Rege Lib. 7. ed. But Hemolaus, who afterward conspired prospere, Rex sine illo nihil magne rei gesserat; This was the end of Parmenio (Saith Curtius) who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King; without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praise.

ø. XVIII.

How Alexander fubdued the Bactrians, Sogdians, and other people. How Beslus was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the Scythians.

Hen these things had end, Alexander went on with his Army, and brought that Philotas made, were to give end to the under his obedience the Araspians, or Evertorments which he could not any longer en- gitans; he made Amenides (fometime Dadure, or that the same was true indeed; For rius his Secretary) their Governour, then (faith he) in this case, they that speak tru- he subdued the Arachosians, and left Menon ly, or they that deny fallly, come to one and to command over them. Here the Army, the same end. Now, while the Kings hands sometimes led by Parmenio, finds him, conwere yet wet in blood, he commanded that listing of twelve thousand Macedons and Lyncester, Son-in-law to Antipater, who had Greeks, with whom he past through some been three years in prison, should be slain: cold Regions with difficulty enough. At The same dispatch had all those that Nico- length he came to the foot of the Mountain machus had acculed: others there were that Taurus towards the East, where he built a were suspected because they had followed City, which he honoured with his own Philotos; but when they had answered for name, and peopled it with seven thousand themselves, that they knew no way so di- of his oldest Macedons, worn with age, and rect to win the Kings favour, as by loving with travels of the War. The Arians, who those whom the King favoured, they were fince he left them were revolted, he subdudismiss. But Parmenio was yet living; Par- ed again by the industry and valour of Camenio, who had ferved with great fidelity ranus and Erigius. And now he refolves to as well Philip of Macedon the Kings Father, find out the new King Bessus in Bactria. Besas himself; Parmenio, that first opened the Jus, hearing of his coming, prepares to pass way into Asia; that had deprest Attalus the over the great River of Oxus which divides Kings enemy; that had alwaies, and in all Bactria from Sogdiana; Artabazus is made hazards, the leading of the Kings Van-guard, that was no less prudent in counsel, The Macedonian Army suffereth for want of than fortunate in all attempts; A man be- Water, infomuch as when they came to the

River of Oxus, there dyed more of them by Sogdians stirred to rebellion, by the same drinking inordinately, than elexander had Spitamenes and Catanes, who had lately deloft in any one Battel against the Persians, livered into his hands the Traitor Bellus. And it may well be; For (as Clytus did after Many Cities were refolvedly defended object unto him) he fought against women, against him, all which, after victory, hedenot against men; and not against their per- faced and razed, killing all therein. At one fons, but their shadows. He found on the of these he received a blow on the neck. banks of this great River no manner of Tim- which struck him to the ground, and much ber or other materials, to make either boats, difabled him for many daies after. In the bridges, or raft, but was forced to few toge | mean while spitamenes had recovered Mather the hides that covered his carriages, racanda, against whom he employed Meneand ftul them with ftraw, and on them in demus with three thouland foot, and cight fix daies to pass over his Army; which Bessus hundred horse. might eafily have diffrest, if he had dared but to behold the Macedonian Army afar marched on (if we may believe Curtius and off. He had formerly complained against others) till he came to the River of Tanais; Darius for neglecting to defend the banks of upon whose bank he built another Alexan-Typris, and other pallages; and yet now, dria, threescore furlongs in compass, which when this traiterous flave had ftiled himself he beautified with houses within seventeen a King, he durft not perform any thing wor- daies after the walls built. The building of thy of a flave. And therefore those that were this City is faid to have been occasion of a neerest unto him, and whom he most trusted, to wit, Spitamenes, Dataphernes, Catanes, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own fafety, and by the memory of Bessus his treafon and cruelty against Darius, bound him in the like manner, that he had done his Mafter, but with this difference, that he had ry fear, should nevertheless make sute for the chain closed about his neck like a Ma- peace: neither find I the reason why Alexstiff-Dog, and so was dragged along to be ander (not intending the Conquest of those presented to his enemy.

at a certain Town inhabited with Greeks of alone, with whom he could not meddle fur-Miletum, brought thither by Xerxes, when ther than they should agree to suffer him. long before he returned out of Greece; whose Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a Iffues had well-neer forgotten their Coun- victory described; in pursuit of which the try-language. These most cruelly (after | Macedons ran beyond the bounds and mothey had received him with great joy) he numents of Bacchus his Expedition. put to the fword, and destroyed their City. At this place he received Beffus, and having rewarded spitamenes with the rest that delivered him, he gave the Traitor into the artes, that runs between Sogdiana and Seghands of Oxatres, Darius his Brother, to be thia, which Alexander past over, while Mene-

tormented.

fome twenty thousand Mountainers assaul- from Europe, is neer two thousand miles dited his Camp; in repelling whom he received | frant from any part of Bactria and Sogdiana, a shot in the leg, the arrow-head sticking and the way defart and unknown. So that in the flesh, so as he was carried in a Horse- Alexander had (besides Jaxartes) the great litter, fometime by the horfe-men, some- River of Volga, and many others to swim time by the foot.

which Petrus Perondinus takes to be Samar. chand, the regal City of the great Tamerlain. followed him, if he had employed all the It had in compass threescore and ten fur- time that he lived in Asia in that travel. longs (Curtius faith.) Here he received the Embassadours of the Scythians (called Avi the Asiatique Scythians, making some offer ans) who offered to ferve him.

The fourth Book of the first Part

In the heat of these tumults Alexander War between him and the Scythians; the Scythian King perfivading himfelf, that this new Town was fortified of purpole to keep him under. I do not well understand, why the scythians, offering war in such terrible manner, that Alexander was judged by his own Souldiers to counterfeit fickness for ve-Northern defarts, but only the defence of In the mean while Alexander was arrived his own bank) should refuse to let them

The truth is, That Curtius and Trogus have greatly mistaken this River, which they call Tanais. For it was the River of Jaxdemus was employed in the recovery of Sa-But while he now thought himself secure, marchand: But Tanais, which divides Afa over, ere he could recover Tanais: which Soon after he came unto Maracanda, (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discovered with the Army that

Wherefore it is enough to believe, that to disturb the erection of his new City, The Ballrians are shortly again with the which was like to give some hinderance to

when it serves to give light to the bufiness you an example in a place of our own. in hand. The small number which the Macedonians loft; the omission of the number and of that Government, was in Queen Mawhich they flew (a thing not usual in Cur- ry's time surprised by the French, and could time, who forbears nothing that may let out never have been recovered again by strong a great exploit, by others.

a new Governour in that Province.

side whereof he built six Towns near each setch the commodities promised, and what

their excursions, were driven away by the other for mutual succour. But he finds a macedomans; and being naked of defensive new start-up-Rebel, called Arimazes, (A macraming chafed some ten or twelve miles; sogdian) followed with thirty thousand Arms, can't which is the substance of Curtius his report. Souldiers, that defended against him a which is the limits of Bacchus his journey, like strong piece of ground on the top of a high enough it is that Bacchus (if in his life- Hill; whom when Alexander had fought in time he were as fober a man, as after his vain to win by fair words, he made choice time ne were as the made choice death he was held a drunken god) went not of three hundred young men, and promifed very far into that waste Country, where he ten talents to the first, nine to the second; could find nothing but trees and ftones, and foin proportion to the reft, that could nor other business than to fet up a Monu- find a way to creep up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loss of some Threescore of the Macedonians are said two and thirty of their men, and then made to have been flain, and one thousand one a sign to Alexander, that they had performhundred hurt in this fight, which might ea- ed his commandment. Hereupon he fent one fily be in paffing a great River, defended Cophes to perswade Arimazes to yield the against them by good Archers. Of Scythian place; who, being shewed by Cophes that the horses one thousand eight hundred were Army of Magedon was already mounted up, brought into the Camp, and many priloners. yielded simply to Alexanders mercy, and It is forbidden by fome Historians, and in- was (with all his kindred) scourged and deed it is hardly possible, to set down the crucified to death; which punishment they numbers of fuch as perish in Battel: yet ca- well deserved for neglecting to keep good far commonly did it. And where the dili- watch in fo dangerous a time. For the place, gence of the Victors hath been so inquisitive as seems by the description, might easily into the greatness of their own fuccess, that have been defended against all the Armies Writers have been able to deliver fuch par- of the World. But, what strength cannot do. ticulars by credible report, I hold it not un- Mans wit, being the most forcible engine, lawful to fet down what we find; especially hath often effected: Of which I will give

The Island of Sarke, joyning to Garnsey, the greatness of Alexander) and the little hand, having cattel and corn enough upon booty that was gotten, do make it probable, the place to feed fo many men as will ferve that this War was no better than the repul- to defend it, and being every way so inacfion of a few roving Tartars (the like being ceffible, that it might be held against the yearly performed by the Mojcovite, without Great Turk. Yet by the industry of a Gentleany boast) and therefore better omitted by man of the Netherlands, it was in this sort. fome Historians, than so highly extolled as regained. He anchored in the road with one Ship of small burden, and pretending the While Alexander was affuring himself of death of his Merchant; belought the French, those southians bordering upon Jaxartes, being some thirty in number, that they he received the ill news that Menedemus might bury their Merchant in hallowed was slain by spitamenes, the Army (by him Ground, and in the Chapel of that Isle; ofled)broken, and the greatest numbers slain, sering a present to the French of such Comto wit, two thousand foot, and three hun-modities as they had aboard; whereto(with dred horse. He therefore, to appeale the re- condition that they should not come ashore bellion, and to take revenge of Spitamenes, with any weapon, no not fo much as with a makes all the haste he can; but Spitamenes Knife)the French-men yielded. Then did the flies into Bactria. Alexander kills, burns, and Fleming, put a Coffin into their Boat, not layes waste all before him, not sparing the filled with a dead carkass, but with Swords, innocent children, and so departs, leaving Targets, and Harquebusses; The French received them at their landing; and searching To repair this loss, he received a great every of them so narrowly as they could not supply of nineteen thousand souldiers out of hide a Pen-knife, gave them leave to draw Greece, Lycia, and Syria; with all which, and their Coffin up the Rocks with great diffithe old Army he returns towards the South, culty; some part of the French took the Fleand raffeth the River of Oxus; on the South- mish Boat, and rowed aboard their Ship, to

were taken and bound. The Flemings on ing taken away, the Dacans also seized upon the Land, when they had carried their Cof- his fellow-conspiratour Dataphernes, and the Land, when they had carried then courself in the Chappel, flut the door to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin and th fet upon the French; they run to the Cliff, of the Provinces which he past over, and & cry to their company aboord the Fleming went on with his Army into Gabaza, where to come to their fuccour, but finding the it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Boat charged with Flemings, yielded themfelves and the place. Thus a Fox-tail doth peft a thousand of his Train. From hence he fometimes help well to piece out the Lionsskin that else would be too short.

ø. XIX.

How Alexander flew his own friends.

we read of Alexanders killing of a Lion, and other Frivolous matters, and that hence he directed his course towards India, he committed the Government of Maracan- having fo increased his numbers, as they da, and the Country about it, to Clytus, and amounted to an hundred and twenty thouhow he flew him foon after, for valuing the fand armed men. vertue of Philip the Father before that of Alexander the fon, or rather because he objected to the King the death of Parmenio, lure the Macedonians, he employed two perand derided the Oracle of Hammon: for nicious Parafites, Hagis and Cleo; whom therein he toucht him to the quick, the same | Califthenes opposed : For, among many other being delivered in publick, and at a drunken honest arguments used to the assembly, he Banquet. Clytus, indeed, had deserved as told Cleo, That he thought, that Alexander much at the Kings hands, as any man living | would distain the gift of God-head from his had done, and had in particular faved his Vaffals; That the opinion of Sanctity, life, which the King well remembred when though it did fometime follow the death of he came to himself, and when it was too late. | those, who in their life-time had done the Yet, to fay the truth, Clytus his infolency was greatest things, yet it never accompanied any intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom one as yet living in the world. Hefurther he offended, so the King in his (for neither told him, That neither Hercules nor Bacchus of them were themselves) forgat whom he were Deified at a Banquet, and upon drink went about to flay: for the grief whereof he tare his own face, and forrowed fo inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of Ca- than manly acts by them performed while lifthenes, it is thought he would have flain they lived, they were in future and succeed-

tance: but preceding mischies are not that was spoken, waiting but an opportunity amended by fucceeding bewailing: Omne to be revenged on Califtbenes, who being a vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; ob- man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lostantem malis conatibus verecundiam removet; ver of the Kings honour, was yet soon after ubi possedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid tormented to death; not for that he had bemali latebat, emergit : non facit ebrietas vitia, trayed the King to others, but because he fed protrabit; Drunkenness both kindles and never would condescend to betray the King layer open every vice; it removes out of the to himself, as all his detestable flatterers did. way that shame which gives impediment unto For in a conspiracy against the King made bad attempts; where wine gets the mastry, all by one Hermolaus and others (which they the ill that before lay hidden breaks out : drun- confest) he caused Califthenes without conkenneß indeed rather discovers vices, than fession, accusation, or trial, to be torn asimmakes them.

Eeffus, and had lately revolted from Alex-dri erimen atermum, quod milla virtus, mila ander, was murdered by his Wife, and his bellorum fælicitas redimet : Nam quoties quis

else they pleased; but being entred, they head presented to Alexander. Spitamenes be-Thunder, and Storm, as he loft in one Teminvaded the Sacans, and destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of Cohortanes, who submitted himself unto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with thirty beautiful Virgins, among whom Roxana, afterwards his Wife, was one: which although all the Macedonians dif-Fter these Sogdian and Scythian Wars, dained, yet none of them durst use any freedome of speech after Clytus his death. From In the mean while he would needs be hn-

noured as a god: whereto that he might aling Ages numbred among the gods. Alexan-Wine begat Fury, Fury matter of Repen- der ftood behind a partition, and heard all der upon the rack: This deed unworthy of a Soon after this, Spitamenes, who flew King, Seneca thus confureth; Hoc off Alexan, dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia; op- strength by himself: he wan also a passage

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between him and Porus.

taken by Polysperchon, and a Rock of great half a mile, and withall deep and swift. It

ponitur, & Califthenem. Quoties dictum crit, upon one Errx, who was flain by his com-Occidit Darium; opponitur, & Califthenem. pany, and his head presented to Alexander. Quoties dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus vicit, This is the fum of Alexanders doings in those iplum quoq; tentavit novis classibus, & Impe-parts, before such time as he arrived at the rium ex angulo Thracia usq; ad orientis ter- River of Indus. Coming to Indus, he found minos protulit; dicetur, sed Calisthenem oc- there Ephestion, who (being sent before) had cidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque prepared Boats for the transportation of his exempla transferit, ex his que fecit nihil tam Army, and ere Alexanders arrival, had permaenum erit quam scelus Calisthenis; This swaded Smphis King of that part of the is the eternal crime of Alexander, which no Country, to submit himself to this great vertue nor felicity of his in War shall ever be Conquerour. Therefore, foon upon Alexadels to redeem: For as often as any man shall say, anders coming, Omphis presented himself the slew many thousand Persians; it shall be with all the strength of his Country, and replyed, he did so, and he slew Califthenes. fix and fifty Elephants, unto him a offering When it shall be said, he stew Darius; it shall him his service and affistance. He made be replied, and Califthenes. When it Shall be Alexander know, that he was an Enemy to faid he wan all as far as the very Ocean, thereon the next two great Kings of that part of also he adventured with unusual Navies, and India, named Abiasares and Porus; where extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, with Alexander was not a little pleased, hoto the utmost bounds of the Orient; It shall be ping by this dif-union to make his own Vifaid withall, But he killed Califthenes. Let Ctory by far the more easie. He presented him have out-gone all the ancient examples of Alexander with a Crown of gold, fo did he Captains and Kings; none of all his acts make the rest of his Commanders, and withall so much to his glory, as Califthenes to his fourscore talents of filver covn; which Alexander not only refused, but to shew that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave Omphis a thousand talents of his own treasure, besides other Persian rarities. Abiaof Alexanders journey into India. The battel fares, having heard that Alexander had received his enemy Omphis into his protection, refolved to make his own peace also: For, With the Army before remembred, of knowing that his own frength did but one hundred and twenty thousand equal that of *Omphis*, and that there was no foot and horse, Alexander did enter the bor- other difference between them, than that ders of India, where such of the Princes, as which the chance of War gave, he thought submitted themselves unto him, he enter- it an ill match, when Alexander, who had tained lovingly, the rest he constrained, already beaten under foot all the greatest killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they | Princes of Asia, should make himself a Party relifted. He then came before Nisa, built by and Head of the quarrel. So had Alexander Bacchus, which after a few dayes was ren- none now to stand in his way but Porus, to dred unto him. From thence he removed to whom he fent a commandement, that he a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly | should attend him at the border of his King-Gardens, filled with delicate fruits and dom, there to do him homage. But from Vines, dedicated to Bacchus, to whom he Porus he received this manly answer; That made feasts for ten dayes together. Now he would satisfie him in his first demand, when he had drunk his fill, he went on to- which was to attend him on his borders, and wards Dedula, and from thence to Acadera, that well accompanied; but for any other Countries spoiled and abandoned by the acknowledgment he was resolved to take Inhabitants; by reason whereof, victuals fai- counsel of his Sword. To be short, Alexanling, he divides his Army: Ptolomy led one der resolves to pass over the River Hydaspes, part, Cenon another, and himself the rest. and to find Porus at his own home. Porus They take many Towns, whereof that of attends him on the farther bank with thirty greatest same was Mazage, which had in it thousand foot, fourscore and ten Elephants, three hundred thousand men; but after and three hundred armed Chariots, and a and three hundred thouland men; but after a fame thanker a fame thanks, and a fine changes, it was yielded unto him by Glephe the Queen, to whom again he refored it; at the fiege of this City he received a wound in the leg. After this, Nora was like a hard three thankers a fine thanker thanks a fine thanks of the control of the contro

had in it many Islands, among which there querour, from whom again he received his was one well shadowed with wood, and of estate with a great enlargement. good capacity. Alexander fent Ptolony up the River with a great part of the Army, fhrowding the rest from the view of Porus: who by this device being drawn from his first incamping, sets himself down opposite to Ptolomy, supposing that the whole Army of Macedon, meant to force their pallage there. In the mean while Alexander recovers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troops, and advanceth towards Porus, who at first rather believes, that Abiafares his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had been come the River of Indus. The descriptions of over Hydaffes to his aid, than that Alexander places about the head and branches thereof had paft it. But he finds it otherwise, and are better known unto us in this Age, by fends his Brother Hagis with four thousand means of our late Navigations into those horse, and a hundred armed Waggons to parts, than they were in any former times. entertain him. Each Waggon had in it four The magnificence and riches of thole Kings to fight, and two to guide it; but they were we could in no fort be perswaded to believe, at this time of little use: for there had fallen till our own experience had taught us, that fo much rain, and thereby the fields were fo there were many ftranger things in the moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. World, than are to be seen between London The Scythians and Dahans had the Vant- and Stanes. guard, who fogalled these Indians, as they brake their rains, and other furniture, in the year 1372, and had feen fo much of overturning the Waggons, and those in the World, and of the East India, we acthem. Perdiccas also gave up the Indian counted the greatest fabler of the World; horse-men, and the one and the other were yet had he another reputation among other forc'd to recoile. Porus moves forward with Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witness the groß of his Army, that those of his Van- the Monument made of him in the Covent of guard scattered might recover his Rear; the Friers Guillimius in Liege, where the Alexander being followed with Epheltion, Religious of that place keep fomethings of manding Cemus or Cenon to invade the right; Antigonus and Leonatus, he directed to break upon Porus his battel of foot, ftrengthened dus, and where those many Rivers of Hydawith Elephants, Porus himself being carried Spes, Zaradris, Acosines, and the rest fall into upon one of them, of the greatest stature. the main stream, are now possest by the By these beasts the Macedonian foot were great Mogol the ninth from Tamberlain, who most offended; but the Archers and Darters, commands all the tract between Persia and being well guarded with the long and Indus towards the West, as also a great ftrong pikes of the Macedonians, fogalled extent of Country towards Ganges, in the them, as being inraged, they turned head, mouth of Indus, the Ascension, a Ship of Lonand ran over the foot that followed them: den, suffered shipwrack, in the year 1609. In the end, and after a long and doubtful and fome of the company travelled over fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulnes of the Macedoni- City (as I take it) which our later Comoan Captains, the victory fell to Alexander, graphers call Nagra, being named of old who also far exceeded Porus in number: for Dionysopolis. besides the Macedonians and other Eastern and Northern Nations, Porns was affailed by 11s, speaking of the expedition of Bacebus and his own Confederate and Country people. Hercules into the East India, tells us, that Yet for his own person he never gave those two great Captains (whom Alexander ground otherwife than with his fword to- fought by all means to out-fame) when they wards his enemies, till being weakened endevoured to subject to them the Oxidrace,

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ø. XXI.

How Alexander finished his expedition and returned out of India.

Forbear to trouble my felf and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents, Apes, and Peacocks, which the Macedonians found in these their travels: or of those petty Wars which Alexander made between the overthrow of Porus, and his failing down

Our great traveller Mandevile, who died Ptolomy, and Perdiccus, took on him to charge his, Comme pour honourable memoire de fon Gui la the Indian horse men on the left wing, com- Excellence; For an honourable memory of his like in Excellency, faith Guichardine.

The Countries towards the Springs of In-Land till they came to Agra, the same great

Philostratus in the life of Apollonius Tyanawith many wounds, and abandoned by his a people inhabiting between the Riversof Army, he became a prisoner to the Con- Hyphasis and Ganges, they were beaten from highmings. This may well be understood by of fix thousand Thracian Horse-men, seven the great Ordnance that those people had thousand Foot; and from his Lieutenant at then inule. For it is now certainly known, Babylon five and twenty thouland Armours, that the great Kings of the uttermost East, garnished with filver and gold, which he dihave had the use of the cannon many hun- tributed among his Souldiers. About these dreds of years fince, and even fince their first Rivers he wan many Towns, and committed civility and greatness, which was long before great flaughter on those that resisted; It is Alexander's time. But Alexander piere'd not then written of him, that affaulting a City of fo far into the East. It sufficed, that having the Oxidracans, he leapt from the top of the already over-wearied his Army, he discovered the rest of India by fame. The Indian long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, those of Bevis of Southampton, frivolous and that a Prince called Aggramenes, who com- incredible. Finally, he passed down the River manded many Nations beyond the River with his fleet, at which time also the news Gariers, was the powerfullest King of all came unto him of a rebellion in Bactria, and unto them than the greatest Army that the rich. East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perswasive Orations, to follow him towards the South; to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was nearer at hand, whereunto the River of Indur was their infallible guide. Alexander feeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a pretty in this passage, is amos was one, the Inhathan Horses could feed in. He cansed all Serpent. furniture of men and horses to be made larger than would ferve for use; and scattered these Armours and Bridles about his Camp, to be kept as reliques, and wondred at by the Savages. Proportionable to these he raifed up twelve great Altars to be the monument of his journies end. in This was a ness to his greatness it could add nothing lave a suspition is that it was less than is

make it thought more than it was it his fleet, where Acelines and Hydafpes incounter a where to testifie by a surer monument, how far he had past towards the East, after the name of his beloved Horse Bucepha- made.

the affault of their Cities with thunder and has. Here again he received a fourth supply wall into it, and fought, I know not how thole Regions: and that he was able to then of the arrival of an hundred Embaliabring into the field two hundred thousand dours from a King of India, who submitted Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty himself unto him. He feasted these Embasthouland Horle, and two thouland armed | fadours upon a hundred beds of gold, with Chariots. With this report, though Alex- all the sumptuosity that could be devised, ander were more inflamed than ever to pro- who, foon after their dispatch, returned ceed in this discovery and conquest, yet all again with a present of three hundred the art he had, could not perfwade the Soul- Horses, one hundred and thirty Waggons, diers to wander over those great Desarts and to each of them four Horses, a thousand beyond Indus and Ganges, more terrible Targets, with many other things rare and

Their entertainments ended, he failed towards the South, passed through many obscure Nations, which did all yield unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another Alexandria. Of many places which he took trick, wherewith he hoped to beguile po- bitants whereof fought against him with sterity, and make himself seem greater than poisoned swords, with one of which Ptolohewas. He enlarged his Camp, made greater my (afterward King of Egypt) was woundtrenches, greater Cabbines for Souldiers, ed, and cured by an herb which Alexander greater Horse-stalls i and higher mangers dreamt he had seen in the mouth of a

When he came near the out-let of Indus (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies, as they were on a fudden shuffled one upon another by the Flood, fo on the Ebb they were left on the dry ground, and on the fandy banks of the River, wherewith the Macedonians were much amazed 3 but after ready way to encrease the same of his big- he had a few dayes observed well the course of the Sea, he past out of the Rivers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered thought, feeing he strove so earnestly to to Neptune, returned : and the better to inform himfelf, he fent Nearchus and Oneficri-This done, he returned again to the bank tus, to discover the coast towards the mouth of Acesines, and there determined to let up of Euphrates. Arrianus in the beginning of his fixt Book hath written this naffage down the River of Indus at length, with the manner of the Vessels in which he transported. hebuilt by those Riverstwo Cities: the one his Army, the Commanders that were used, he called Nicea, and the other Bucephalon, therein, and other the marvellous provisions

Near

Near the out-lets of this River, he spent | certain loose fellows to witness against orfome part of the Winter, and in eighteen lines, that he had robbed Cyrus Tomb, for dayes march from thence recovered Gedro- which he was condemned to dye; but he (ia, in which passage his Army suffered such affisted the Hang-man with his own hands milery for want of food, that of a hundred in tormenting him. At which time also Alex. and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thou- ander caused Phradites to be slain, suspectino fand horse, which he carried into India, not his greatness. Coperat (faith Currius) essential the fourth part returned alive.

ø. XXII.

Of Alexanders Riot, Cruelty, and Death.

"Rom Gedrosia, Alexander led his Army into Carmania, and so drawing near to Terfia, he gave himself wholly to feating and drinking, imitating the triumphs of Bacchus. And though this Swinish vice be hateful enough in it felf, yet it alwayes inflamed this King to Cruelty. For (faith Curtius) the Hang-man followed the feast : for Aspastes, one of his Frovincial Governours, he commanded to be flain; fo as neither did the excess of voluptuousness qualifie his cruelty, nor his cruelty binder in ought his voluptu-

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of five thousand foot and Epheltion, and sourscore other Persan Ladies a thousand horse, was brought him by Cleander, and his fellows, that had been employed in the killing of Parmenio. Against these he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto Murderers, great complaint was made by him three thousand young Souldiers, out of the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they his conquered Provinces, whereat the Macehad commanded; and their offences were donians greatly murmured. Harpalus, his fo out ragious, as Alexander was persivaded, Treasurer in Babylon, having lavishly conthat, had they not altogether despaired of sumed the monies in his keeping, gothim his return out of India, they durft not have going with five thousand Talents, and six committed them. All men were glad of thousand hired Souldiers; but he was rethe occasion, remembring the vertue of jected in Greece, and there slain. Alexander him, whom they had flaughtered. The greatly rejoyced at the fidelity of the Greek, end was, That Cleander, and the other chief, whom Harpalus with these forces and treawith fix hundred Souldiers by them em- fures could not ftir: yet he fent commandeployed, were delivered over to the Hang- ment, that they should again receive their man: every one rejoycing that the Ire of banished men, whereunto (fearful of his inthe King was at last executed on the mini- dignation) all submitted themselves (except fters of his Ire.

Nearchus and Onesicritus were now returned from the coaft, and made report of bondage. After this, there followed a maran Island rich in gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discovery: which those old Souldiers which could no longer done, that they should enter the mouth of endure the travel of War, and to keep the Euphrates, and find the King at Babylon.

As he drew near to Babylon, he visited the Sepulchre of Cyrus in Pafargada, now called | pelt of their fury. But afterward, as Whales Chalquers: where he was presented with are drawn to the Land with a twine-thred, many rich gifts by Orsiner, one of the Princes | when they have tumbled a while; so are of Persia, of the race of Cyrus. But because the unconsiderate multitude easily condu-Bagoas, an Eunuch in special favour with the cted when their first passions are evapo-King, was neglected; he not only practifed rate. With such as were licensed to depart,

ceps ad reprasentanda supplicia, item ad dete. riora credenda; He began head-longly to feed blood, and to believe false reports. It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his Government, feeing cruelty is more fearful than all adventures that can be made against it.

At this time it is faid, that Calanus the Philosopher burnt himself, when he had lived threefcore and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the custome of his Country, being an Indian, or fought to prevent the grief and incommodity of elder age, it is uncertain: but in this the Hiftorians agree, that fore-feeing and fore-shewing Alexanders death, he promised to meet him

thortly after at Babylon.

From Pasargada he came to Susa, where he married Statira, Darius his eldest Daughter, giving her younger fifter to his beloved to his Captains. There were fix thousand guests invited to the feast, to each of which the Athenians) though they resolved, that it was a manifest preparation towards their vellous discontentment in his Army, because he had resolved to send into Macedon all rest in Asia. He used many Orations to satisfie them, but it was in vain during the temhe sent Craterus, to whom he gave the Lieu- play any other part; no more than Casar being now at an end. For Antipater faw no- followed in all the former War. thing in this remove, but the Kings disposition to fend him after Parmenio, and the rest. With this Antipater, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, do not stand in doubt of every man ill-affected. though valiant : but there is a kind of kingunderstanding, which is many times so fear-

ted the World within a few daies.

tenantship of Macedon, Thessaly, and Thrace, did, after he had so long a time governed which Antipater had held from his first de- the Gauls, where he utterly forgat the art parture out of Europe, who had beaten the of obedience. A most cruel and ungrateful rebellious Greeks in his absence, discharged Traitor Antipater was, if Curtius do not bethe trust committed unto him with great fi- lye him: For though he feared some ill delity, and fent him fo many firong fupplies measure upon his remove (the Tragedies of into Asia from time to time. Certainly, if Parmenio, Clytus, and Callisthenes, having allexander had not taken counsel of his cups, been so lately acted) yet he knew nothing he would have cast some better colour on to the contrary, but that the King had rethis alteration, and given Antipater a ftron- folved to have given him fome other great ger reason for his remove, than to have im- Government in Asia: The old Souldiers ployed him in the conduction of a new fup thence returned, having perchance defired ply to be brought him to Babylon, the War to be governed by Craterus, whom they had

ø. XXIII.

Of Alexanders person and qualities.

Owfoever it were, Alexanders former cruelties cannot be excused, no more ly courage, compounded of hardiness and than his vanity to be esteemed the Son of Jupiter, with his excessive delight in drink ful unto them, as they take leave both of and drunkenness, which others make the Law and Religion, to free themselves cause of his fever and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprifing, and grie-After he had fent for Antipater, he made a ved to confider what he should do when he journey into Media to fettle things there; had conquered the World, Augustus Cafar where Ephelian, whom he favoured most found just cause to decide him, as if the wellof all men, dies. The King, according to the governing of fo many Nations and Kinggreatness of his love, laments his loss, hangs doms, as he had already conquered, could his Physician, and bestows upon his Monu not have offered him matter more than ment twelve thousand talents: After which aboundant, to busie his brains withall. That he returns to Babylon. Thither Antipater he was both learned, and a lover of learncame not, but fent; and not to excuse him- ing, it cannot be doubted. Sir Francis Bafelf, but to free himfelf. For if we believe con, in his first Book of the Advancement of Cartius (whom Plutarch and others gain- Learning, hath proved it fufficiently. His lifay) Antipater by his Sons, Caffander, Philip, berality, I know not how to praise, because and Iolla, who waited on Alexanders cup, it exceeded proportion. It is faid, That gave him poylon; The ffalus (who was of the when he gave a whole City to one of his Conspiracy) having invited him to a drink- servants, he, to whom it was given, did out ing-feast of purpose. For after he had taken of modesty refuse it, as disproportionable to a carouse in Hercules his cup, a draught of his fortune: to whom Alexander replied, drink stronger than Hercules himself, he quit- That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: of which Certainly the Princes of the World have Seneca; Animofa vox videtur & regia, cum feldom found good, by making their Mini- sit stultissima. Nihil enim per se quenquam L. i.de Elis. fiers over-great, and thereby suspicious to decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, c. 1. themselves. For he that doth not acknow- &c. sine quibus factivatio non constabit; haledge sidelity to be a debt, but is perswaded, beatur personarum & dignitatum proportio,&

that Kings ought to purchale it from their cum fit ubiq, virtutis modus, eque peccat quod Vassals, will never please himself with the excedit, quam quod deficit; It seems a brave Price given. The only restorative, indeed, and Royal speech, whereas indeed it is very that strengthens it, is the goodness and vir- foolish. For nothing simply considered by it self tue of the Prince, and his liberality makes befeems a man, We must regard what, to it more diligent; so as proportion and di- whom, when, why, where, and the like; withstance be observed. It may be, that Antipa- out which considerations, no act can be approter, having commanded two or three King- ved. Let honours be proportioned unto the domsten or twelve years, knew not how to perfons: for whereas virtue is ever limited

Arrianus bach a far HAP. III.

was as valiant as any mansa disposition, taken ders, every one of his Fathers old Captains by it felf, not much to be admired: For I am by far exceeding the best of his Enemies. refolved, that he had ten thouland in his But it feems Fortune and Destiny (if we may Army as during as himself. Surely, if ad- use those terms) had found out and prepaventrous natures were to be commended red for him, without any care of his own. fimply, we should confound that virtue with both heaps of Men, that willingly offered the hardiness of Theeves, Ruffians, and Ma-their necks to the yoke, and Kingdomsthat ftiff-Dogs. For certainly it is no way praife- invited and called in their own Conqueworthy, but in daring good things, and in rours. For conclusion, we will agree with the performance of thole lawful enterprifes, Seneca, who speaking of Philip the Father, in which we are employed for the service of and Alexander the Son, gives this judgment our Kings, and Common-weals.

other troublers of the world, who have perfusium est, quam conflagratio, qua magna bought their glory with fo great destructi- pars animantium exacuit; They were no less on and effusion of blood, I think him far in- plagues to mankind, than an overthrow of waferiour to Casar, and many other that lived ters, drowning all the level; or some bunning after him, seeing he never undertook any drought, whereby a great part of living creawarlike Nation, the naked Soythians excep- tures are scorched up.

by measure, the excess is as faulty as the de- ted; nor was ever encountred with any Army of which he had not a most mastering For his Person, it is very apparent, That he advantage, both of Weapons and Commanof them: Quod non minores fuere peftes mor-If we compare this great Conquerour with talium, quam inundatio, qua planum omne

CHAP. III.

The Reign of Aridaus.

Of the Question about Succession to Alexander.

ving loft his only eye. For that which is re- of his own: by which bond, and much ported in fables of that great Cyclops, might more by his own proper strength, he assured well be verified of the Macedonians: their the Crown unto himself: Amyntas never force was intolerable, but for want of good attempting ought against Philip; though guidance uneffectual, and harmful chiefly (with price of his life) he did against Alexto themselves. The causes whereof (under ander in the beginning of his reign, Wherethe divine ordinance) were partly the un- fore Eurydice, the fole iffue of this marriage, certainty of Title to succession in the King-ought in reason to have been acknowledged dom of Macedon, partly the stubborn pride Queen after Alexander; as having better of Alexander himself, who thinking none Title thereunto, than either He or Philip worthy to be his heir, did refue to establish had, when they lived, unless (peradventure) the right in any one, leaving every one to his fome Law of that Nation forbad the reign own fortune: bur especially the great am of Women But the excellent virtue of these bition of his followers, who all had learned two Princes had utterly defaced the right of of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesion all Pretenders, not claiming from their own foon taught unto spirits reflecting upon their bodies: and so great were their Conquests, own worth, when the reverence of a greathat Macedon it felf was (in regard of them) ter object faileth.

lip (the Father of Alexander) governing in mand of their posterity, had they lest any

HE death of Alexander left, Macedon as Protector, affumed unto himhis Army (as Demades the felfthe Kingdom, not rendring it unto Amyn-Athenian then compared it) in tas, (the Son of his elder Brother Perdicess) fuch case, as was that mon- when he grew to mans estate; but only bestrous Gyant Polyphemus, ha- stowing upon him in marriage a Daughter a very small Appendix, and no way defer-It hath formerly been shewed, That Phi- ving to be laid in ballance against the demore folemnly married) was left by him great puissance. with child. But the baseness of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, bling afpirers do often take check by the was generally alledged in Barr of Plea made | plain-dealing of them who dare to go more the name of Alexanders children.

riness to take what comes next to hand.

but reputed of Philip: who having used Pride; and rewarded with death. the company of Arsinoe Ptolomie's Mother, tune out of those diffentions, which are incident unto the confultations of many ambitiousmen, equal in place, forcing them at length to redeem their quiet with subjection

able to make challenge of the Royal Seat. lomy had conceived the form of their con-Alexander having taken many Wives, had sultations. or to set in the Chair such a King issue by none of the principal of them. Bar- as Aridaus, no wifer than the Chair it felf. time by none of Artabazus a Persian, had Also the Controversies arising were deterborn unto him a young Son: and Roxane mined by the greater part of the Captains; the Daughter of Oxyaries (whom he had by the greater part, if not in number, yet in

But as these counterfeit shews of dissemfor them, by some that would (perhaps) directly to work: so was it like to have fared have wrought out their own ends, under with Ptolomy and the reft, when Ariftonus, another of the Captains, interpreted the very Cleopatra a Sifter of Alexander, widow to words of Alexander, faying, That he left his the King of Epirus, and Aridaus his base Bro- Kingdom to the worthiest, as designing Perther (Son to Fhilip by a Concubine of no ac- diceas, to whom (lying at the point of death) count who had married the Lady Eurydice he delivered his ring. It feened good in reabefore mentioned, were next in course. Of son, that Alexander should be disposer of his Cleoratra there was no speech, which may own purchases: and those tokens of Alexangive sufficient, that either Law or Custom ders purpose appeared plain enough, so long had made that fex uncapable of the Sove-raignty: Aridous (besides his bastardy) was ction: every one being uncertain how the neither for person nor quality fit to rule as secret affections of the rest might be incli-King; yet upon him the election fell, but ned. Many therefore, either out of their love, flowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of or because they would not be of the latest, abetter: when the Counsellors having over- urged Perdicess to take upon him the estatelaboured their dilagreeing wits in deviling Royal. He was no stranger to the Royal what was best, were content for very wea- | blood; yet his birth gave him not such reputation, as the great favour of his dead Ptolomy (fcon after King of Egypt) concur- King, with whom he had been very inward, ring with them who rejected all mention of and that especially since the death of Ephethe half-Persian brood, King Alexanders Stion (a powerful Minion) into whose place children, was of opinion, that the rule of all he was chosen. For his own worth he might should be given to the Captains; that going well be commended, as a good man of War, for Law, which by the greater part of them and one that had given much proof of his should be decreed: fo far was he from ac- private valour. But very surly he was: which knowledging any one as true Heir to the quality (joyned with good fortune) carried a shew of Majesty: being checkt with mif-This Ptolomy was called the Son of Lagus, adventure, it was called by a true name,

In the present business a foolish over-weendelivered her in marriage to Lagus, being ing did him as great harm, as it had been great with child. Therefore, whether it were great happiness to have succeeded Alexanlo, that he hoped well to work his own for- der. For not content to have the acclamation of the Souldiers, appproving the sentence of Aristonus, he would needs counterfeit modefty; thinking that every one of the Princes would have intreated him to take the to one, deferving regard by his blood, and weighty burden of an Empire, which would trust for his even carriage; or whether he be the less envious, the more folemnity he desired only to get a share to himself, which used in the acceptance. It is truly said, He could not have come to pass, had all been that feigneth himself a Sheep, may chance to given to one: plain enough it is, that he be eaten by a Wolf. Meleager, (a man by, nathought not on preferring Aridans before ture envious, and bearing a particular hahimfelf: and therefore gave such counsel as tred to Perdiccas) took advantage of his irfitted his own and other mens purposes. resolute behaviour, and very bitterly en-Yea, this device of his took place indeed, veighed against him. In conclusion, he prothough not in form as he had propounded nounced, That wholoever was Heir to the the for, it was in effect all one, to have af- Crown, the fouldiers ought to be heirs to the fembled at Alexanders empty Chair, as Tto- Treasure; and therefore he invited them,

who were nothing flow, to share it. This ing was not unexpected: and they were by disturbed all the Consultation. The Captains | Perdiceas rebuked with such gravity, that were left alone, far enough from agreeing, they departed honester than they came; beand not able to have brought any conclusi- ing forry for their bad enterprise, Upon the on to good effect without consent of the news of this attempt, the Camp was in an Souldiers, who greedy of spoil, thronged up-roar, which the King seeking to pacific. about Meleager.

ø. II.

ed with good liking of many, until at last it King by offering to resign his estate unto grew to the voice of the Army. Meleager them, renewed out of their pity that fahaving withdrawn himself tumultuously vourable affection, which had moved them from the company of the Lords, was glad of to fet him up at the first. fo fair an occasion to make himself great : Perdiccas having now joyned himself with therefore he produced Aridaus, commended Leonatus, kept the fields, intending to cut him to the Souldiers, who called him by offall provision of victuals from the City. his Fathers name Philip, and brought him But after fundry Embassies passing between into the Palace, investing him in Alexan- the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to Many of the Nobles withftood this election, but in vain: for they could not re- be joyned with Leonatus and Perdiccas, 282 Solve what course to follow, rejecting this. Third in government of the Army) things Only Python, a hot-headed man, took upon were compounded according to the Kings him to proclaim the Son of Alexander by defire. Meleager should have done well to Roxane, according to the counsel which consider, That such men as had one dayde-Perdices at first had given, appointing Perdices and Leonatus his Protectors. But the lowing to give him a principal place among child was not yet born, which made that them without any new occasion offered, had attempt of Python vain. Finally, Perdiccas not some purpose of treachery lurked under with fix hundred men, and Ptolomy with their great facility. General peace was rethe Kings Pages, took upon them to de- newed, and much love protested where little fend the place where Alexanders body lay: was intended. The face of the Court was but the Army conducted by Meleager, who the same which it had been in Alexanders carried the new King about whither he time: but no longer now did the fame heart listed, easily brake in upon them, and in- give it life; and windy spirits they were forced them to accept Arideus for their So- which moved in the arteries. False reports veraign Lord. Then by the intercession of were given out by appointment of Ferdiceas, the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was tending to his own diffgrace, but in fuch terms propounded and admitted, but on neither as might feem to have proceeded from Mefide faithfully meant.

goodly Gentleman, and valiant, iffued out of and (as defirous of a true friendship) defired Babylon, being followed by all the horse, of Perdiceas, that such authors of discord which consisted (for the most part) of the might be punished. Perdiccas (as a lover of Nobility. Perdiccas abode in the City (but peace)did wel approve the motion; & there franding upon his guard) that he might be fore agreed that a general Muster should ready to take the opportunity of any com- be made, at which time the disturbers of the motion that should happen among the Infan- common quiet should receive their punishtry. The King (who was governed by Melea- | ment (as was the manner for Souldiers offenger) commanded, or gave leave to have Per- | ding)in presence of the Army. The plot was diccas made away; which attempt succeed- mischievously laid. Had Meleager given ed ill, being neither fecretly carried, nor way to feditious rumours, he must needs

wanted authority, as having newly got the Crown by them, and holding it by their courtesie. The matter it self afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them The Election of Aridaus, with the troubles worfe. He faid that no harm was done for thereabout arising; the first Division of the Perdiccas was alive: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which he imputed to Meleager; abandoning the Uring this up-roar, mention was made furest of his friends to the rage of themalof Aridaus by some one, and entertain- titude, who were not appealed, until the

leager: who finding part of the drift, but Leonatus, who was of Royal blood, a not all, took it as an injuiry done to himself; committed to fure executioners. Their com- have incurred the general hatred of all, as a Prince being too weak a Patron. Now feek- might be. The charge of his burial was ing redress of these disorders, he hastened committed to Aridaus, one of the Captains. his own ruine, by a less formal, but more who was two years preparing of a great fpeedy way. This kind of Muster was very and costly shew, making a stately Chariot folenmand practifed with many ceremonies, in which the corps was laid; many coarfes as for cleaning the Army. The Horse-men, of his friends being laid in the ground before the Elephants, the Macedonian foot, the that of Alexander was bestowed in Alexan-Mercenaries were each according to their dria, a City of his own building, in Egypt. quality fet in array, apart from others, as if they had been of fundry forts, met at adventure:which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to the direction of their feveral Captains. But at that time the great battel of Macedonian Pikes. which they called the Phalanx, led by Mele-

of man their King was, divided all the Pro-

thither they fent and flew him.

fower of diffention, and thereby with a pub- ven dayes neglected, was opened and emlick approbation might have been cut off, as balmed by the Egyptians: no fign of poyson having often offended in that kind; his appearing, how great foever the suspicion

ø. III.

The beginning of the Lamian War.

Hilest these things were in doing, or presently after, Antipater and Craager, was of purpose bestowed in a ground terus, two principal Noble-men, and infeof disadvantage; and the countenance of the riour to none of Alexanders followers, if Horse and Elephants beginning to give not greater than any of the rest, were bucharge upon them, was fuch, as discovered fied in Greece with a war, which the no jesting pastime, nor good intent. Kings Athenians more bravely than wisely had were always wont to fight among the horfe- begun in Alexanders life, but now did promen; of which custom Perdicess made great | secute more boldly than before, upon the use that day, to the utter confusion of his courage which they had taken by his death. enemies. For Arideus was always governed Alexander, not long before he died, had by him, who for the present had him in commanded that all the banished Greeks possession. Two or three days before, he (few excepted)should be restored unto their fought the death of Perdiccas at the instiga- former places. He knew the factious quality tion of Meleager: now he rides with Perdiceas of the Grecian Estates, & therefore thought up and down about the foot-men, command- fo to provide, that in every City he would ing them to deliver unto the death all such have a sure party. But it fell out otherwise: as Perdiccas required. Three hundred they For he loft the hearts of many more than he were who were cast unto the Elephants, and won by this proud injunction. His pleasure by them flain, in the presence of the King | indeed was fulfilled; yet not without great (who should have defended them) and of murmuring of the whole Nation, as being their affrighted companions. But these three against all order of Law, and a beginning of hundred were not the men whose punish open tyranny. The Athenians greatly decayment Meleager had expected: they were fuch ed in estate, but retaining more than was as had followed him, when he difturbed the needful of their ancient spirits, forbad the first consultation that was held about the execution of this Decree in their Dominielection of a new King, and some of them his ons; so did also the Ætolians, who were valiespecial friends. Having therefore kept him- ant men, and inhabited a Region well forfelf quiet a while, as unwilling to give of- tified by nature: yet neither of them took fence to them that had the advantage; when Arms, but seemed to bear themselves; as menhe faw their proceedings tend very mani- that had done no more than they might well festly to his destruction, he fled away into justifie by reason:nevertheless to prevent the a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for worst, the Athenians gave secret instructions to Leofthenes, a Captain of theirs, willing The Army being thus corrected, was led him to levy an Army, but in his own name, into the City, where a new Councel of the and to keep it in a readiness for their use. Princes was held, who finding what manner | This was no hard thing for Leofthenes to do : great numbers of Greek Souldiers being vinces of the Empire among themselves, lately returned from the Asian War in poor leaving to Aridans the office of a Visitor, and estate, as defrauded of their pay by the yet making Perdiccas his Protector, and Captains. Of these he had gathered up eight Commander of the forces remaining with thouland, when the certain news was him. Then were the funerals of Alexander brought of Alexanders death: at which the thought upon; whose body having beense- City of Athens declared it self, and more against the Macedonians for the liberty of ry few years. Greece. Hereupon Leosthenes drew in the Etolians and some other Estates, gave bat- all the Captains of companies lying near, tel to the Baotians, who fided with Antipa- folicited to make hafte. Not without cause: ter, and overthrew them; growing so fast For in Macedon there could not at that time in reputation, and so strong in adherents, be railed more than thirteen thousand foot. that Antipater (arming in all hafte, yet fuf- and fix hundred horse; which Muster was

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into Afia to Craterus for fuccour. Nothing is more vain than the fears and indeed who had long frood firm for Philip hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their and Alexander, who also were the best horsedestinies a far off, which deceive all mortal men of Greece, furnished him with very wisdom, even when they seem near at hand. brave troops, that might have done great One moneth was scarcely past, since nothing service, had their faith held out, which fo heavily burthened the thoughts of Anti- they changed for the liberty of Greece. With pater as the return of Craterus into Mace- these forces did Antipater in Thessaly try the don; which he then feared as death, but fortune of a battel with Leofthenes; rather now defired as the most likely assurance of (as may seem) fearing the increase of his his life. Craterus, whom Alexander held as enemies power, and rebellion of the Greeks, of all men the most assured unto him, was (were they not checkt at the first) than prefent into Macedon to convey home the old fuming on his ftrength. For Leofthenes had of Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to Athenians, Etolians, and Mercenaries, two fucceed Antipater in the government of Ma- and twenty thousand foot, besides the afficedon and Greece. The suspitions were strong stance of many petty Signories, and of some that he had a privy charge to put Antipater Illyrians and Thracians: of horse he brought to death: neither did that which was com- into the field about two thousand and five monly published sound much better; which hundred but over-strong he was that wav was, That Antipater should be sent unto the also, when once the Thessalians had revoked King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, unto him. So Antipater loft the day; and his newly to be levied in Europe. For Alexander loss was such, that he neither was able to was much incensed against him by his Mo- keep the field, nor to make a safe retreat ther Olympias: and would sometimes give into his own Country; therefore he fled into out speeches, testifying his own jealousie and the Town of Lamia, which was well forisihatred of him; but yet he strove to smother ed, and well provided of all things necesit, which in a cruel Prince betokeneth little fary to bear out a siege. Thither did Legood. Few of Alexanders Lieutenants had ofthenes follow him, prefent him battelagain, escaped with life:most of them indeed were and upon refusal close up the Town with mean persons in regard of those who follow- Earth-works, and a Wall. There will ed him in his Indian expedition, and were we leave him for a while, travelling in the therefore (perhaps) removed to make place last honourable enterprise that ever was unfor their betters. But if the Kings rigour dertaken by that great City of Athens. was fuch, as could find rebellious purposes (for fo he interpreted even lewd government) in base persons; little might Antipater hope for, who having fitten Vice-roy ten years in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of To fell a Master, and the envie of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiours, gone each to his own Province, kept a naked which would now repine to see him their Court: all his greatness consisting in a equal. Therefore whether his fear drew bare Title, supported by the strength of him to prevention, working first the Kings his Protector, who cared not for him other death by poylon, given by his Son Io- wife than to make use of him. Ferdices had laus, Alexanders Cup-bearer; or when no Province of his own peculiar, neither ther it brake not forth untill opportuni- was he like to be welcome to any whom he ty had changed it into the paffion of re- should visit in his government. A stronger venge, which was cruelly performed by Army than any of the reft he had, which he

honourably than wifely, proclaimed War the ground of effects to be produced inve-

At the present, Craterus was sent for, and pecting his own ftrength) was fain to fend of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Countrey being emptied into Asia. The Thessalians

ø. IV.

How Perdiccas employed his army.

Ing Aridaus living under the rule of Perdiccas, when all the Princes were his fon Cassander 5 great cause of much might easily hope in that unsetled condifear he had; which I note in this place, as tion of things to make better worth to him than many Provinces could have been. The ftroy them: which intent of his Perdiceas diff better to accomplish his desires, he closely fought the marriage of cleopatra; the fifter of Alexander; yet about the same time he either married Nicea the daughter of Antitheir eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly fearch into his doings.

Ariarathes the Cappadocian, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Country. had continued faithfull to the Persian Emple of his fore-fathers, even from Pharnaces the first that reigned in Cappadocia, who marner, with many others, he crucified him, and forth to return unto his great Master. as many of his Kindred as he could light upthan as to the most assured. Python was to Lamian War taketh ending. subdue the Greeks rebelling in the high Countrys of Asia. About twenty thousand foot, and 2000 horse they were, (all old Soldiers) who planted in Colonies by Alexander to bridle the barbarous nations, were foon weary of their unpleasant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they lived:

covering, did both give him in charge to put all those Rebels to the fword, giving the spoyles of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyned it unto Pythons Captains (his own pater, or made such love to her as blinded creatures; that they should see his commandment executed. These directions for use of the victory, might have proved needless; so uncertain was the victory it felf. A Captain of the Rebels commanding over three thoufand, corrupted by Python, did in the heat pire as long as it ftood: following the exam- of the fight (which was very doubtful) retire without necessity to a hill not far off. This dismayed the rest, and gave the ried Atoffa fifter to the great Cyrus. Some day to Python: who being far enough of his Ancestors had (indeed) been oppres- from Perdiccas, offered composition to fed by the Persian: but what Fortune took the vanquished, granting unto them their from them at one time, Vertue restored at lives and liberty, under condition of laying another, and their faithful Princes had much down their arms; & hereupon he gave them encrealed all. But now in the fatal Period his faith. Being master of these Companies. of so great an Empire, with much wisdom, he might well have a good opinion of his and (Darius being flain) with sufficient ho- own power: all power being then valued by nour he might have acknowledged the Ma- strength in followers, when as none could cedonian in the Persians room. This he did vaunt himself as free Lord of any Territory. not; neither did Alexander call him to ac- He had thirteen thousand foot, and eight count being occupied with great cares. But | thousand eight hundred horse, besides these Perdiccas, who had no greater business new Companions, whom needless fear withwherein to entertain his Army, found it ex- out great loss had caused to leave the field: pedient both for the honour of the Empire, but in true estimation, all the greatness to take that in-land Kingdom, furrounded whereof Python might think himfelf affured, with Provinces of the Macedonian conquest, was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in and for his own particular, to have one op- | Perdiccas. For by his command were ten portune place of fure retreat, under the go- thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of vernment of a stedfast friend. Therefore he those which followed Python, levied; the entred Cappadocia, fought with Ariarathes, Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying who drew into the field 30000. foot, and the letters of Perdiccas, by which they were 15000, horse (a strong Army, had it not en- enjoyned to give assistance to that business; countred a stronger, and better trained) wan & by vertue of the precept given unto them the victory, and thereby the whole King- by Perdiccas, did the Macedonians cut in dom. But with much cruelty did he use the pieces all those poor men who had yielded victory: for having taken Ariarathes prifo- themselvs; leaving Python as naked as he came

Now was Perdiceas mighty above the on, and so delivered that Province to Eu- | mighty, and had fair leisure to pursue his menes, whom of all men living he trusted hopes of marriage with Cleopatra, and theremost Another part of his forces he had com- by to make himself Lord of all: but this mitted to Python, rather as to the most ho- must be secretly carried for sear of opposinourable of such as remained about him, tion How it succeeded, will appear when the

6. V.

The process of the Lamian War.

TE left Antipater hardly besieged, wanting means to free himfelf withand therefore took advantage of the present out succours from his friends in Asia. Those troubles to feek unto themselves a better helps not appearing so soon as he expected, fortune. Against these Python went, more he came to parley with Leosthenes, and desirous to make them his own, than to de- would have yielded unto any terms of reason Rrrr 2

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reason, wherewith men possessed with had (notwithstanding the departure of the hope of victory, do seldome limit their de- Ætolians) the advantage of Leonatus in fires. Legithenes willed him without fur- horfe, by the odds of two thousand Theffalither circumstance to submit himself to dif- ans; in other things he was equal with him; cretion. This was too much for him that in cause he thought himself Superiour in the had once commanded over them, who now fortune of that day he proved fo: for he required of him fuch a difhonourable com- wan a great victory (chiefly by vertue of the extremity, from which as yet he was far the end of Leonatus himself; who fighting enough, could bring no worfe with it, Anti- valiantly, was driven into a marifu piece of pater prepared for the defence ; and the ground, where he found his death, which other for winning the Town, which felt he desperately had fought among the Indigreat want of victuals.

In this lingring War the Ætalians (whe- from the place of his nativity. He was the ther weary of fitting still at a siege, or have- first of Alexanders Captains which dyed in ing bufiness which they pretended at home battel; but all, or most of the rest shall follow took their leave, and returned into their him the same way. After this day, the Atheown Countrey. Their departure left the nians did never any thing suitable to their trenches to thinly manned, that Antipater ancient glory. found means to fally out upon his enemies to their great los: for many were flain, and weak to renew the fight, and too proudto Leofthenes himfelf among them, ere he could flie. They betook themselves to high grounds, be repulled into the Town. Yet hereby the unfit for service on horse-back, and so abode Macedonians were nothing relieved, their in the fight of the enemy that day; the day victuals wafted, and they were not firong following, Antipater with his men cameinto enough to deal with the Greeks in open their Camp, and took the charge of all. The fight. Craterns was long in coming. Lyfina Athenians perceiving their ffrength tobe chus, who was nearest at hand in Thrace, had at the greatest, and searing lest that of the work too much of his own, leading no more enemy should increase, did earnestly seek than four thousand foor, and two thousand to determine the matter quickly by another horse, against Seuthas the Thracian King, battel. But still Antipater kept himselfon who brought into the field above tour ground of advantage; which gave more times that number'; and though Lylimachus, than reasonable confidence to the Greek, not without loss had gotten one victory, yet many of whom departed to their homes, the enemy abounding in multitude, felt accounting the enemy to be vanquilled. not the blow fo much as might abate his This wretchlefness (incorrigible in an Arcourage. Therefore Leonatus was earneftly my of Voluntaries) was very inexculable; folicited by Antipaters friends, to make all feeing that the victories by Land were haste to the rescue. He had the government | very much defaced by losses at Sea, where of Phrygia the less, and was able to raise an the Athenians, labouring to have made Army of more than twenty thouland foot, themselves once again Masters, were put to and two thousand five hundred horse; whe- the worst. ther levied out of his Province, or appointed unto him out of the main Army, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that he was more livered unto this day. Craterus with a strong willing to take in hand the journey into Army having made great marches from Ci-Greece, than Antipater was to have him come. licia, paffed over into Europe, and coming For Cleopatra had written unto him, desiring into Thessalp, joyned himself with Antipa his presence at Pella, the chief City of Mace- ter. The forces of Leonatus, Antipater, and don, and very kindly offering her self to be Craterus being joyned in one, contained for his Wife; which letters he kept not so close ty thousand weightily armed, three thousand as had been requifite, and therefore brought light-armed men, and five thousand horse; himself into great suspition, that soon ended of which numbers the Greeks wanted a with his life. Antiphilus, chosen General by thousand and five hundred in horle; in foot, the Athenians in place of Leoftheres, hearing of his approach, forfook the fiege of Antiphilus labour to avoid the necessity of a Lamia, and took the ready way to thefe battel, until fuch time as the Towns confegreat Conquerors of Asia, with purpose to derate should return unto the Camp those give them an evil welcome home, before bands which had ftraggled from it. But Antipater and they should joyn in one. He those companies were so flow in coming

Wherefore knowing that the Theffalians) which appeared the greater by ans, but it waited for him at home, not far

The vanquished Macedonians were too

But now the fatal captivity of Greece came on, of which she never could be dehad carried away the victory : for the Thef-(over-and which caused them also to fall when their admiration was to cost them higher ground, which caused them also to fall when their admiration was to cost them back. So the Macedonians became Lords of much in real effects. the field, having little else to boast of, considering that with the loss of an hundred and Leofthenes, required of the Athenians, that thirty men, they had only purchased the they should wholly submit themselves to death of some five hundred enemies. Yet his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, hereof was great use made: For the Greeks, he commanded them to defray the charges as not subject unto the full command of one of the War past, to pay a fine, and entertain General; and being every one defirous to a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the poderstanding their aptness to division, refused | convenient proportion of riches. to hearken to any general composition, but rather to abide the coming of their affistants, whose unreasonable carelesness beupon other mens unlikely hopes, with their own affured and prefent calamity.

ø. VI.

Of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. of Demosthenes his death.

defiring peace upon some good terms: ne- be, or honourably carried. ceffity enforcing them to have accepted

and Antipater fo urgent upon the Greeks, the Orator, and Xenocrates the Philospher, and annual to the matter were chief of this Embaliage; Phocion, as that compensately further attendance. Like the most honourable; Demades, as a strong in hazard without further attendance have been provided the most honourable. in nazara is that with a little more help they perswader (both of them well respected by Antipater ;) and Xenocrates, as one admired nad carried and per hand, and held it, un- for wildom, gravity of manners, and vertil such time as they perceived their battels tue; but all these ornaments consisting in (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the speculation, and therefore of less regard,

Antipater calling to mind the pride of preserve his own estate and City: concluded | pular estate, committing the government of to make a treaty of peace with Antipater; the City to those of most wealth, depriving who being a fubtle Artificer, and well un- of the right of fuffrage all fuch as wanted a

About nine thousand they were, all men willed every City to deal apart for it felf. of good substance, to whom the administra-The intent of his device was so apparent, tion of the Common-wealth was given; a that it was rejected: the Greek choosing number great enough to retain the name and form of a Democratie. But the rascal multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed trayed the cause. Antipater and Craterus to get their livings out of the common befreging and winning some Towns in Thef- troubles, being now debarred from bearing July, which the Army of the Confederates offices and giving their voyces, cryed out, wanted means and courage to relieve, wea- | that this was a meer Oligarchie, the violent ried that Nation from attending any longer | ulurpation of a few incroaching upon the publick right. These turbulent fellows (of whom King Philip had been wont to fay, That war to them was peace, and peace war) Antipater planted in Thrace, and gave them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of Athens.

To the same end (yet withal for satisfying He Thessalians falling off, all the rest his own suspitions and hatred) he caused 1 Coonfollowed feverally, and fued for Demosthenes and Hyperides, famous Orators, peace; the gentle conditions given to the with fome others, to be flain. Had the most forward, inviting such as were slack.
Only the Athenians and Ætolians held out.

death of these two, especially of Demosthernes, been forborn, the rest of his proceed-Little favour could they hope for, having ings in this action might well have passed been Authors of this tumult, and their fear for very mild; whereas now, all fuch as was not great 5 the feat of the war being either are delighted with the Orations of farfrom them. But the celerity of Antipa- Demosthenes, or have furrendred their ter confounded all their imaginations; who judgements to Authors justly admiring him, fate ftill at Athens, devising upon courses of as the most eloquent of all that ever did profecuting the War to come, which came speak and write, condemn him utterly, calto their doors before their confultation ling him a bloody Tyrant. Such grace and could find iffue. He was ready to enter up-reputation do the Learned Arts find in all on their Frontiers; they had no ability to Civil Nations, that the evil done to a man, refift, and were as heartless as friendless. All famous in one of them, is able to blemish that remained was to fend Embaffadours, any action, how good foever otherwise it

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuary in the eventhe very worst. Phocion, with Demades Temple of Neptune, in the Isle of Calauria;

there did Archias (fent with Souldiers by werful State of Athens had been Their Coun-Antipater for the purpole) find him, and try was rough and mountainous having magently perswaded him to leave the place; ny places of great sastness, into which they but not so prevailing he threatned violence. conveyed such of their goods as they most Then Demostheres entrearing a little respite, esteemed, and of their people, as were least as it had been to write fomewhat, fecretly fit for War: with the rest they fortified the took poison, which he had kept for such a strongest of their Cities, and so abode the necessity, and so died; rather choosing to do coming of the Macedonians, whom they the last execution upon himself, than to fall manfully resisted. With great obstinacy did into the hands of fuch as hated him. Only the Macedonians contend against the diffithis act of his (commendable perhaps in a culties of the places, which the Ætolians Heathen man) argued some valour in him; made good as long as their victuals held out. who was otherwise too much a coward in But when Craterus had shut up all passages. battel, howfoever valiant in perswading to & utterly debarred them of relief, then were enterprises, wherein the way to very ho- they put to a miserable choice; either to denourable ends was to be made through pal- fcend from their strong holds, and fight upfages exceeding dangerous. He loved money on equal ground, with unequal numbers, or well, and had great sums given him by the to endure the miseries of hunger and cold. Persian, to encourage him, in finding work against which they could make no long refor the Macedonians at home. Neither did sistance; or to yield themselves to the Macehe ill (me thinks) in taking from the Persians donians, who, incensed by the loss of many which loved not his Country, great reward, good Souldiers, were not like to leave to for speaking such things as tended to his stubborn enemies in places which might give Countries good; which he did not cease to confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremity procure, when the Persians were no longer much fineness of wit apprehending all cirable to give him recompence. Such as in ten- cumstances of danger, commonly dothmore der contemplation of his death can endure hurt than a blunt confideration of that only, no honourable, though true, mention of An- which at the present is in hand. These Ætolitipater, may (if they can) believe Lucian, ans did not as yet want meat; but their en-who tells us, That it was Antipaters purpole mies daily molested them: wherefore as yet to have done him great honour. Sure it is, they thought upon nothing but fighting. that he was a stedfast enemy to the Mace- | Fortune was gracious to their courage. For donians; therefore discretion required that such news came out of Asia into the Macedohe should be cut off.

ed, the chief command was left in the hands their hands of these Ætolians, giving them of Fhocion, a vertuous man, and lover of his whatfoever conditions they would ask: yet Country, yet applying himself to the neces- with purpose to call them to severe account; fity of the times; by which commendations yea, to root them out of Greece by death, or he had both at other times done the City by captivity, when once they should have much good, and now procured this peace, lettled the affairs of Alia; as they hoped and which (though grievous to free-men, yet defired. But of mens purpofes God is dispofavourable to the vanquished) he endea- ser: in whose high Counsel it was ordained, voured carefully to preferve.

ø. VII.

Macedonian Lords.

O Antipater with Craterus returned into Ction to all the civil Wars ensuing. Macedonia, where they strengthened their friendship with a new alliance; Craterus taking Fhila, the Daughter of Antipater, these. Antipater and Craterus were of Alexto Wife.

lians, whose poverty was not so easily daun- dency, and the present rule which he bare ted, as the luxurious wealth of the more po- in the parts of Europe. The other, as of all

nian Camp, as made Antipater and Craterus The matters of Athens being thus order- think every hour a month, till they had rid that this poor Nation should continue a troublesome bar to the proceedings of Macedon and Greece, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchy) an open gate tolet How Craterus and Antipater were drawn the Roman Conquerors into those and other from their Ætolian wars into Asia. The Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters grounds of the first civil war between the of Asia, the reformation intended by Antipater and Craterus, was so far from taking effect, that it ferved meerly as an introdu-

The grounds of the Asiatique Expedition, which did set the world in an uproar, were anders Captains the mightiest in reputati-Shortly after they went against the Æto- on: The one, in regard of his ancient precemen the Mexander and of the whole Army. meet with a good title; and what more Next unto these had Perdiccas been; whom | could be wished? Some impediment the the advantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equal, or fuperiour, to either of thele, if not to both together. The first better with love of the people; yet if the intents of Perdiccas were, to have conforted business prospered in Macedonia, like with these two, and to have been with them enough it was that either Ptolomy would a third partner in the Government of all ; to follow of himself, or be driven to come to which purpose he entertained the discourse reason. Antigonus likewise then Governing of marriage with one of Antipaters Daugh- in Phrygia, a busic-headed man, and ill affeters. But feeling in fhort space the strength cted to the side, was to be looked into and of that gale of wind which bore him up, he | made away, for fear of further trouble. So hegan to take wing and foar quite another thought Perdiccas, and was deceived in fo way. Arideus was a very fimple man, 'yet thinking. Antigonus was as good a man of ferved well enough to wear the title of that War, of as deep a judgement, as high a foirit. Maiefty, whereof Perdiccas being Admini- and as great undertaking, as any of Alexanfrator, and hoping to become proprietary, ders Captains. His imployments had been Town on fire, into the flame whereof the fore mentioned. young men did throw themselves, after that

holding authority, the match with Cleopatra ing against him,

men the best beloved, and most respected, might easily be made. So should greatness power of Ftolomy might give, who held Egypt well fortified with men, but much the practice was more severe than had been less than some of theirs, which made him also in the dayes of Alexander: the defire to the less respected. But his thoughts were as feemterrible, being very familiar with weak | proud as theirs: for he valued himfelf by Princes, and their ambitious officers, who his own worth, not by the opinions of other know no other means of preferving them- men; with careful attention had he watchselves from contempt, and of giving such a ed Perdiccas, and sounded the depth of his fiery lustre to their actions, as may dazle the purposes, which it was now high time to eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor discover. For Perdicess having with a jealous Greeks in the higher Asia were all put to the eye pryed into the demeanour of Antigonus, fword; and how tyrannoully the King and and finding him no way fit for his turn, Princes of Cappadocia were crucified, hath | caused him to be charged with such accusaalready been shewed. The Pifidians were tions, as might suffice to take away his life, the next who felt the wrath of these coun- especially by a Judge that sought his death. terfeit' Alexanders, One City of theirs was | This device Antigonus would not feem to utterly razed; the children fold for flaves, perceive, but prepared himself in shew to and all the rest massacred. The Isaurians, by make answer, indeed, to make escape; which this example grown desperate, when after easily he did, putting himself and his Son two orthree dayes trial they found them- Demetrius aboord of some Athenian Gallies, selves unable to continue the defence, lockt that carried him to Antipater, laden with themselves into their houses, and set the such tidings as finished the Ætolian War be-

As the coming of Antigonus made Craterus they had a while repelled the Macedonians and Antipater manifestly perceive their own danger: fo his flight gave Perdiccas to un-These exploits being performed, the derstand that his intentions were laid open, Army had no other work than to fift the and must now be justified by the sword. ashes of the burnt City for gold and silver 3 Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, but Perdiceas had bufiness of greater impor- not only for defence, but (as having on his tance troubling his brains. Nothing was fide the Kings name) to meet with them at more contrary to his ends, than to fit still home, who were nothing flack in providing without employment, letting his Souldiers to encounter him. Ptolomy being advertised grow idle about him, whilft others grew of these proceedings, and considering how great, and took deep root in their feveral nearly they concerned him, fided with An-Provinces. He purposed therefore to trans- tipater. To his Government of Egypt he had Port his forces into Europe, under pretence annexed the Dominion of Cyrene, not withof bringing the King into Macedonia, the feat out confent of the chief Citizens; and now of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. in the midst of these garboyls he celebrated The Kings presence would make the Offices the funeral of Alexander with great solemniof his Vice-Roys (during the time) actual- ty, purchasing thereby to himself much good ly void; Antipater with Craterus being once will and many partakers, notwithstanding in case of private men, and only Perdiceas the terrible report of the Kings Army com-

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upon Ptolomy; leaving Eumenes to keep to codiles, a miserable spectacle eventosuch as his use, against Craterus and Antipater, the were out of danger; such as were strong parts of Asia bordering upon Europe.

ther make head against those who were to come out of Greece with a great number, and of more able men than Ptolomy could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a against their General, giving liberty to their quick end with Ptolomy; or believed that Graterus would not be ready for him foon evil thoughts of their hearts. While they enough. Sure it is, that he took a bad course, were thus murmuring, news came from and made it worse with ill handling.

many to his party, without help of any bad fion on those who fell into his hands alive, arts. Perdiceas contrariwise was full of infolency, which never failes to be rewarded with hatred, which is truly defined, An affe- on his fide: and finally, fent their bones and ction founded upon opinion of an unjust contempt. The whole ftory of his proceedings in Egypt is not worth relation: for he did mon Souldiers, but made the Captainsfall nothing of importance; but (as a wilful to mutiny, thinking it unreasonable to make man) tyred his followers, and wasted them in war upon so vertuous and honourable a hard enterprises without success. His most person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordy forceable attempt was upon a little Town, ambitious man, using them like slaves. The called the Camels Wall: thither he marched | fedition growing ftrong, wanted only a head, by night, with more haste than good speed; which it quickly found. Python was there, for Ptolomy preventing him, did put himself who inwardly hated Perdiccus, for the difinto the place, where behaving himself not grace which he had suffered by his procureonly as a good Commander, but as a front ment, after the victory upon the rebellious Souldier, he gave the foil to Perdiccas, Greeks. Python had lived in honourable place causing him to retire with loss, after a vehe- about Alexander; he was in the division of ment, but vain, assault continued one whole the Provinces made Governour of Media; he day. The night following, Perdiccas made had followed Perdiccas, and being in all another journy, (which was his last) and things (the Protectorship excepted) equal to came to the divisions of Nilus, over against him, had nevertheless been scornfully used Memphis. There with much difficulty he by him, which now he requited. Drawing began to pass over his Army into an Island, together a hundred of the Captains, and a where he meant to incamp. The current good part of the Horse, which confilted of was strong, the water deep, and hardly the Gentry, (the footmen having declared foordable. Wherefore he placed his Ele- themselves before) he entred the Tent of phants above the passage, to break the violence of the stream, and his horse-men beneath it, to take up such as were carried Such end had the proud mif-governing auaway by swiftness of water. A great part of thority of Perdiceas. He might have lived his Army being arrived on the further as great as any, could he have suffered any as bank, the channel began to wax deep; so great as himself; yea, peradventure master that whereas the former companies had of all, had he not been too masterly over waded up to the chin, they who should have those which were already his. followed could find no footing. Whether this came by the rifing of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being himself of things past, as not having been broken with the feet of fo many Men, Horfe, Author, or given cause of the War, and and Elephants) no remedy there was, but was eafily believed: the favour of the such as had passed must repass again, as well Army being such toward him, that needs

as they might: for they were too weak for the enemy, and could not be relieved by Perdiccas his voyage into Egypt, o his death. their fellows. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the Ri-Perdicess, uncertain which way to bend his main power, at length refolved to fet perished, a thousand were devoured by Croand could fwim, recovered the Camp; many It may feem strange, that he did not ra- were carried down the stream, and driven to the contrary bank, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers tongues, which long time had concealed the Ptolomy, which did fet them in an up-roar. Ptolomy by his fweet behaviour allured Ptolomy had not only shewed much compasbut performed all rights of funeral to the dead carkasses, which the River had cast upashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not only move the com-Perdiccas, where without further circumstance they all ran upon him, and slew him.

The next day Ptolomy came into the Camp, where he was joyfully received; he excused they would have made him Protector in the were ferviceable, and training them well up. against Perdiccas.

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Victories of Eumenes in the lower Afia.

mand from Perdiceas to be affiftant to Eu-

room of Perdiccas. But this he refused. It Not without great need. For when upon adwas an Office fit for one that would feek to vertifement of the great preparations made increase his greatness with his trouble. Pto- by Craterus and Antipater (who had newly lowy was well enough already; wherefore, passed the Hellesport) for the invasion of his for his own quiet he forbare to accept it, Provinces, he willed Neoptolemus to come to and for their well-deferving of him, he pro- him with all his power; Neoptolemus did (inand to the annual deed advance, but in hostile manner, though to Arideus the Captain, who having had unprovoked, prefented him Battel. Neoptofome companies of Souldiers, to furnish with lemus had secretly covenanted with Antipatheir attendance the solemnities of Alexan- ter to lay open the way for him to the Conders Funerals, did with them adhere to him quest of Asia, which now intending to perform, he was shamefully disappointed. For, In the midst of these businesses came news though his foot-men, being all Macedonians. of two great Victories obtained by Eume- had much the better, and prevailed far upon nes; which news, had they arrived two or Eumenes his Battels ; yet were his horse drithree daies fooner, had been entertained ven out of the field, and himfelf compelled, with joyful acclamations; and would have with a few of them, to run away, leaving given fuch reputation to Perdiccas, as had naked the backs of his Macedonian foot-men caused both his private maligners to to be charged by Eumenes, who forced them continue his open flatterers, and his open in such wife, that casting down their Pikes, enemies to have accepted any tolerable they cryed for mercy, and gladly took their composition. But these good tidings coming outh to do him saithful service. Antibater in ill time, when death had stopped the and Craterus endeavoured with many goodcars which would have given them welcome, ly promifes to draw Eumenes into their fofound bad acceptance, as shall be shewed ciety, who contrariwise offered himself as a mean of reconciliation, between Perdiceas and Craterus, whom he dearly loved; profeffing withall his hatred to Antipater, and confrant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whilst these negotiations were on foot, DEfore we proceed in the relation of Neoptolemus came with his broken crew to Othings happening about the person of Antipater, and his Associates, vilifying Euthe King, it is meet that we speak of those menes, and calling him a Scribe (at which businesses in the lower Asia, which were foolish railing they laught) but extolling the handled by Eumenes with notable dexteri- virtue of Craterus (as well he might) with ty, whilft Perdiccas was occupied in the high commendations; affuring them, that if Egyptian Wars. Alcetas the Brother of Per- Craterus did but once appear, or that his diccus, and Neoptolemus, had received com- voice were but heard by any Macedonian in Eumenes his Camp, the Victory was won ; menes, and to follow his directions. But Alce- for they would all forthwith revolt unto tas made flat answer that he would not; al- him. Earnestly therefore he defired them to ledging the backwardness of his men to bear give him aid against Eumenes, and especial-Arms against so great a person as Antipater, | Iy requested that Craterus might have the and a man fo much honoured as Craterus. leading of the Army to be fent. Their own Neoptolemus was content to make fair flew, affections did eafily lead them to condescend but inwardly he repined at the precedency to his motion: a good hope there was, that given to Eumenes, as thinking himself the the reputation of Craterus might prevail as better man. Eumenes discovering, through much as the force which he drew along. For the counterfeited looks of Neoptolemus, the he had in the midst of Alexander's vanities, mischief lurking in his heart, wifely dissem | when others (imitating their King) betook bled with him, in hope to win him by gentle themselves to the Persian fashions of garbehaviour, and fweet language, that com- ments and customs, retained the ancient monly are loft, when bestowed upon arro- Macedonian form of behaviour, and appargant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie rel; whereby he became very gracious with himfelf, that he might stand upon his own the common Souldiers, who beheld these strength, he raised out of the Countries unnew tricks of Asia with discontented eyes, as der his jurisdiction, about six thousand reproachful and derogatory to the manhorse, giving many privileges to such as ners of their native Country. So Antipater

diceas at bay, and to joyn with Ptolomy. Crathe deceitful iffue of frivolous hopes. Then terus used great celerity, to have taken En | was it high time for Craterus (having failed menes revelling (as he hoped) according to in surprising them as enemies) to discover the common fathion of Captains, after a himfelf to his old friends, and fellow-foulgreat Victory. But he had a wary and well-diers, of whom he could fee none. Phenix advised enemy to encounter, who kept good a Tenidian, and Artabazus a Persian, had the efpial upon him, and with much wildom leading of that fide, who, mindful of their fore-faw all that was to be feared, and the instructions, began to give battel upon him. means of prevention, which his courage did with such countenance as told him his error, not fail to execute. Eumenes was not igno which to redeem, he bade his men fight, and rant that Craterus was able to defeat him redeem the day, and take the spoil to themwithout Battel, yea without stroke; him selves; but the Bear, whose skin he sells, is therefore he feared more than the Army following him (yet the Army following him) not yet caught. The ground whereon the following him (yet the Army following him) was fuch, as much exceeded his own foot- the horse, who encountred very roughly on men, but was inferiour in horfe-men) and all parts: especially about Eumenes and Nethought it more uncasie to keep the Mace- optolemus; who, as soon as they had discovedonians from revolting to him, than from red one another, could not contain themknowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a felves, but with great rage met body to boftrange piece of work, which desperation of dy, and letting loose their bridles, grappled all courses else taught him, and wise manage- so violently together, that their horses ran ing prosperoully accomplished. He gave out from under them, leaving both of them tumreports, that Neoptolemus was returned bling on the ground. Neoptolemus rofe first with fuch company as he could gather to- up, but Eumenes had his fword first drawn, gether, and had gotten Pigres (a Captain of wherewith he houghed the other, caufing no great estimation, who lay not far off) to him to fall down and fight upon one knee. joyn with him. Having animated his men In this conflict they received many wounds, against Neoptolemus, whom he knew to be but Neoptolemus giving slight ones, took such despised and hated among them, (as having as were deadly, by which he died in the been vanquished by some of them, and for- place, and was there (being half-dead, halffaken others in plain field, whilft they vali- alive) ftripped by his mortal enemy, whole antly fought in his quarrel) he took great revilings he requited, lying even at the last care to keep them from receiving any in- gasp, with one wound in the groin, dangetelligence of the enemies matters. Peremp- rous had it not wanted force. The death of toilry he commanded that no messenger nor Neoptolemus caused his followers to run trumpeter should be admitted; and not here- away upon the spurre, and seek shelter bewith fatisfied, he placed against Craterus no hind the Battels of their foot. They were one Macedonian, nor any other that much nothing hotly pursued. For Eumenes pained would have regarded him, had he been himself to carry succour to his left wing, known: but Thracians, Cappadocians, and which he suspected much to be distressed but found accompanied with the same for more highly of none, than of Perdiceas and tune, that had affilted him when he fought himself. To these also he gave in charge, in person. Craterus had gallantly born that without speaking or hearkning to any word, they should run upon the enemy, and of Artabazus and Phenix with more cougave him no leifure to fay, or do any thing rage than force; holding it nothing agreeof Eumenes every way prepared for the he was trampled under foot by many that of Eumenes every way prepared for the ne was trampled under foot by many fight, the other wearied with long journies, knew him not, and so perished unknown, till it

took the way toward Cilicia, to hold Per- which over-haftily they had made, feeking but fight. The directions which he gave to able with his honour to retire and protract others, he did not fail to execute in his own the fight, when he was charged by men of perion: but placing himself in the right little estimation or note. Otherwise it is wing of his Battel, opposite to Neoptolemus not unlikely that he might have either carwho (as he understood) conducted the left ried the day, or preserved himself to a better wing on the contrary fide, he held the Mace- adventure by giving ground, as the reft donians arranged in good order, and ready (when he and Neoptolemus were flain) didto charge the enemy as foon as the distance But whilst he fought to preserve his reputawould give leave. A rifing piece of ground tion, he loft his life by the fall of his horfe, lay between them, which having accorded, or his falling from his horse, through force the Armies discovered each other: but that of a wound received; upon which accident to the place where he lay, made great la King Perdiceas, Philips elder Brother. mentation, as having alwaies loved and ho-

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and fled toward Antipater.

ø. X.

tence, than to put it in execution.

Quarrels between Eurydice the Queen, and Python the Protector. Python resigns his office, into which Antipater is chosen.

it was too late to know it. Eumenes coming | Kingdom of Macedon, being the only Son of

This Cyna was a warlike woman; the had mentation, of whose death he was now led Armies, and (as a true Sister of Alexanbecome the instrument. The vanquished Ar- der) fighting hand to hand with Caria my entertained a treaty of peace with Eu- Queen of the Phrygians, a Virago, like unto morse, making shew of willingness to become her self, had slain her. She brought up this his followers; but their intent was only to Eurydice in the same unwomanly Art of refresh themselves, which (by his permissi- War, who now among the Souldiers began on) having done, they stole away by night, to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of Python, This Battel fought within ten daies of the that could not brook her too curious interformer, wan to Eumenes more reputation medling in his charge. Whether it were fo. than good will: for his own Souldiers took that Python had some purpose to advance the death of Craterus heavily; and the Ar- the Son of Alexander by Roxane, to the Kingmies lying further off were inraged with the dom, (as once he had fought to do;) or news. But other matters there were which whether the Queen did suspect him of some incensed men against him, besides the death such intent; or whether only desire of rule of Craterus, whereof it manifeltly appeared, caused her to quarrel with him; quarrel she that he was as forry as any that pretended did, which disturbed the proceeding against greater heavines. His Army wanted pay, Eumener. The Army having shaken off such This was a great fault; which he wisely a rank-rider as Perdiceas, would not afteramended, by giving to them the spoil of ward be reined with a twined thread. Python fuch Towns as were ill-affected to him. So bearing himself upon his office, tookupon him heeredeemed the love of his own men, who to give directions in the Kings name, which of their meer motion appointed unto him the Queen did oftentimes controll using the a Guard for defence of his person. Others same name with more authority, and better were not so easie to be reconciled. They liking of the Souldiers. Python seeing this, who had been Traitors to Perdiceas, hated | would needs refign his office, whether upon him for his faithfulness, as greatly, as they weariness of the contentions daily growing, thought he would hate them for their falf- or on purpose to bring the Queen into enhood; neither found they any fairer way of vy, it is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that excusing their late revolt, than by accusing now being the far worthiest man in the and condemning the fide which they had Camp, he should be intreated to retain the forfaken. Wherefore they proclaimed En- | place, and have his authority confirmed, or menes a Traitor, and condemned him to dye: (as might be) increased, were it but for but it was an easier matter to give that fen- want of a fit Successor. Eurydice was nothing forry at this course; for now she thought to manage the affairs of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troublesome affiftance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and Python of their contrary expectations; chusing Antipater, the only powerful man of Alexanders Cap-Then and Aridaus being chosen Pro- tains, then living, into the room of Python. tectors of King Aridaus, and the chil-Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, and dren of Alexander; took the way to Afia began to deal earnestly with the Macedonithe less, conducting the Army thorow sy- ans, that they should acknowledge no Lord ria. Of these two, Python was the greater in save only the King their Soveraign. Yet she reputation, yet far too weak to sustain so failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may important a Charge. For Eurydice, wife to feem) by three things: the apparent weak-King Arideus, was come to her husband, a ness of her husband; the growth of Alexan-Lady of a masculine spirit, well understand- ders children, who (though born of outing what the was or thould be, and thinking landish women) were bred in the Macedoher self able to support the weight which nian Camp; and the mightiness of Antipafortune laid upon her foolish husband, being ter, who commanding a great Army neat at due to her own title. Her Mother Cyna, Si- hand, arrived in few daies at the Camp, and fter to Alexander, by her Father King Fhi- enforced Eurydice to hold her felf content. lip, was married (as hath been shewed) to Antipater was of such power, that he needed Amyntas, who was the right Heir to the not to work by any close devices, as Per-

the Governours of Provinces that remained not. Eumenes perceiving the irrecoverable alive, acknowledged him their better; yea mischief which this traiterous practice had many of them he displaced out of hand, put- brought upon him, pursued the villain, and many of them see displaced out of management the cut him off before he could thrust himself intook the King, Queen, and Princes along to the troops of Antigonus, and boast of his with him into Macedonia, leaving Antigonus treachery. This was some comfort to En-General of the Royal Army: to whom for menes in the loss of that Battel, which difhis good fervices done, and to be done abled him utterly to keep the field, and left against Eumenes, he gave the rule of Susiana, it very hard for him to make a safe retrain. befides his former Provinces, and committed Yet one thing he did which much amazed into his hands the Government of Asia during that War.

ø. XI.

of Eumenes, and besiegeth him in Nora: He vanquisheth other followers of Per-

TEre begins the greatness of Antigonus, whose power in few years over-growing the rest, wanted little of spreading it self heaps of earth as mountains over them, and over the whole Monarchy. He was to make fo went his way. As this bold adventure bred War upon Eumenes, Alcetus, the Brother, and in the Macedonians (returned to their Camp) Attalus the Brother-in-law to Perdiccus: work enough to keep his Army imployed news which Menander (who was fettolook in the publick fervice, till fuch time as he unto their carriages) brought and published might find occasion to make use of it in his among them, entired them to love him as own business. The first of these which he their honourable friend. He had found Meundertook, was Eumenes, with whom Alcetus and Attalus refused to joyn, having unfeafonably contended with him in time of of many Nations, the rewards of their long common danger about the chief place. Eumenes had an Army strong in number, cou- but fearing lest such a purchase should prove rage, and all needful provisions; but obedi- a heavy burden to him, whose chief hope ent only at discretion. Therefore Antigonus confisted in swift expedition, he gave secret tryed all waies of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Army with letters: tains, whilst he detained his men (whomauwhich practice failing by the cunning of En- | thority could not have restrained) by this menes (who made shew as if he himself had | sleight, setting them to bait their horses scattered abroad those letters to try the The Macedonians extolled him for this faith of his men) he dealt apart with such courtesie, as a noble Gentleman, that had Captains as he thought most easie to be won. Of these Captains one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any help was near him, yet looking so carelesly to himself, that | wives : but Antigonus told them, that he had he and his were surprised, when he thought | not forborn to do this out of any good will his enemies far off. Another follower of Eu- to them; but out of meer subtilty had avoidmenes (or rather of good fortune, which he ed those precious fetters, which would have thought now to be in company with Anti | hindred his speedy flight. He told them true. gonus) kept his treachery fecret, referving it For Eumenes did not only think all carriefor the time of execution. Upon confidence ges to be over burdenfome, but the number of the treason which this falle man, Apolloni- of his men to be more troublesome than des, had undertaken, Antigoms presented available in his intended course. Wherefore battel to Eumenes; in the heat whereof Apollo- he fent them from him as falt as he could nides, General of the horse to Eumenes, fled wishing them to shift for themselves; and over to the contrary fide, with such as he retaining only five hundred horse, and two could get to follow him: but was closely hundred foot. When he had wearied Anti-

dicess had done: he had no concurrents, all followed by some, whose company he desired his enemies, and (though a matter of fmall importance) caused Antigonus himself to admire his high resolution. It was held no fmall part of the Victory, to get possession of the dead bodies. Eumenes, whilst Antigonus, Antigonus Lieutenant of Asia, wins a Battel held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass, returned to the place where the Battel had been fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captains and common Souldiers apart, raising up great admiration of his brave spirit: so the nander in an open Plain, careless, as after an assured Victory, and loaden with the spoils fervice; all which he might have taken: warning to Menander to fly to the mounforborn when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children flaves, and to ravish their quired restitution of his Provinces, which him in his Office. could not be granted without Antipaters how great foever, is infufficient.

ø. XII.

Ptolomy wins Syria and Phoenicia. The death of Antipater.

7 Hilft these things were in doing, V the rest of the Princes lay idle, ra-

gonus a while in following him up and ther feeking to enjoy their Governments for down he came to Nora : where again keep- the present, than to confirm or enlarge aowii, ne about him than neceffity re- them. Only Ptolomy looking abroad, wan nigno make good the place, he lovingly all Spria and Phanicia: an action of great quired to make the reft. Nora was a little for- importance, but not remarkable for any tres in the borders of Lycaonia and Cappa- circumstance in the managing. He sent docia, so strongly situated, that it seemed a Lieutenant with an Army, who quickly impregnable, and fo well victualled and took Laomedon prisoner, that ruled there fored with all necessaries, that it might hold by appointment of Antipater, and formeroutformany years. Thither did Antigonus ly of Perdiccas; but (as may feem) withfollow him, with more defire to make him out any great strength of Souldiers, fat his friend, than to vanquish him in War. To from Assistants, and vainly relying upon this purpose he entertained parley with him, the authority which had given him that but in vain. For, whereas Antigonus offer- Province, and was now occupied with greaedhim pardon and his love; Eumenes re- ter cares, than with feeking to maintain

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Antipater was old and fickly, defirous of consent. Then was Nora closed up; where rest, and therefore contented to let Antigo-Antigonus leaving sufficient strength for con- nus pursue the dispatch of those businesses tinuance of the fiege, took his journey into in Asia. He had with him Polysperchon, one Pilidia against Alcetus and Attalus, with of the most ancient of Alexanders Captains. whom he made fhort work. He came upon that had lately suppressed a dangerous inthem unexpected, and feifed on passages, surrection of the Atolians, which Nation which wanted not men, but such a Captain as Eumenes, to have defended them. Alcetus and Attalus, as they had been too they had gained, whilst Autipater was fecure before his coming, fo were they too abroad in his Cilician Expedition. In this adventrous, in fighting at the first fight, Polysperchon, Antipater did repose great confiupon all disadvantages: and their folly was dence; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth attended with suitable event. Attalus with of his own Son Cassander of insufficiency in so many principal Captains was taken; Alcetus | great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on fled to the City of Termesus, where the love his death-bed the Government of Macedon of the younger fort toward him was so ve- and Greece, together with his office of Prohement, that stopping their ears against all tectorship. So Antipater died, being fourperswassions of the ancient men, they needs score years old, having alwaies travelled in would hazard their lives, and their Coun- the great affairs of mighty Princes, with fuch try in his defence. Yet this availed him no- reputation, that Alexander in all his greatthing: for the Governours of the Town nefs was jealous of him, and the successors having fecretly compounded with Antigo- of Alexander did either quietly give place mis, caused the young men to fally out; and unto him; or were unfortunate in making using the time of advantage, they with their oppositions. In his private qualities, he was servants did set upon Alcetus, who unable to a subtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a Phirelift, flew himself. His dead body was con- losophical behaviour, not unlearned, as haveyed to Antigonus, and by him barbarously ving been Scholar to Aristotle, and written torn, was cast forth without burial. When some Histories. He had been much molest-Antigonus was gone, the young men interred ed by Olympias, Alexanders Mother; whom the carkass with solemn funerals, having after the death of her Son, he compelled to once been minded to fet on fire their own abstain from coming into Macedonia, or en-Town in revenge of his death. Such favour termedling in matters of State: yea, at his hadhe purchased with courteous liberality. own death he gave especial direction, that But, to make an able General, one virtue, no woman should be permitted to deal in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was foon forgotten; and yet, ere long, by forrowful experience approved to have been found and good.

s. XIII.

ø. XIII.

of Cassander against him.

Olysperchon was very skilfull in the Art tyrannous power which they had formerly of War, having long time been Appren-exercised over the principal Citizens, were tice in that occupation; other qualities, kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. requisite in so high an Office as he under-Besides all these helps, Cassander had the went, either Nature had not given to him, secret love of Queen Eurydice, who had in or Time had robbed him of them. He man- private rendred him fuch curtefie, as was aged his business more formally than wifely, due only to her husband. But neither the as a man of a fecond wit, fitter to affift, than Queens favour, nor all his other possibilities. command in chief. At the first entrance gave him confidence to break out into open upon the stage, he called to counsel all his rebellion; because he saw Polysperchon much friends, wherein for weighty confiderations reverenced among the Macedonians, and (as they who weighed not the contrary rea- ftrong enough to suppress him, before he fons held them) the Queen Olympias was could have made head. Therefore he made revoked out of Epirus into Macedon, that shew of following his pleasures in the Counthe presence of Alexanders mother might try, and calling many of his friends about countenance and strengthen their proceed- him, under pretence of hunting, adviled ings. For, the condition of the times re- with them upon the fafeft course, and most quiring, that the Governours of Provinces free from all fuspicion. The necessity was abroad should keep greater Armies, than apparent of raising an Army, before the buwere needful or ease to be retained about siness was set on foot; and to do this, opthe person of the King in Macedonia; it portunity presented him with fair means, feemed expedient, that the face of the Ptolomy had by fine force, without any com-Court should be filled with all Majesty, mission, annexed syria to his Government of that might give authority to the Injuncti- Egypt and Cyrene: this was too much either ons from thence proceeding, and by an aw- for the King to trust him with, or for himto ful regard contain within the limited part with. Intigonus upon the first news bounds of duty such as could not by force of Antipaters death, began to lay hold have been kept in order, being ftrong, and upon all that he could get, in such fort, that lying too far off.

imaginary dangers and out of fight, whileft therefore stood in need of a civil War; present mischiefs lay unregarded in their which Cassander well noted, and presumed bosomes. Cassander, the Son of Antipater, withall, That the friendship which had was not able to discover that great sufficiency passed between his Father and them, would in Polysperchon, for which his father had re- avail him somewhat. Whereupon he seposed in him so much considence: neither cretly dispatched messengers to them both; could he discern such odds in the quality of and within a little while conveyed himself himself and Polysperchon, as was in their for- on a sudden over the Hellespont, that he tune. He was left Captain of one thousand; might in person advance the business with which Office by practice of those times was greater speed. Much perswasion is needless of more importance, than the title now in winning a man to what he defireth feems to imply. He should thereby have Antigonus coveting nothing more, than to been as Camp-master, or Lieutenant general sind Polysperchon work, by raising some comto the other: a place no way satisfying his motion in Greece. Yet (as formalities must ambition, that thought himself the better not be neglected) Cassander did very earnman. Therefore he began to examine his eftly press him, by the memory of his Faown power, and compare it with the forces ther, and all requifite conjurations, to affilt likely to oppose him. All that had relyed him in this enterprise; telling him, that on his Father, were his own assured, especi- Ptolomy was ready to declare for them, and ally fuch as commanded the Garrisons be- urging him to a speedy dispatch. Antigonus flowed in the principal Cities of Greece, on the other fide repayed him with the The like hope was of the Magistrates, and same coin, saying, That for his own sake, and others of principal authority, in those Com- his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly mon-weals, whose forms had been correct- loved, he would not fail to give him all

ed by Antipater, that they would follow the fide, and draw in many partakers: it conof Polysperchon, who succeeded unto Anti-cerned these men in their own particular to pater in the Protectorship. The insurrection adhere unto the Captains, by whom their faction was up-held; and by whom the rascal multitude, covetous of re-gaining the he manifestly discovered his intent of ma-Such care was taken for prevention of king himself Lord of all Asia. These two manner of fuccour. Having thus feasted one counsel against injurious friends. Of this another with words, they were nothing fault nature is not guilty; she hath taught anounce and the common means, lead- the arm to offer it felf unto manifest loss in ing to their feveral ends.

ø. XIV.

The unworthy courses held by Polysperchon, for the keeping down of Cassander.

Reat necessity there was of timely provision. For, Polysperchon needed no other instructions to inform him of Cassanders drift, than the news of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in Antigonus and Ptolomy, to the strengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principal hope of Cassander was reposed in the confidence of fuch as ruled in the Grecian Estate. Therefore (loving to work circumspectly) he called another Council, wherein it was concluded, That the popular form of Government should be erected in all the Cities of Greece; the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates and principal Men, into whose hands Antipater had committed of the great Commotions raised in Athens by the fupreme authority, should forthwith be either flain or banished. This was a fure way to diminish the number of Cassanders friends, and to raife up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an unthankful nature in Polysperchon, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could be be excused of extreme ingracould be faid in their defence, who fought | pleafing to their hafty defires. to destroy many worthy men, friends to civil Wars, and ancient hatred called to that he should find means to thrust some

defence of the head: They are deprayed affections, which render men fentible of their own particular, and forgetful of the more general good, for which they were created.

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The decree, whereby the Greeks were presented with a vain shew of liberty, ran under the Kings name; but fo, as one might eafily difcern, that Polysperchon had guided his pen. For the main point was, That they should follow such directions, as Polysperchon gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deal of kindness, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appear to have some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it felf too base and unfit for a King to use toward his conquered Subjects, and often-fubdued Rebels.

ø. XV.

Polysperchons decree. The death of Pho-

Evertheless the Athenians with immoderate joy entertained this happyfeeming Proclamation, and fought how to put it in execution without further delay. But Nicanor, Captain of the Garrison, which titude, that for hatred of the son went about | kept one of their Havens, called Munychia, to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose only | in the lower part of the Town, would needs bounty had inabled him to do it? Or what | take longer time of deliberation, than was

Nicanor, as a trufty follower of Cassander, the State, by whom the Greeks were held was by him shifted into the place, and Merestrained from stirring against the Mace- nillus (that was Captain there before) disdonians? and in opposition to their private charged, when Antipater was newly dead. enemy, gave the rule of things to base Com- His coming to Athens was no way grateful panions, and fuch as naturally maligned the to the Citizens, who foon after hearing the Empire? But as in mans body, through news of Antipater's death, cried out upon finews newly iffuing from one branch, a | Phocion, faying, That he had fufficient intelfinger is more vexed by inflammation of his ligence of that accident, and might, by adnext neighbour, than by any diftemper in vertifing them in due time, have put into the contrary hand: so in bodies politick, their hands a fair opportunity of thrusting the humours of men, subdivided in faction, out the Macedonians. But these exclamaare more inraged by the disagreeable qua- tions argued no more than a desire to shake lities of such as curb them in their nearest off the Macedonian yoke. Far more griepurpoles, than they are exasperated by the vously would they have been offended, had general opposition of such as are divided they known the instructions which Cassander from them in the main trunk. Hereby it had given to Nicanor, and his resolution to comes to pass, that contrary religions are follow them. It was concluded, That he invited to help against neighbour Princes; should not only retain Mungchia, any injunbordering enemies drawn in, to a part in ction to the contrary notwithstanding; but companies companies into Piraus, and fortifie that alfo, to his own hands, than leave in theirs; ver which was the principal Haven, against the rather wished in theirs, than in cassanders. high Town. How to accomplish this, he His Son Alexander, not ignorant of this, made rather wanted some reasonable pretence, fair shew to the Athenians, and spentmuch than good ability. But the Athenians were labour in communing with Nicanor, but fufnot long in giving him sufficient cause to do fered not them, for whom he seemed to lathat, which he would have done without any cause given. They defired him to come unto their Council, affembled in the Pireus, pleasure they conceived against him, they there to confider of the Kings Proclamation: whither upon Phocions word and fafe his office. This was done with much tumult: conduct he came, and earneftly preffed them | banished men and strangers thrusting themto hold with Cassander in the War which selves into the assembly of the Citizens, who was ready to break forth. Contrariwife, distracted with fundry passions, growing out they urged him first of all, to make them of their present misfortunes, thought every masters of their own, which how to use, they one that best could inveigh against things might confult afterwards. Each of them past, a most likely man to find some remedy refuling to condescend unto the others de- for the evil threatning them. In this hurly. mand; the Athenians (who did alwayes burly was Alexander deviling how he might measure justice by profit, yet feldomethri- come to some good point of composition ved by that course) practised with Dercillus, with Nicanor, and held much privy consea Captain following Polysperchon, and then rence with him; which he could not softlying near at hand, that he should enter in- cretly carry, but that his negotiation was to the Town, and take Nicanor prisoner. But discovered, whereby the uproare in the Phocion, who then governed in Athens, a Town was fo far increased, that Phocion with man very unlike to the rest of the Citizens, many of his friends were accused, and driven being nothing pleased with such a trick of to seek safeguard of their lives by slight. So politick dishonesty, did quietly suffer him they came to Alexander, who entertained to depart and fave himfelf.

taking Pirausnot as following now the pro- to take them into his protection. ject of Cassander, but profecuting his own just revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he ready to enter with an Army into Attica. could, and drew them closely into Munychia, Thither came Phocion with his companions, which done, he issued into Piraus, took it, hoping well that the letters which they and intrenched himself therein, to the ex- brought, and their own deferts, (having alceeding discomfort of the Atherians, who wayes been friends to the Macedonians as far lately impatient of his keeping the one Ha- as the good of their Country gave leave) ven, faw him now mafter of both. Alexan- should be enough to get patronage to their der, the fon of Polysperchon, came thither innocency Besides all this, Dinarchus a Coinshortly after with an Army. Then were the thian, Polysperchons familiar friend, went Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and along with them (in an evil hour) who proaddressed themselves unto him; who made mised to himself and them great favour, by fair shews, intending meer mischief, which means of his acquaintance. But Polyperchin they perceived not, being blinded with the was an unstable man, very earnest in whathe vain Epiftles of his Father, and of Olympias took in hand, yet, either for want of judgethe old Queen. Olympias, taking upon her ment in following them, or of honelty in to command, before the durst well adven- holding the best of them, easily changing his ture to return into Macedon, had perempto- intended courses, and doing things by the rily charged Nicanor to reftore to the Athe- halves, which made him commonly fail of nians the places which he held: but he good fuccess. For fear of Cassander he had would first consider more of the matter. Po- offered wonderful kindness to the Albeni-Inferction had further ordained, that the Isle ans this had caused them to love him: out of of samos should be rendred unto them: a their love he gathered hope of deceiving goodly offer, had it accorded with his power them, which made him to change his mind, and meaning. He was (indeed) so far from and seek how to get into his own hands purposing to let them have samos, that as those keys, with which Cassander held them yet he did not throughly intend to let them fast lockt up: finding himself disappointed have themselves. The commodity of their of this purpose, and suspected as a falle Havens was fuch, as he would rather get in- dishonourable man, he stood wavering be-

bour to intermeddle with the business. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the difpoured out upon Phocion, depriving him of them gently, and gave them his letters of Nicanor hereupon began to devise upon commendation to his Father, desiring him

Polysperchon was in the Country of Phois,

unto the popular faction, which was then the virtue of their Ancestors. grown to be Master of that City. And in good time for this purpose were the Athenian Embassadours come, treading (as one were fent to accuse. These had solemn audience given to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for oftentations fake was glorified too little to change Aridaus into Alexander: upon them, was (for honours fake) referred Cassander had many friends.

tween the contrary allurements of profit and gifts, howfoever importunately thrust upreputation. To keep the Athenians perforce on him; resting well contented with his at his devotion, would indeed have done honest poverty: wherein he lived about well: but the effecting of this began to grow fourscore years, and then was compelled by desperate; and many Towns of importance the unjust judgment of wicked men to drink in Greece, began to cast their eyes upon his that poison, which by just judgment of the proceeding in that action. Wherefore he righteous God, fo infected the City of thought it the wifest way to redeem their Athens, as from that day forwards it never good opinion, by giving all contentment brought forth any worthy man refembling

ø. XVI.

may fay) upon Fhocions heels, whom they of Polysperchon his vain Expedition against Caffander.

Ot long after these things were done, cassander, with such forces as Antigowith all exteriour shews of Majesty; yet all nus lent him, entred into Piraus; which news drew Polysperchon headlong into Atfor he did nothing there, but either laugh tica, with a great Army, but so ill victualled. or chafe, as he saw others do. For begin-that he was fain to depart without any ning of the business, Polysperchon commanded thing done. Only he had given some imthat Dinarchus should be tortured and slain. | pediment to the enemy; who, not contented This was enough to testifie his hearty af- with defending what he held, began to look fection to the Commonalty of Athense, in out, and made new purchases abroad. Findthat he spared not his old acquaintance for | ing therefore himsel funable to drive Cassan their fake; whose Embassadours he then der out of Athens, he left his Son Alexander, bade to speak. When their errand was done, with such number of men as exceeded not and answer to it made by the accused, who the proportion of victuals, to withstand his had no indifferent hearing; Phocion and the further incroaching. The greatest part of rest were pronounced guilty of treason; his Army he carried into Peloponnesus, to but to give sentence, and do the execution make the Country sure to himself, wherein

unto the City of Athens, because they were His doings in Peloponnesus were such, as Burgesles. Then were they sent away to they had been in other parts of Greece. First, Athens, where the rascal multitude, not he began to fight with Edicts, restoring the fuffering them to speak for themselves, con- Democraty, or popular form of Governdemned them to dye. So they perished be- ment. He commanded that the principal ing innocent. But the death of *Phocion* be-ing very conspicuous, made the fortune of Rulers, should be either slain, or driven inthe rest to be of the less regard. Five and to exile. This Decree took immediate effect forty times had he been chosen Governour in most places: the vulgar fort being very of the City, never fuing for the place, but ready to feal the Charter of their freedome fent for when he was absent, so well was his and authority, with the blood of those who integrity known, and so highly valued, had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cieven of such as were no pretenders to the ties there were, which delighted in the rule fame virtue. He was a good Commander of the chief Citizens; and many which wishin War, wherein, though his actions were ed well to Cassander, especially they of Menot very great, yet were they of good impor- galopolis, on whom Polysperchon meant to tance, and never unfortunate. Never did inflict an exemplary punishment of disobethe City repent of having followed his dience to him, which he termed Rebellion. counsel: nor any private man of having trusted his word. Philip of Macedon highly esteemed him; so, and much more did resolved to endure the worst. And need there Alexander, who (besides other signs of his was of such resolution. For Polysperchon love) fent him two hundred talents of coming thither with all his power, did so filver, and offered to bestow upon him of much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of four Cities in Afa, any one which he would their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall bechuse. But Phocion refused these and other tween them. But the Defendants manfully repelled Tttt

The fourth Book of the first Part

CHAP. III.

the breach 5 and at the same time with great was not able to give them protection against labour they raifed up an inner wall, to bear the enemy which lay in their bolomes, out the next affault. The Affailants having came to agreement with Caffander; accepfailed to carry the Town at the first attempt, ting a Governour of his appointment; and took much pain to clear the ground, and restoring all things to the same state wheremake fair way for their Elephants, whose in Antipater had left them. The like incliviolence was likely to overthrow all that nation to the party of Caffander, was found came in their way. But the Towns-men per- in very many Cities of Greece, which daily ceiving their drift, prepared boards driven and willingly revolted unto him, as to an thorow with long nails, which they used as industrous man, and likely to prevail in the gall-throps, beftowing them fleightly covelend. Thus was the whole Country fet in red, with the points upward, in the way by a combustion, uncasie to be quenched, which which the beafts were to pals. Neither did prefented unto Antigonus an opportunity, they fet any to encounter them in front, but that he neglected not, of making himfelf appointed certain light-armed men to beat upon their fides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the Alian Wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly trusted) either forely hurt, or driven back upon the Macedonians, whom they trampled under feet. Polyiperchon came as ill furnisht for long abode to Megalopolis as before to Athens. Therefore being neither able to the utmost benefit that he might of the Ardispatch the business quickly, nor to take my committed to his charge. And in fair fuch leisure as was requisite, he forfook the fiege, with some loss, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his Army to lye before when all the business in Pischia was dispatchthe Town for his credit.

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Sea, to joyn with Arideus that was come the fiege of Nera, a small thing of itelf, out of Phrygia, and to cut off allificcour but as hard as a greater matter; and requiwhich might come to the enemy out of Afa. ring few men, but much time; when time Cassander also sent his whole fleet under Ni- of all things was most precious. Eument canor, who taking along with him some ships lay in that Fort of Nora, able to make the of antigonus, came to the Propontis, where place good, and hoping that the mutability, he fought with Clitus, and was beaten. But to which the present Estate was manifelly Antigonus hearing of the overthrow, ga- subject, would in continuance of some years thered together the ships that were escaped, (which he might abide) work more for and manning them very well, fent out Ni- him, than his enemies in that space could eanor again, alluring him of the Victory, as work against him. His most fear was, that well he might. For he fent out sufficient for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, numbers of light-armed men, whom he cau- his men and horses might grow fickly and feed to be watted over the Streights in small unserviceable: which made him to practife Vessels by night; these before day-light set many devices of keeping them in health and ting upon Clitus, drave his men, that lay fe- lufty. But when he had continued that up curely on the Land, head-long into their in this manner about a year, his hopescame ships; in which tumult Nicanor arriving, did to good pass, and he was eased of his cares affail them so lustily, that few or none esca-

This lofs at Sea, together with his bad fuccels; by Land, brought Polysperchon into of Eumenes, and confidering his fidelity great contempt. He had a good faculty in flewed unto Perdices, thought that he could penning bloody Decrees, but when the not find in all the world a fitter man than execution was referred to his own fword, him, to employ in managing those high dehe could find the matter more difficult. figns wherein he doubted not that he should Wherefore the Athenians, perceiving that be withstood by the mightiest Princes of

repelled the Macedonians which came up to he had left them to fhift for themselves, and

Lord of Asia.

ø. XVII.

Antigonus seeks to make himself an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with Eumenes, who disappointeth him. Phrygia and Lydia won by Antigonus.

Ntigonus had in Antipaters life-time a firm resolution, to make unto himself feafon for advancement of his purpoles came the news of Antipaters death; even then, ed, and no more employment for the Ar-After this he sent clitus, his Admiral, to my remaining, save only the continuance of belieged.

Antigonus knowing the great sufficiency

the Empire Hard to them both acquaint-one that was friend to them both acquaint-one that was friend to them both acquaintone that was forme part of his intent, and his ambition, this was enough: if any were ing him with fome part of his intent, and his ambition, this was enough: if any were ing make him a better Lord than not herewith fatisfied, he had threefcore ever he had been, and the next man to him-thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and felf if things fell out as he defired: in regard thirty Elephants in a readiness to answer whereof he required only his friendship, and them. thereupon fent him an oath to take; which done,he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of Nora, and enjoy his perfect liberty. vernour of Phrygia; who fortified the Towns Eumenes perufing the form of the oath, did of his own Province, and fought to have perceive the meaning of Antigonus; which won Cizicus; a fair Haven Town, and feated was, rather to make him his follower than very conveniently for him, but was fain his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it to go away without it. Hereupon Antigonus mentioned the King & Princes of the blood, took occasion to command him out of the rather to keep the Decorum, than upon any Country. Aridaus was fo far from obeyloyal intent, the binding words and fumm of ing him, that he fent forces to relieve Euall were fuch, as tied him fast only to Antigo-menes. Nevertheless finding that he was nus, omitting all refervation of duty to the unable of himfelf to make long refiftance.he King orany other. This he liked not, holding took fuch companies as he could draw along it unfeemly to become a fworn man to him, with whom he had fought for the mastery; and being affured that his voluntary affi-tune had Clytus, who ruled in Lydia, and france, which way soever he gave it, would be sought the like remedy of his fortune, with more acceptable, and far more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore break off the negotiation, and wait for some better occasion of inlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming: but seeming to be well agreed with Antigonus, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the oath it felf, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not folemn enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying in their allegiance. The Macedonians which lay incamped before Nora, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in Olympias, and the children of Alexander, binding himself to them and their adherents, as well as to Antigonus; and fo he departed.

he came down to the Sca-side, to remove much jealousie in Cassander, as fear in Po-

the Empire. He fent therefore to Eumenei by not to dispose of things that should happen

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to relift him, was Aridaus Gowith him, and so passed over into Europe ; to complain at the Court. The like forsome hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished; and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

ø. XVIII.

Antigonus pursues Eumenes. Eumenes having authority from the Court, raiseth great war against Antigonus in defence of the Royal house.

Ntigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of all Asia the less, was able to have entred Macedon, and seized upon the Court; which that he forbare to do, it proceeded (as may feem) from some Antigonus had taken upon him, as foon as of these reasons. It would have bred as some of the Governours of the Provinces, lysperchon, which might have brought them behaving himfelf according to the authori to terms of reconciliation: It would ask ty which he had received of Antipater, to more time than he could spare; and the exercise in the time of War. Neither did envy which followed the Protectorship was he want sufficient pretence whereby to ju- such, as he that had power enough without stiffe his proceeding. For, if Polysperchon the office, ought rather to shun, than to purmight lawfully hold the Protectorship, sue. Besides all this, it was manifest that Euwhich the old man doting on his death-bed menes would not only refuse to take his bequeathed unto him, as a legacy, without part, but would make war upon him in deconsent of the Princes and Souldiers; why fence of the Royal house, to which it was might not he himself as well retain the Lieu- found that Antigonus did not stand well-aftenantship of Asia, that was granted unto sected. Against him therefore he bent his him for the general good of the State, in course, and with an Army of twenty thoupresence of the whole Army, by the King, land foot, and four thousand horse, made and by Antipater, who had power to ordain great haste toward Cilicia, hoping to suppress what should seem convenient whilst he lived, him before he should be able to make head.

Tttt 2

Eumenes was one of those few that conti- ter into the particulars of the War it self nued faithful to their dead Master, which be- to shew briefly how the great Ones did muing well known in the Court, he had com- tually frand affected; and by what paffions mission sent unto him from thence to raise they were drawn into those courses, which an Army, and make war upon Antigonus, ta- overthrew most of them, and out of their king of the Kings treasure as much as he ruines built the greatness of a few: as likeshould need. Other letters also there were wife to what extremity the faction brake directed to all the Covernours of Provinces, out in Macedon it felf, about the main Conrequiring them to give affistance to Eume- troversie of the Title to the Crown, wherenes, and be ordered by his direction: especi- upon all other quarrels were or should have ally to the Captains of the old Souldiers, | been depending. called the Argyraspides, or filver-shielded bands, commandment was given to be at his ful, did only what he was bidden. appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and Office, had a purpose to advance the Son of five hundred horse, before this authority Alexander by Roxane to the Kingdom, and was given him: but now he purposed with become Governour to a King of his own all the strength which he could make, to making. fight with Antigonus in defence of the Royal blood. Olympias had written to him, defiring this intent, and meaning nothing less than him to bring help to her, and her Nephew the Son of Alexander; and in the mean time to the Throne warm till another were grown give her his advice in that which Polysperchon | old enough to fit in it, grew acquainted with required of her: for the was defirous to re- Cassander, who hated the memory of Alexturn into Macedon, but suspected his ambi- ander, and was therefore the fitter for her tion, as not contained within lawful turn. bounds. Eumenes therefore counselled her to remain in Epirus, till fuch time as he could bring the war to a good iffue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the feed of Alexander.

Strange it is to confider, that in all the Empire, fcarce any one could be found which he took in the amorous Queen, made among the Noble-men, in whom Alexanders | him to refolve, both to suppress the linage Mother, Wives, and Children, might repose which he hated, and to maintain his befirm confidence, faving only this Eumenes, a loved Mistress, either by supporting her stranger to the Macedonian blood, born at weak Husband, or by taking her to be his Cardia, a City of Thrace. His reputation was own Wife. no more than his own virtue had made it; his followers obeyed at their own discre- different, who reigned over all, so as they tion; and compelled he was to travel as far | might reign in their feveral Countries, and as Persia, to gather together an Army suf- establish their authority in such wise, that ficient to reliff the enemies that purfued his it might not be taken from them.

ø. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mntually. Olympias takes Aridæus and Eurydice, whom the cruelly puts to death.

70w, for a fmuch as in this present War intermeddle; and great alterations happened, not only in the parts of Asia, but Macedon it felf, which brought a new face unto with step-dames) hated the children of her the State, by the extirpation of the Royal | husband by his other wives. It was thought house of Philip and Alexander: I hold it that she had given poison to Aridam, which convenient in this place, before we enter in- failing to take away his life, had much im-

Aridaus the King, being simple and fear-

Polysperchon, defirous to continue long in

Eurydice the Queen discovering plainly to let her husband serve as a Stale, keeping

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger wherein his family had been through Alexanders malice, together with the indignity offered to himself by Alexander, who knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the Persian manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure

The rest of the Lords held it a thing in-

Among these, Ptolomy and Antigonus were well enough already, if their ambition would have fuffered them to fee it.

Pitho and Seleucus lying far off, and being ftrong, had fome good hope to increach upon their neighbours. Against these, Pencestes, and some others, which much ado hardly made refistance, until such time as Eumenes came to them; who propounded to himall the Rulers of the Provinces did felf great matters, which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queen (as it is common

paired both his body and wits. Now she ried, she accused of poilon given to Alexanwere able to defend him. To this intent she Government of the Empire. procured men among her kindrd in Epirus, and fo took her way towards Polysperchon, who joyning with her, entred into Macedon.

earnestly to Cassander, praying him to set aside all other business, and come to succour her. She her felf by entreaty, gifts, and promiles, drew to her party as many of the Macedonians as fhe could, until fhe thought her own fide strong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against Olympias, and the Traitor Polysper-

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should have been determined by any weapon against her. Eurydice finding her felf thus forfaken, fled towards Amphipolis, but was intercepted, and made prifoner with her Husband.

Olympias having obtained this Victory bear Arms against her, the Macedonians would not stick to maintain her, whatsoever her proceedings were. Having therefore shut up Aridaus and his wife in a close room, where they could scarce turn round, she fed

confidering, that Eumenes was too full of der, and thereupon caused his Tomb to be business to come home so soon as she wished thrown down, and his bones to be scattered that he should; and that Cassander daily abroad. The Macedonians wondring at this prevailed in Greece: thought it the best way fury, began to condemn themselves, and the to joyn with Polysperchon, and set up, as folly of Polysperchon, who had, quite contra-King, her Nephew Alexander, the Son of ry to Antipaters charge given on his death-Roxane, removing Aridaus before Cassander bed, called this outragious woman to the

ø. XX.

Eurydice hearing these news, wrote very How Cassander was revenged upon Olympias

†. I.

The great Expedition of Cassander. Olympias Shuts her self into Pydna, where Caslander belieged her. Æacides King of Epirus, coming to succour Olympias, is forfaken and banished by his own Subjects.

Affander at that time lay before Tegea. in Peloponnesus; whither when all these their own hands, which ended without any ill tydings were brought to him, he never strokestricken, by the revolt of those who stayed to take the City, nor to give order followed Eurydice. For as foon as the Mace- for the state of things in that Country, donians beheld Olympias; calling to mind (though Alexander the Son of Polysperchon, her former Estate, and the victorious reigns | were there with an Army) but compoundof her Husband and Son, they refused to lift | ing with them of Tegen, he willed his affociates to look to themselves as well as they could, till his return; and fo in all hafte he took his journey towards Macedon, carried headlong with the greedy defire of just revenge. The Ætolians had taken the without blood, thought that all things Streights of Thermopyle, in favour of the would fucceed as eafily, and upon the same | Queen and Polysperchon, to hinder his pafconsiderations for which they had refused to sage; but he, not willing to mis-spend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as he could, great and small, with which he transported his Army into Thessaly. There he divided his companies, appointing fome under Callas, a fubtil Captain, to hold them thorow a little hole, till after a while Polysperchon busied, who then lay incamped it came in her head (for fear left the peo- neer to Perbabia, with the rest he marched ple should have commiseration of him, that directly against Olympias. She, having once had reigned almost fix years and a half) prevailed by the respect given to her dignity to put them to death. So she delivered Ari- took more care how to appear Majestical, dans to some barbarous Thracians; who took than to make her felf strong. To this end away his life by cruel torments: to Eurydice | she made a solemn progress to Pydna, a Seathe sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poi- Town, and well fenced, having in her comfon, willing her to chuse the instrument of pany all the flower of the Court, especially her own death, who praying that the like the great Ladies, among whom was Roxane, presents might one day be sent to Olympias, and her young Son Alexander, heir to the yielded her neck to the halter, having spent great Alexander, by his grand-mothers deher last curses not in vain, Nicanor the Brother of Cassiander, and a hundred the chief of his Soveraign power in her own hands. But his friends, did olympias then chuse out, all all this pomp served to little use against the whom the commanded to be flain. His Bro- violence of the enemy, that foon presented ther Iolans that was already dead and bu- himself before the walls; only it fed the be-

would from all parts arrive, to rescue perfons of their quality. And hereof there foon in the City, that the horfes were killed as a appeared fair likelihood, which as foon precious food, many men feeding on the vanished, and went away in smoak.

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hafte to bring fuccour to Olympias his coulen, vender; some of the Souldiers obtaining the with whom Deodamia his daughter was also Queens leave, (who could not deny it) thut up. Nevertheless, his Subjects were others, without asking leave, yielded them. nothing forward in this Expedition; but | felves to the enemy, and were by himgenfinding certain passages taken in the way by ly relieved, and sent abroad into the Conn-Cassanders men, they called upon him to retire, and quit the enterprise. The Kings im- perfed by these men, did so affright her wellportunity urging them to proceed, and the willers, that fuch as had referved themselves obstinate refulal of the Army, brake out at to the event, came in apace, and submitted length into fuch terms, that when he had to Cassander. At length, when the mortaliraged in vain against the multitude, his au- ty was so great in the Town, that the living thority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from of the dead; Olympias bethought her felf him, and he compelled to forfake his Kingdom, and to wander up and down in forein Countries a banished man, his people joyning with the enemy, against whom he had led them forth to war.

neither any could iffue out of the City, nor fore utterly broken with mileries, which any relief be conveyed into it, but it held out | daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, unas long as any food was left; no memorable accustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she fervice being done there, whilft great acti- offered composition, and with much labour ons were managed abroad.

†. II.

A continuation of Olympias ker story. Poly-Pydna. Olympias yields to Cassander.

What we should rehearse the doings of courage from the success of some petty ser-Eumenes and Antigonus in this place, leaving vices wherein he had prevailed) began to Olympias yet a while to the hour of her deftiny; which grows the faster upon her, because she may discern it coming: yet that nestly required him upon his faith to her, we may not be compelled to interrupt the that he should give it up. He did so, and precourse of our narration, by inserting her sently after was killed by his private ene-Tragedy in the midft of things not manifest | mies, that were set on by Cassander, who ly coherent with it; we will here (as else | partly hated him upon old respects, partly where we have done, and elfewhere must) doubted him, as a man likely to feek Innocontinue to an end one History, that we may not be therewith distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the belieged, remaining in Polysperchon, was in like manner disappointed as The Death of Olympias, and her conditions. their former trust had been, which was reposed in the succours of the Epirots. For Callas, who was fent against him, found the means to corrupt the greatest part of his felf was called into question, and accused in Army with mony leaving him within a little an affembly of the Macedonians, for the murwhile so slenderly accompanied, that he was thers (they were so stilled in her affliction,

fleged with a vain hope of fuccour, that fit for no other bufines of war, than a swift retrait. When famine had so far prevailed For Eacides King of Epirus made great dust being given to the Elephants for prowere even poisoned with the noisome sent of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had: wherewith her fuccels was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Town, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a house of torment, and a Pydna in the mean time was closed up Gaol, out of which the should not be deliftreightly, both by Sea and Land, to that vered, but unto an evil death. Being therehardly obtained of Caffander (who having fetcht her Gally out of the Haven, accounted himself as good as master of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately upon her apprehension, Pella, the chief City of the sperchon defeated. Extreme Famine in Kingdom, was yielded to Cassander Amphipe lis did frand out : for Aristonus (to whom Olympias had given charge of fuch forces TOw, though order of time require it, as were left abroad in the Country, taking promise himself great unlikelihoods. But Olympias, to win Caffanders favour, very earvation.

t. III.

Hen*Olympias* had now heard forrow-ful tydings of all her friends, fhe her

wince her committed. There was she (be- her own head. ing not heard, nor called to speak) condemned to die. The fute was commenced and profecuted against her, by the kindred of protection and the fact it was at Caf- Cassander celebrates the Funeral of Aridæus those whom she had stain. But it was at Caffanders instigation, who (to hasten the execution) fent her word, that he would furnish her with a ship, and other necessaries, to save her felf by flight: which when the refused, him and others;) after all which, he re- ces.

which in time of prosperity she called ju-warded her malice, by returning it upon

t. IV.

King of Macedon.

A Fter her death, Caffander gave honounerrous with the would plead for her felf, Arable burial to Aridens and Eurydice, laying, that the would plead for her felf, and tell her own tale; he dissembled no lon- among their Progenitors, Kings of Macedon. ger, but fent unto her fuch men, as hated her And looking further into his own poffibiliger, but the most away her miserable life. She ties of greatness, he married the Lady Thef mon, who had taken at Pydna, being was Daughter, and Sifter, unto two Kings of Salonica, whom he had taken at Pydna, being Was Daughter of King Philip, by another of Epirus; Wife, and Mother unto two the the Daughter of King Philip, by another of mighteft Kings, of that, or many other ages; his Wives; that by her he might have some a front Lady, and of unreproveable chaltity; title to the Crown. For the fame end he but herambition was boundlefs, her hatred committed Roxane, and her young Son unappeafable, and her fury in revenge most to close prison, removing thereby some unwomanly. Her perverie conditions made part of his impediment. And, the better her Hufband feek other Wives and Concu- to encrease his same, and purchase love, bines, which caused her to hate both him, built a City, called by his own name Casand them. She was thought privy to her fandria, that foon grew to be very great Husbands death; after which, very cruelly and powerful. He re-edified likewife Thethe flew his late Wife Cleopatra, having first bes in Greece, and restored it unto the old murdered one of her two children in her inhabitants, after it had layn twenty years arms, and with a beaftly fury broiled the wafte, being utterly razed by Alexander. other alive in fire, in a Copper-bason. For By these means, especially by the restaurathese things, her Son Alexander (otherwise tion of Thebes, whereunto all Greece volunloving her well) forbade her to meddle in tarily contributed, he grew fo strong, the Government of Macedon. But God, that few remained enemies unto him; and more severe unto cruel Tyrants, than only they, with much labour, hardly could reto hinder them of their wills, permitted her | fift him. Leaving him therefore daily preto live and fulfil the rest of her wicked- vailing in Greece, we will return to them, nes (which was his justice upon the adul- who contended in Asia, for less titles, teries of Philip, and the oppreffion done by but larger Provinces, with greater for-

CHAP. IV.

Of the great Lordship which Antigonus got in Asia:

ø. I.

The Journey of Eumenes into Persia. His wise dealing with those that joyned with him.

fion, and strengthen himself against Anti- at all. Besides all which Impediments, one gonus. He took his journey through Celo- inconvenience troubled him in all his pro-Bria and Phænicia, hoping to reclaim those ceedings, making them the less effectual. Provinces, usurped with the rest of Syria The Captains of the Agyraspides were so

Omenes, having joyned unto his (as hath been shewed) by Ptolomy, to the company the Argyrafides, made Kings obedience. But to effect this, his hafte into the Eastern parts, to hafte of his passing forward was too great, take possession of those Countries, according to his commif-people, to return their due obedience, none froward, that they fcorned to repair to him, from the Kings treasures, which were kept and take his directions; and their fidelity there. To which end, as foon as he had was fo unsteady, that he might more easily made himself strong enough, he removed have dealt with open traitors. It was not out of Mesopotamia, where he had wintered: expedient, that he, being General, should and taking to him Pytho and Selencus, with weaken his authority by courting them; their men, he marched directly against the neither lay it in his power to keep them in enemies, with intent to give them battel order by compulsion. Therefore he feigned, Eumenes had fortified the Castle of susa, and that Alexander had appointed unto him, in was retired back toward Persia, keeping the a dream, a place for their meeting, namely, River of Tigris between him and his purin a rich pavilion, wherein an empty throne fuers. The passages of the River were well was placed as if Alexander himself had been guarded, and good espial kept upon Antigopresent at their consultations. Thus he freed mus, to observe which way he took, Before himself from their vain pride; but of their he came to Tigris it self, he was to passover faith he could have no affurance. Yet when coprates, a great River, and not foordable. Ptolomy requested them, and Antigonus bri- which he sought to do by small vessels. bed them to forlake him, they continued whereof he had no great store. A great (though not without confidering of the mat- part of his Army had gotten over, when ter) to take his part. So he marched on, Eumenes, who kept a bridge upon Tigris, fending before him the Kings warrant; came with a thousand horse, and four thouwhich Pytho and seleucus refused to obey; | fand foot, to fee their demeanour : and findnot as rejecting the Kings authority, but | ing them out of order, charged them, brake excepting the person of Eumenes, as a man them, and drave them headlong back into condemned to die by the Macedonian Army, Coprates, wherein most of them were for the death of Craterus. Eumenes, know- drowned; very few escaping with life, exing well that he was not to rely upon their cept four thousand that yielded themelves affiftance, who stood otherwise affected prisoners in fight of Antigonus, that was not than his affairs required, and were not to be able to relieve them. This loss made Andealt with by perswasion, sought passage by | tigonus glad to fall off; and the heat of that ftrong hand through the Country of Baby- | Country in the dog-dayes, breeding difion, in such wise that Seleucus, having in vain eases in his Army, by which many perished, affaied to hinder him, by opening the fluces of Euphrates, was glad at length to grant So he took Python with him; (leaving 80him friendly way, as defirous to be rid of lencus to befiege the Castle of susa and him. Thus he came to Pencestes and the rest seeking to go the nearest way, passed of the Eastern Lords, who were glad of his through savage Nations, that continually company, because of the differences between Pytho, Seleucus, and themselves. Yet numbers of his men, before he could arrive the contention about superiority grew very in Media, with his troups that were quite hot among them, every one finding matter | heart-broken. enough to feed his own humour of felfworthiness. But the former device of assembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to follow that Of Eumenes his cunning. A battel between which Eumenes propounded, who was both wifest in giving advice, and best able to reward, by means of the authority given him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treafures. By these means he won to himself the remainder of their business. Fain he many of those, who had most power to do would have had them to enter upon those good or hurt.

ø. II.

How Antigonus, coming to fet upon Eumenes, was driven off with loss.

defire to follow him, and drive him further vide it felf into parts.

caused him to remove as far as into Media. vexing him with skirmishes, slew great

ø. III.

him and Antigonus.

After his departure, Eumenes with his affociates fell into confultation, about Provinces, which Antigonus had left behind him; to which also the Captains of the Argyraspides or Silver-shields, were very inclinable, as defiring to draw nearer to Greece. But Peucestes, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their own particular Estates, and would Nigonus, hearing that Eumenes lay in needs march Eastward. These carried it; The Province of Susa, had an earnest for the Army was not strong enough to di-When

When they came into Persia, Pencestes, ruling there, feasted them royally, and runng by all means to win the Souldiers of divers stratagems practifed by Antigonus, love to himself. Eumenes perceiving whereunto those doings tended, suffered him a unto those done of the while to keep good chear, till the time of Hus did the War continue doubtful, while to keep good chear, till the time of Hus did the War continue doubtful, and was protracted to a greater Wardrewnear. Then did he feign an Epifile, directed, as from Orontes Governour of length, each part having from Souldiers. Armenia, to Peucestes himself: The purport and skilful Generals: but the side which whereof was; that Olympias had vanquilled had hitherto prevailed, being hindred by Callander, and fent over a great Army under the equal authority of many, from pursuing Polysperchon, to joyn with Eumenes. These all advantages to the best, Antigonus grew news, as they filled the Camp with vain joy, daily weaker, in men and reputation, fo that fo they wrought in all mens minds a great to repair himself he could find no way safer, willingness to obey Eumenes, by whom was than to put all to adventure. He knew that the likelieft appearance of their preferment; his enemies lay in their wintering places. wherein they dealt wifely, he being far the quartered far afunder, fo that if he could most sufficient Commander, as they found suddenly come among them, he was likely foon after. For when Antigonus, coming to put them in great distress. Between him out of Media, drew near unto them, Eume- and them, the way was not long, being only ner, by some mischance was fallen sick, and nine dayes journey, but very bad, through fain to be carried in a Litter; the Army a rough dry wilderness, hardly passable. marched in very bad array, and was likely Another way, fairer and leading through a to have been forced to take battel in that Country well peopled, but requiring twenty disorder. But Eumenes, when the rest of five dayes journey, he forsook; partly for the the Captains were amazed, was carried length, partly, and chiefly, because he would about the Army in his Litter, and upon the come undiscovered. So therefore taking his sudden did cast his men into so good form, journy in the dead of Winter, he forbade that Antigonus, perceiving him a far off, unto his men the use of fire by night, because could not refrain from giving him deserved he would not have them descried a far off. commendations. Yet he did not cease to This commandement had been well obserpromife great rewards to the Captains, and | ved four or five dayes, when continuance of all forts of men, if they would for fake Eu- time (as commonly) breeding negligence, menes: which hopes deceiving him, he came | and the cold weather pinching them, they to the trial of a battel. Eumenes had more were bold to cherish themselves, being near his power the dead bodies, which was accounted the fign of victory; for he buried his own, and gave leave to his enemies crastill in the same place, and not only bu-

came.

d. IV.

and Eumenes, one against the other.

Elephants than Antigonus; otherwise, he to their wayes end. The light of these fires was inferiour in number both of horse and gave notice of their coming; which being foot by a third part. The battel was fought reported to Peuceftes, and other Captains, with variable fuccess, and great loss on both they were so aftonished with the sudden fides, continuing a great part of the day, and danger, that in all haste they betook themof the night following. Yet the victory was | felves to flight. But Eumenes, meeting with uncertain. For Eumenes could not force his the news, began to hearten his affrighted men to lye far from their carriages: by companions, promifing to make Antigonus which means Antigonus (who had a more march leisurely, and willing them to abide, abbolute command over his) incamping on and draw up their men together. They the ground whereon they fought, had in could scarce believe him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He took with him some companies of the ving it, to do the like. But a greater fign readiest men, wherewith he occupied cerof victory had Eumenes. For he abode tain tops of mountains, looking toward the Camp of Antigonus: there he chose a conried his men very honourably, at great venient ground to incamp upon, and made leifure, but held the Country round about; great store of fires in fundry places, as if the whereas Antigonus was glad (having tar- whole Army had been present. This was a ried but one day) to steal away by night, sorrowful spectacle to Antigonus, who and return into Media, from whence he thought himself prevented of his purpose; and began to fear lest he should be compelled to fight, whilest his men were tired with a long and painful journey. There-Ũuuu

CHAP. IV.

way to fuch places, as might better ferve to transported with Envy, that they could refresh his Army. This he did with great no longer contain their vile thoughts, but care and circumspection, at the first, as know-held communication, as upon a necellary ing how ready Eumenes would be upon all point, how they might find means to mur, advantages. But after a while confidering der him. that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and think in himself, that somewhat mischief contrived against worthy men, to or other was not fallen out according to his their own proud carriage, or fome other ill opinion. To be the bteter informed in the deserving: For, though it often happen, that matter, he caused some Inhabitants of that small vices do serve to counterposse great desart to be taken, and brought before him; vertues; (the sense of evil being more quick of whom he learned, that they had feen no and lafting than of good) yet he shallbeother Army than his thereabout, but only a wray a very foolish malice, that, wanting few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It other testimony, will think it a part of wisevexed him exceedingly to find that he had dom, to find good reason of the evils done been so deluded. Therefore he went against to vertuous men, which oftentimes have no these troups with great sury, meaning to other cause than vertue it self. Eumener. take sharp vengeance on them, for having among many excellent qualities, was noted fo deceived him. But by this time, sufficient to be of singular courtesie, of a very sweet ftrength was arrived there, which could not | conversation among his friends, and careful be forced without much business, and long by all gentle means to win their love, that ftay. All the Army was come, fave only Eudamus, Captain of the Elephants, who, befides those beafts, had no more than four hundred horsemen in his company. Antigonus hearing of this supply coming to his ene- | should not be slain, before the battel were mies, sent above two thousand horse, and all fought with Antigonus, wherein they conhis light-armed foot-men, to cut it off by the | felled that it flood best with their fafety, to way. Eudamus being falleninto this danger, be governed by his direction. Of this treation was fain to place his Elephants round about he was quickly advertised by Eudamus, to his carriages, and so to defend himself as well | whom he had done many pleasures, and by as he could; for his horse-men, overlaied some others of whom he used to borrow with multitudes, were quickly broken, and money when he needed not, to the endthat driven to run away upon the four. Neither they should be careful of his good, for fear knew they, who fate upon the Elephants, of losing their own. Considering therewhich way to turn them, for on all fides fore, and discoursing with himself of the they received wounds, and were not able villary intended against him, he made his to requite them with the like. In this ex- last Will, and burnt all his Writings that tremity there appeared brave troups of contained any matter of secret: which done, vided the remedy.

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Eumenes bis life.

fore he resolved to turn aside, and take the their own much insufficiency, were so

Surely, it is great injustice to impute the

feemed to bear him any fecret ill affection, It was his meer vertue that overthrewhim. which even they that fought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he horse and foot, that came unexpected to the he revolved many things in his mind; being reficue; and charging the affailants upon the doubtful wat course he were best to folback, drave them to feck their own fafety low. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill by speedy flight. These were sent by Eu- affected to the Royal blood, excepting those menes; who though he knew not what his which were with him, that were more in adversary meant to do, yet he knew very number than in worth. How things at that well what was fittest for him to do: and time stood in Macedon and Greece, either he therefore, playing both games himself, pro- knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might incourage him to feek their help, that needed his. To make his own peace with Antigonus, had been against his faith to Olympias, and the Princes, that The confirming of Peucestes and others against had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbare either to lose the Y these means Eumenes won great ho- battel willingly, or to fly into Cappadocia, nour, and was by the whole Army acand make thift for himfelf among his old knowledged a most expert General, and friends. At length he resolved to do his belt well worthy of the chief command. But against the common enemy, and afterwards Peucestes, and the other Captains, guilty of to look to himself as well as he might.

ø. VI.

Fumenes perplexed, and not knowing the win fuch a victory upon his open enemies, as caule, entreated him not to doubt of the might give him leifure and opportunity to victory, but only to bring them into the deal with his falle friends. field, and fet them in array; for the rest, The sootmen of Antigonus, being, even in

ken in vain. For the Silver-shields were men his back. of threescore or seventy years old, & strengthened more by continual exercise, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight.

Therefore Antigonus his men (who had try their last hope with these resolute war- to incline. riours, the most Ancient and best regarded of all Alexanders Souldiers) grew very penuttered would prove true.

to give him a sharp entertainment.

ing both to prevent the Traitors, his Com-Elephants, under one Philip, an honest man, tinue where he was:

and (which was enough at fuch a time) obedient : commanding him to protract the The last battel between Antigonus and Eufight, and make a reasonable retrait, expeching the event of the other fide.

So they joyned very fiercely; Antigonus, He Souldiers, especially those old labouring to make himself master of all; bands of the Silver-shields, finding Eumenes, to die an honourable death, or to

they alone would take sufficient order. The their own opinions, far inferiour to those like alacrity was generally found in the whom they must encounter, were at the common Souldiers faces; but the chief first brunt presently defeated by the silver-Commanders were fo mischievously bent shields, who slew above five thousand of against him, that they could not endure to them, losing of their own not one man. But think of being beholding to him for the in Horse, Eumenes was so over matched, that victory. Yet he ordered the battel fo well, he could not repell Antigonus, who preffed that, without their own great fault, they him very hard, but was fain to fland wholcould hardly fail of getting the upper hand. ly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought Before the Armies came to joyning, a fo well by example, among his followers, horse-man from the side of Eumenes, procla- that the Enemy could not win one foot of med with a loud voice unto the followers of ground upon him, untill fuch time as Pen-Anticonus, That their wickedness in fighting cestes, with one thousand five hundred against their own Fathers, would now be pu- Horse, withdrew himself out of the battel, nished as it well deserved. This was not spo- leaving his companions fighting to desend

Then did Eumenes desperately rush amongst his Enemies, labouring to break open the way unto Antigonus himself. And though he failed of his purpole; yet with great flaughter he did fo beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung often been beaten by them, and were now to a long time in suspence, uncertain which way

The ground whereon they fought, being of a flight fandy mould, through the tramfive, and advanced heavily, suspecting their | pling of horses, men, and Elephants, did cast own cause, and fearing that the threatnings up such a cloud of dust, as hindred the profpect, so that no man could see what was done Antigonus was now again far the stronger a little from him. Antigonus finding this adin horse, which gave him cause of great vantage, dispatched away some companies hope; the ground, on which they were to of horse, that passed undiscovered beyond fight, being a plain levelled field. Placing Eumenes his battels, and came to his carritherefore himself and his fon Demetrius in ages, which lay about half a mile from the the right wing, and committing the left place of fight, flenderly guarded, (for that wing to Python, he did fet forward couragi- the whole body of the Army lay between oully against the Enemies, that were ready them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had Penceftes retired himself no further Eumenes took unto him Pencestes, with the than unto the carriages, he might not only rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing have defended them, but peradventure have of his battel, in the face of Antigonus 5 mean- furprised those which came to surprise them, and fo have done as good a piece of fervice panions, of all means to make head against as a better man. But he was gotten somehim on the fudden; and (withall) to give what further, to a place, where out of danproof of his own valour, which perhaps he ger he might expect the event : and Eumenes should no more do, in the face of all his Ene- was so over-laboured both in body and mies. In the right wing, opposite unto Python, mind, that he could not possibly give an eye he bestowed the weakest of his horse and to every place, being not well able to con-

ing together, those of Antigonus had the needs return into the high Countries; and better hand; whereupon Eumenes, finding the Souldiers had no defire either to fly or himself every way over-charged, began to to fight, but only to recover their goods. give back, and withdrew himfelf and his companies in good order, to the other fide of the battel, where Philip (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loss. The Antigomians had felt so much of Eumenes that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come cretly with Antigonus, requesting himtoreagain; as fain he would have done.

unto him, as foon as he had any leiture to of their fervices, in the Wars of Philip and hear how things went: whereupon he prefently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and fent for Pencestes that was not far off, requefting him to bring in his men, and renew the they had reason to expect, would also with fight, whereby he trusted, not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich them; felves with the spoils of the enemies. Pencefees not only refused to joyn with him, but them with hopes of far greater matters than immediately withdrew himself into a safer they desired, if they would put Eumener into place, where he might be further from such his hands, by whom they were feduced to dangerous temptations.

mies, wearied with fighting, were defirous to how to deliver him alive. Wherefore coming return into their Camps. Yet Antigonus con- about him, as at other times, to do their duty, ceived hope of doing somewhat more, and and pretending more joy of their victory, therefore taking half his horsemen, he wait- than forrow of their loss, which they said ed upon Eumenes a part of his way home- they would redeem by another fight; in the wards, but found no opportunity to offend midft of this goodly talk, they leapt upon him: the other half he committed to Python, him, caught hold of his fword, and bound willing him to fet upon the Silver-firelds in him fast. So they haled him away; and, stoptheir retrait; which yet he forbare to do, | ping their ears against all perswasions, would because it appeared too full of danger. So not yield so far, as to loosen one of his hands, the battel ended; wherein antigonin had and let him kill himself, but broughthim not so much the better in horse, as the worse alive (that was their own General, under in foot: but the spoil which he got, by surfor all his other loffes.

o. VII.

How Eumenes was betrayed to Antigonus, and flain.

Umenes, coming into his Camp, and finding the silver shields extremely difcontented with their misfortune, began to rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; cheer them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their would foon bethe chief in reputation, for brave demeanour that day had so crushed his great ability. So, after long deliberation, the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was way to put him to death; which intending much less able to draw their Carts after him, to have done by famine (perhaps because he through that great wilderness, over the high would keep it a while in his own power, mountains.

It happened so, that the Elephants meet- | Penceftes was gone; the other Captains would Wherefore Tentamus, one of the two Cantains of the Silver-Shields, (who had in former times readily confented unto traiterous motions, in hope of gain, but was letted by his partner Antigenes) finding, as he thought. a fit occasion of making himself great, and winning the love of those bands, dealt seftore unto those old Souldiers their goods. The loss of the carriages was reported which he had taken, being the only reward Alexander.

Antigonies, as a fubtile man, knew very well, that they which requested morethan little entreaty, perform a great deal more than they promifed; and therefore he lovingly entertained the messengers, filling make War against him. This answer pleased By this the night grew on; and both Ar- them to well, that they forthwith deviled whom they had obtained many victories) as prifing his enemies carriages, made amends it had been in triumph, into the Campof their enemies.

The press of men, running out of the Camp to fee him, was fo great, that Antigonus was fain to fend a guard of horse-men and Elephants, to keep him from being fmothered; whom he could not fuddenly refolve either to kill or fave. Very few they were that fued for his life, but of these, Demetrius the fon of Antigonus was one, the thinking belike, that if he were faved, he Antigonus concluded that it was the fafelt to reverse the sentence, as desiring, if it but these perswasions availed nothing. might be, to have him live his friend) haste

worthy General Eumenes; who had with (nothing like to Python) differbled his ingreat wildom, fidelity, and patience labour-great wildom, fidelity, and patience labour-great wildom, fidelity, and patience labourgreat windows, in sphold the family which God breeders of diffention between him, and his ea in vain to the cast down. He is reckoned honourable friend, unto whom he means nad-purpose to commit the Government of all those among the but more notable was his Go-Countries: his own bufines calling him inwernment of himself, in all her changes. Ad- to the lower Afia. These reports, coming verfity never leftened his courage, nor prof daily to his ears, did finely delude Python By perity his circumspection. But all his virtue, his greatness with Alexander; his authority indultry, and wit, were cast away, in leading in that Province where they lay, whereof he an Army, without full power, to keep it in was Governour; and the love of the Souldue obedience. Therefore it was not ill and diers which he had bought with mony; he swered by Gaspar de Coligny, Admiral of was strong enough to maintain, even an of-France in our daies, to one that foretold his fensive War. But what need had he to use death, which enfued foon after in the maf | the fword, when he was likely without cona thousand times.

Wars; but with a privy charge, to confume | first he doubtfully waded. them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas that beat upon the shores of Greece and Macedon.

o. VIII.

sia, carrying away Peucestes.

they spent the rest of the Winter: the com- easily. mon Souldier idly; the principal men intentively bent unto the business ensuing. Python with good cheer to redeem old offences, began to confider his own defervings; for but was deceived, having to do with one the wholeWar had been chiefly maintained that could not be taken with fuch baits: by the strength, and riches of this Province. he was carried away, and feasted with Befides, he thought himself as good a man goodly words of promise, that never after as Amigonus, unless it were in the Souldiers took effect. Thus he, that envied the viropinion, which he judged easie to be purtue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in chased with gifts, and therefore spared not vain) the fortune of his enemy, after which to affay them with great liberality. But in he led a most contemptible life, till he died following this course he was driven by ne- obscurely a man forgotten; cellity to trust many, of whom he stumbled

of other business made him do it by the upon some, that were unsecret, and others, To this end came all the travels of that his purpose discovered to Antigorus, who facre of Paris: That rather than to lead tention, to obtain more than his own askagain an Army of Voluntaries, he would dye ing? Therefore he came as soon as he was fent for, to take his farewell of Antigonus, Antigonus himself gave to the body of and to divide the Provinces with him, that Funenes honourals Funerable; and re- meant nothing less than to yield to any such warded the Treason, wrought against him, division. As soon as he came, he was taken, with deferved vengeance. One chief Cap- and accused, condemned to dye, and slain rain of the Silver-shields he burnt alive; out of hand. For Antigonus, having begun many of the other Captains he flew; and to with Eumenes his ancient friend, was not afthe whole multitude of the silver-shields, terward restrained by any consideration of that had betrayed fo worthy a Commander, old acquaintance, from cutting down indifhe appointed a Leader that should carry ferently all that stood in his way: but swam them into far Countries, under pretence of carelelly thorow the blood, wherein at the

> When this business was ended, he appointed a new Governour in Media, to order the Province, and a Captain, to suppress all commotions: thinking belike that the power and authority, fo divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into Fersia, where How Autigonus flew Python, and occupied he was entertained as absolute Lord of Asia. Media. How he removed Governours of There began he to shew how well he un-Provinces, and made himself Lord of Per-derstood his own mightiness. For he placed and displaced at his own pleasure, Governours in all Provinces, leaving none in Of-He two Armies being joyned thus in fice, that were not his own creatures, exone, were carried into Media, where cept such as lay too far off to be dislodged

Peucestes, who ruled in Persia, thought

ø. IX.

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CEleucus was the next in this Visitation; the defire to pick matter of quarrel against One that had from time to time continued him, whereof it was likely that he should in the same tenor of good will to Antigonus, sind such issue, as Python and Pencesses had and now gave proof of his hearty affection done. Therefore taking with him only fiftoward him, by making the Captain of the ty horse, he conveyed himself away, and Castle of susa to meet him on the way, ren- sted into Ptolomies Dominions; desiring dring unto him that strong Piece, and all him to protect him from such a man as went the treasures therein bestowed. This offer about to oppress all, that in former times was fo great, that Antigonus (though ha- had been his betters, or at least his equals. ving in his hands the Keeper of the place)

Antigonus was glad of his flight; for now could hardly believe it; but used him with all those Countries were yielded unto him excessive kindness, for fear so good a mood without battel, whereas to fight with seshould change. In that Castle he found all selencus for them, he wanted all pretence: the treasures of Alexander, with the Jewels and to kill him it was not his desire, having of the Persian Kings, which, added to his received many benefits of him, and those former store of mony, made up five and not intermixed, as commonly it happens. twenty thousand talents. Having all this, he with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that might well account himself a happy man, if the chaldwans brought a strange Prophecy riches were fufficient to happineds. But large dominion was the mark at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave efcape his hands, he should recover Eulylon, no Country behind his back, that should yea, win all Asia, and kill Antigonus in not acknowledge him for Soveraign Lord. battel. Eafie believers may give credit to Coming to Babylon, he was entertained by this tale. Had it been true, methinks An-Seleucus, with all possible demonstration of tigonus rather should have hanged those love, and honoured with prefents befeem- Chaldeans, for giving him no warning tillit ing the Majesty of a King. All this he accep- was too late, than fent pursuers (as they ted with great gravity, as being due to him; fay that he did) after him, whom the Deffiand began to require an account of the re- nies preserved for so great purposes. When venues of that Province. This demand Se- he had fettled things at Babylon, he took his leucus held unreasonable; saying, That it journey into Cilicia, where he wintered was not needful for him to render unto any There he took up ten thousand Talents man an account of that Province, which was more of the Kings treasures, and casting his given unto him, in respect of his many good accounts, found his yearly in-come to

reason or no, it sufficed, that Antigonus was powerful; who urged him daily to cometo How Seleucus was chased out of Babylon by a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither Antigonus. The great riches of Antigonus. want of mony, nor any other necessity, moved Antigonus to press him thus, but only services to the State. But whether he spake amount unto eleven thousand Talents,

CHAP. V.

Of the great War between ALEXANDERS Captains: and how they affumed the Name and State of Kings:

ø. I.

The Combination of Ptolomy, Cassander, and others against Antigonus. Their demands, and

His great riches, and the rest combined themselves together, intending of his power, made Antigonus to hinder his further growth, and bring dreaded, envied, and suspect- him to more reason than of his own accord ed, whereby he quickly was he seemed like to yield unto. Of their praembarked in a new War. Pto- ctices he had some notice; the good enterlony, Cassander, and Lysimachus, had privily tainment given unto Seleucus, giving him CHAP. V. tumerent cause of the feverally, enter that victory, which he alone without other tent Embanation continue firm in their love mens help had obtained. Though indeed treating means to constitute the state of th toward min, the like. The cold answers if they could see it, having by his means which they made, occasioned his halty pre- kept their Government, whereof they were paration against the most forward of them, paration against the most forward of them, and the to be dispossed by Polysperchon, and which was Ptolomy, it being likely that a the counsel of estate in Macedon. But what good Army should prevail more than a fair marvel was it, if they considered not how he meffage. Therefore, as foon as the scason of had faved them, seeing one of them had forthe year would permit, he took the way to- gotten the time, when coming to him as a ward Syria, and was encountred by Embaf- fugitive, and begging succour, he was by fage from them all. These told him, that their his meer bounty relieved, and enabled to Lords did much rejoyce at his victory, ob- get all that he now held? Cassander did not tained against Eumenes their common ene- (said he) in those daies command me to surmy, and the honour that he had thereby render Provinces, and give him his equal gotten. In which War, for a fmuch as they share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers being his Confederates, must have indured lake) defired me to pity him, and help himgreat loss, with hazard of their whole Estates, if the contrary faction had prevailing him an Army, and Fleet, on considence ed; they held it very just, that all should be whereof he now presumes to threaten me. partakers in the fruits of that voyage, where- As for selencus, How can he complain of they defired him, that making between them right? I did use him well, but his conscience der; and Phrygia, bordering upon the Helle- to provoke me. Spont, to Lysimachus: for whereas his own Dominions were fo much extended Eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those Western Provinces, to those The preparation and beginnings of the Wars. that were feated in the West. As for Ptolomy, he would not crave any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territo-

dours, that it was no part of his meaning to invaded sgria; that was not held against

fufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he communicate with other men the profit of in they had been all adventurers. Wherefore wrong, that durft not ftay to plead his all an equal division of the treasures that told him that he had deserved ill; else he were in his hands (a thing easie to be done) | would not have fled. Let them that fo cuhe would also take some convenient order riously fearch into my doings, consider west for enlarging their Dominions, according to their own, which some of them can hardly the rate of his new purchases. This might justifie. I am now in the way to Syria, meanbest be to every ones liking, if he would ing to examine Ptolomies proceedings, and afmake over Cappadocia, with Lycia, to Cassan- ter him to deal with others, if they continue

ø. II.

When the Embassadours were dismissed with this answer, nothing was ries. Provided alwaies, that seleucus their thought upon but War. Antigonus, perceicommon friend, and partner in the late War, | ving that he should be invaded from Europe, might be restored to his own, out of which as soon as he was entred into Syria, left his he had been driven so injuriously, that all Nephew Ptolomy to guard the Sea-coast, and of them were forced to take it deeply to hinder Cassander from landing in Asia: giveheart; requiring amends, with his friendly ing him also charge, to drive out of Cappaconsent unto their demands, which other- docia, some that were already sent over to wife they must labour to obtain with armed mol est him. Likewise he dispatched Meffengers into Greece and Cyprus, not unfurnish-Antigonus knew, that after many losses ed of mony; to draw friends to his side, and received, he should yet be able to redeem raise up troubles to his enemies. Especially, Peace whensoever he listed, with these, or he laboured to make himself the strongest perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was by Sea; to which purpose he rather hahe to weak, to give away quietly any part stened, than foreslowed his journey into of his strength into the hands of such bad spria, that he might get possession of Mount friends, for fear only, lest it should be taken Libanus, which afforded many excellent from him perferce. Rather he hoped that commodities for building of a Navy. Therehe should be able to find them work, more fore, having erected Beacons, and laid than enough to defend their own. There- post-horses throughout all Asia, to give fore he roundly answered the Embassa- swift advertisement of all occurrences, he him by any power sufficient to maintain the

heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of the people as their natural Lord: his other Provinces he kept with a few Garrisons, better serving to contain the people within obedience, than to confront a forein enemy. So Antigonus took many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to fet great numbers of Artificers on the people of Greece, whose aid, which way work in making thips, which was one of his foever inclined, was of great importance. most earnest cares. In these businesses he Herein at the first, Antigonus sped so well confumed a year and three months; not by large effusion of his treasure, that he idly. For he took foppe and Gaza, which drew to him the Lacedamonians, and other were yielded unto his discretion, and well Peloponnessans, of whom he waged eight nfed. The strong City of Tyrus held out thousand; and caused Polysperchon (who had long, but was compelled in the end by fa- a good while made hard shifts) to rowse mine, to render it felf upon composition, that himself again, and taking upon him thetitle Ptolomies Souldiers might depart with their of Captain of Peloponnesus, to make head Arms; which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not afleep, whilft these things were in doing though he kept himself with- him to proceed further in the same kind. in the bounds of Egypt as indeed it behoved | Wherefore to make Cassander the more him to do. His forces were not able to ftand odious, he called together both his own against Antigonus in plain field, but likely Souldiers, and all the Greeks and Mucdonithey were to encrease, which made him ans that were to be found thereabouts. To willing to protract the time. Nevertheless these he declared, that Cassander had very by Sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he fent his Fleet into all quarters, Alexander, and not herewith contented, had whereof seleneus had the chief com- flut up in close prison the poor Lady Rox-

Seleucus passed with an hundred sail along ten on her body. That all this proceeded the coast of syria, in the full view of Anti- from a desire to make himself Kingover the gonus, and his Army, to their no little difcomfort. He landed in Cyprus, which was enforcing the Lady Theffalonica, Daughter then governed by many petty Lords : of to King Philip, a match unfit for a man of no whom the greatest adhered to Ptolomy, the greater parentage than he, to joyn with him rest were by the Factors of Antigonus, bought in marriage. That in meer despight of those

led also Cassander, but not the Son of edified the City of Thebes, which for the Antipater, howfoever by the painful great treason of the Inhabitants, was level and learned Writer Reinerus Reineccius, led with the ground by the victorious hand he is, by some overfight, counted for of Alexander. For these reasons he required the fame) to declare for Ptolomy and them to make a Decree, that Coffender his Confederates, and bufily imploy in should restore to absolute liberty the Lady their quarrel all his forces, which he Roxane, and her Son; and should yield obehad hitherto kept in good neutrality, and dience to the Lord Lieutenant General of thereby enjoyed reft; but now he threw the Empire, (by which name Antigonas himhimself into dangerous War, chusing ra- self was understood) or else should be reputher to undergo trouble at hand, than to ted a Traitor, and open Enemy to the State. fall under certain ruine, though fome- Furthermore he propounded; that all the what further distant, which would have Cities of Greece should be restored into free overwhelmed him, if Antigonus had beaten dom: this he did, not because he wascare all the rest.

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o. III.

Ptolomy lay in Egypt, the strength and How each party fought to win the affifiance of Greece. Antigonus his declaration against Caffander. Alexander the son of Polysperchon revolteth from Antigonus who had fet him up.

> IN the mean feafon all care possible was taken on both fides, to affure unto them against Cassander.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged cruelly flain Olympias, Mother to the great ane, Alexander's Wife, and his Son begot-Macedonians; which well appeared by his for him with gold, but now redeemed by dead Princes, Philip and Alexander, helad the Egyptian with sharp steel.

The same commodity of aid by Sea lip, in a new City by him built, and alled encouraged the President of Caria (calby his own name Cassandria; and had reful of their good, but for the need which he had of their affiftance.

These things being decreed, Antigonal

opinion, and think him the most faithful of others. all others to the Royal blood. But concernwhich afforded men far more ferviceable in troll. War, than were to be found in any Province of the Empire.

was openly pretended.

much blood-shed, grievously afflicted the her Subjects and Neighbours. contrary faction, and he himfelf perceiving, that they were more eafily spoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way to make what use he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that Alexander came furnished with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able not only to win the doubtful, but to corrupt fuch as might feem best assured; he thought it a part of wisdom, to surrender upon fair conditions, that which he could not affure himfelf to hold any long time by force. Therefore he fent one to deal with Alexander about the matters in contro-

was perswaded, that not only the Greeks well perswade himself, that the Country was permanent, that the Country would adhere unto him, as to their loving which his Father could not keep, when he would and fall off from Cassander; but that was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire. the rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto should not in haste be won by him, that was the runs of the ru hut his own benefit, would correct their stilling himself, but not acknowledged by

Alexander had lived a while with Antigoing his loyalty to the young Prince, the nu fince the beginning of these wars; amone world was too wife to be deceived with vain whose followers it was not hard to discover the which he did not carry very fe-Greeks was more effectual, and got easie be- cret) of making himself absolute Lord of all. lief, in regard of his present hatred to Cas- Therefore he was soon entreated to accept ner, miregant of accept fander. Yet herein also Ptolomy strove to be so good an offer; and did not stick to enter as earnest as he, making the like decree, in into that league, whereby he was to become hope to win to himself that valiant Nation, a free Lord, and subject unto no mans con-

Howbeit, this his honour continued not long, ere he loft both it and his life together, And this indeed was the point at which by treason of the Sicyonians; who thinking both fides aimed. Wherein Antigonus think- thereby to have made themselves free, were ing to make all fure, deceived himself, not soon after vanquished in battel by Cratesipowithout great cost. For he gave to Alexander lis, Alexanders Wife, a discreet and valiant the Son of Polysperchon five hundred talents, Lady. She in revenge of her Husbands death; willing him to fet the War on foot in Pelo- crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in ponness, whereby it might appear, that on fight; and having by severity taught them his side was meant nothing else, than what obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and governed those pla-In Peloponnesus, Cassanders men had with cesthat the held, with the commendation of

ø. IV.

The Ætolians rise against Cassander in favour of Antigonus, and are beaten. A Fleet and Land-Army of Antigonus utterly defeated by Ptolomies Lieutenant. In what terms the War stood at this time. Antigonus draws nearer to Greece.

Ntigonus, when he found, that with fo much mony he had only bought an enemy, began to raise troubles to Cassander, and his other adversaries in Greece, versie; telling him, that Antigonus was very by stirring up the Etolians against them: skilful in setting men together by the ears, Likewise he saboured to win to his party not caring who prevailed, but only defiring the Islands in the Greek Seas, by whose afto have them weary themselves, whilst he listance he might be the better able to deal was busied elsewhere; that so at length he with Ptolomy, that greatly prevailed by reamight find opportunity to fet upon the stron- son of his strong Fleet. But neither of these ger. If therefore Alexander were so wise, as attempts had the success which he expected. to keep in his purse the five hundred talents The Atolians, a factious Nation, and alwhich he had, and, without stroke stricken, to waies envying the greatness of their receive the whole Lordship of Peloponnesus, Neighbours, were often in commotion, but it should be freely put into his hands by cafe so, that commonly their gains equalled not Jander: provided, that he should from thence- their losses. Cassander wan some of their own forth renounce all confederacy made with Country, fortified the Acarnanians against Antigomis, and enter into a fure and faithful them, and compelled Glaucias, King of league with Piolomy, Cassander, and the reft the Illyriams, whom he vanquished in of the Consederates. Otherwise he might battel, to forsake their side, and bind him.

felf to bear no Arms against Cassanders cidents, whereof the good were hithern

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were drawn to joyn with Antigonus; fo the commonly is not long wanting to them that Fleet of the Rhodians under Theodatus, who want no mony. was Admiral to Antigonus, passing along the coast of Asia towards Cyprus, with an Army under conduct of Perilans marching on wherein though as yet they had gottenlitthe shore for mutual affistance, was quite tle, yet had he cause to fear, lest the people overthrown by Ptolomies Navy. Polyclytus, being tied unto him by no bond of allegiwho in Ptolomies behalf had been fent into ance, might upon small occasion revolt from Peloponnesus against Alexander, finding no him, to men of as honourable reputationae need of his service in that Country, because he himself. To prevent this, and to be neerer Alexander was come over to their fide, re- to Greece, he held it expedient for him tohe turned homewards, and by the way heard there in person, where his affairs did sem to of the course which these Antigonians held, whom he very cunningly furprised. He rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the under his Son Demetrius, to whom being enemies were to double; his Land-forces he then but two and twenty years old, he applaced in ambush, whereinto Perilans fal- pointed many ancient Captains, as Affistants. ling was taken priloner, with many of his or rather as Directors: the rest he carried men, and many were flain, making little re- with him into Phrygia, where he meant to fistance. Theodatus the Admiral perceiving winter. this, made all hafte to help his fellows that were on Land; but whilft he with all his Fleet were intentive only to that business. Polyclytus appeared at their backs; who as How Lysimachus and Cassander vanquished foon as he perceived their disorder, haftened about the Cape, and charging them behind, suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tydings caused Antigonus to deal with Ptolomy about some composition. First, he sent Embassadours; afterwards they met in person. But Antigonus would not yield unto the demands of Ftolomy: so the parley the process of his business thereabouts. For

differently sped in the War, and thereby to were held over-hardly to their own work have equal cause of hope and fear. This on Europe side. Seuthes a King of the Thralate Victory, with the good fuccess of his cians, joyning with some Towns that reaffairs in Cyprus, did feem to make amends belled against Lysimachus, brought also the to Ptolomy for his losses in Syria. Likewise bordering Scythians into the quarrel. All the revolt of Alexander from Antigonus did these relyed upon Antigonus, who was to equal the confederacy made between the help them with mony and other aid. The Ætolians and him; as also those petty skir- Ætolians likewise took courage, and rose milhes, that had been in Asia the less, to against Cassander, having Eacides, lately re-Antigonus his advantage, were sufficiently stored to the Kingdom of Epirus, their Afrecompenced by others of like regard, but fiftant. But Lylimachus gave unto his Readverse to him, and by the troubles brought | bels no time to confirm themselves. He sudupon his estates in those parts by the two denly presented himself before two of the

of his men, mony, and ships, no otherwise He fought a battel with the scythians, and than as the pairing of his nails, that were left wilde Thracians, and drave themout of the long enough, and would eafily grow again, Country. Finally, he overcame senther; but the enlargement of his Territory by ad- and following the heat of his Victory, flew dition of syria, he prized at a higher rate; Panfanias in Battel, whom Antigonus had as if thereby he had fed upon a limb of Ptolong his enemy, and ftrengthened the body did either put to ranfome, or fill up with of his own Empire. Concerning other ac-

fufficient to counterpoize the bad, he means On the other fide, as many petty Islands to proceed as occasion should direct, which

That which most molested him, was the prosper the worse, by reason of his absence Therefore he left part of his Army in Syria,

ø. V.

some enemies, raised against them by Antigonus. The good success of Antigonus in Afia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against Cassander.

He coming of Antigonus into those parts, wrought a great alteration in his enemies had short leifure to think upon Hitherto each part seemed to have in- molesting him in Asia: they themselves Cities that had rebelled, & compelled them. Contrariwise, Antigonus valued the loss by fear to return unto their former duty. CHAP. V. philip, Cassanders Licutenant, against the yond all measure, than backward upon fought with the Epirotes, that came to help capable of being any thing. them: and after the victory, fought again with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, and, killing *Eacides* that unfortunate King. Finally, he drave the *Etolians* out of most of their Country, and forced them to feek their fafety among the wild Mountains. Of the Epirotes he fent as prisoners to Cassander, the principal Authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present

midians. For he wasted their Country; their miserable nullity, that held them un-

ø. VI.

Victories of Ptolomy by Sea. A great Battel at Gaza, which Ptolomy and Seleucus wan, against Demetrius the son of Antigonus.

As the presence or neerness of Antigo-Yet these actions required some time, and Asia and Greece; so the designs of his enewearied Antigonus his adversaries with mies, taking advantage at his absence, painful travel; after which they remained ruined the very foundations of those great only favers. Antigonus himself at fair works in the Eastern parts, wherewith in only average and laria the whilft, and fent the year preceding he had over-topped Armies into Peloponnessos, and other parts of them. The Isle of Cyprus, whose Princes Greece, bestowing liberty upon all the Cities wavered between contrary affections, inhe took out of Calfanders hands. The clining one while to Antigonus, another whole Country of Peloponnefus (excepting while faintly regarding their covenant with sicron and Corinth) with the life of En- Ptolomy, was visited by an Egyptian Fleet. bea, and many places of the firm Land, wherewith Ptolomy, in his own person easily were by those means won to be his in true reduced them to a more settled order, putand vehement affection, ready to do or fuf- ting fome to death, carrying others away fer any thing for him that had made fo evi- priloners, & leaving a Lieutenant of his own dent a demonstration of his readiness, to give appointment, Governour of the whole them the liberty in deed, which others had Country. With the same Fleet he ran alongst promifed in idle words. Many States desi- the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of Caria rous of the same benefit, would fain have and cilicia, with the spoils of which he enshewed their good will; but they were kept riched his followers, and returned loaden to in by Cassanders Garrisons, who was too wise Cyprus. Demetrius the Son of Antigonus, to trust them loofe. Therefore Antigonus hearing frequent reports of the miseries, made shew as if he would pass over into Ma- | wherewith his Fathers subjects were opprescedon: by which terrour he forced caffan- fed, made all hafte out of Syria to the refcue, der to repair thither in all haste, with the best | taking only his horses, and light-armed foot of his strength, leaving many good Towns | with him, because the business required exof Greece fo weakly guarded, that well they pedition. But in vain did he tire himself might take courage to help themselves, if & his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that any forein succour appeared. The aid which by lanching out into the deep, could in a they defired was not long wanting. The few minutes delude the labour of fo many Lieutenant of Antigonus, taking the advan- daies, if need had so required. Answerable to tage of Cassanders departure, entred the the vanity of this expedition was the success. Country; drave his Garrisons out of divers For Ptolomy was gone, before Demetrius Cities; forced the Governour of Athens to came into Cilicia. Neither was it certain, enter into league with their Lord; wan the whether having lightned his ships of their Citadel of Thebes, and fet the people at liber- burthen in Cyprus, he would return upon ty. This last action was somewhat remark- those maritime Countries, or make towards able. For Thebes had not long before been Syria, where his coming was expected. He raifed out of her old ruines by the meer was indeed gone into Egypt, and there with power of cassander; of which act he was seleucus was describing a Royal Army, which accused by Antigonus, as if it had been some he levied with all convenient speed, for hainous crime. Yet now the same Antigonus the recovery of Syria. This was more than winners the City, and the love of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to hood, and return the way that he came, with thank the Increaser, than the Author of their all his companies, which were fitter for sergood; and rather to look forward upon vice in the open field, than to be bestowed in those hopes, which vainly they extend be- Garrisons among the Cilicians. He had Xxxx 2

CHAP. V.

The fourth Book of the first Part

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when the news arrived of Ptolomy's coming out, the errour of Demetrins, who upon no with a puillant Army, to give him battel necessity would needs fight a battel with Hereupon he called to counsel his principal disadvantage, began to appear by his losses friends, who advised him to give way to the He had committed himself to Fortune, hatime, and expect fome better opportunity ving more to lofe by her than he could get. in the future, being a young man, and weak- but in this fight she was idle, and left all to ly furnished with means to refift such ancient be decided by strong hands; unless it may and famous Generals, as Ftolomy and Selen- be faid, that the terrour brought upon his cus. This counsel seemed rather to proceed men, by the loss of his Elephants, was bad from the cold temper of those aged men luck. Those beatts were in that kind of that gave it, than from any necessity growing out of the present business. For Demetrius confidering himself to be the Son of Antigonus, and now General of his Fathers Ar- feeking to break thorow the Palifado, they my, thought his own title weighty enough were forely hurt, and every one of them tato be laid in ballance against the bare names ken. This disaster caused the horse-men of of those two great Commanders. Neither Demetrius to faint. They had laboured hard. found he much reason that should move him and prevailed little, till now perceiving that to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men all must lye upon their hands, who were ill were better exercifed than the enemies, and able to make their own places good, they promifed as much as could be required. began to shrink, and many of them to pro-Therefore perswading himself, that such vide for their safety by timely slight, which odds of number, and of great fame, would example the rest quickly followed. When rather serve to adorn his victory, than hinder Demetrius had stroven so long in vain to him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the make his men abide, that he himself was matter to tryal, without expecting the ad- likely to be loft; he was fain to give place vantage of more help. So animating his to the stronger, making a violent retrait as Souldiers with hope of spoil and rewards, far as to Azotus, which was about thirty he abode the coming of the Enemies at Ga- miles from the place of Battel. A great part za, with purpose to encounter them, as soon of his carriages was in Gaza, whither some as they had finished their wearisome jour- of his company turned aside, hoping to save ney over the Desarts of Arabia.

a Province as Egypt, came so well provided | ction, and the loss of the Town. For, whilst of all necessaries, that their Army felt not they, forgetful of the danger, hadfilled the any great grievance of the evil way, when | ftreets with fumpter-horses, and cloyed up battel was presented them, which confident- the gates, thronging, some to get in and ly they undertook. In all things else they | fetch; others, to carry out what they had had the odds of Demetrius; of Elephants already loaden, Ptolomy's Army brake in they were utterly unprovided. But how to without refiftance, taking them with their deal with those beafts they were not igno- goods and the City altogether. rant. They had prepared a kind of Palifado, fastened strongly together with chains, and best part of Syria, a Province more case in fharpened in fuch a manner, that the Elephants could not feek to break upon it, without receiving much hurt. The rest of their forces (which (besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate services, by them performed that year, whilst the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vain journeys, or long and dulling expectation) they disposed Tyrus by the Garrison, falling to mutiny in such order, as best answered to the form, against their Captain, who trusting to the wherein Demetrius was embattelled. The strength of it, had made great vaunts, but fight began, and was maintained with equal was pardoned by Ptolomy, and honourably courage, for a long time, each part striving entertained in respect of his fidelity. more to win honour, than to fatisfie any other passion, as having little cause of hatred, or revenge. But after some continu-

scarce refreshed his men and horses in Syria, ance, the greater number holding better War hardly to be refifted on plain ground. and therefore at the first they made great fpoil amongst Ptolomy's men. Afterward fuch goods, as in haste they could pack up. Ptolomy and selencus isluing out of fo rich | This foolish covetousness was their destru-

> This Victory restored unto Ptolomy the those times to get, than to keep; and opened the way unto all the greatness of Selencus. For between Gaza and Phanicia no place offered refistance. In Cælosyria and Phenicia, fome Towns held out a while, but were foon taken in by Ptolomy. Among these were the great Cities of Tyrus and Sidon; of which sidon was given up by the Inhabitants;

ø. VII.

on of Seleucus.

better part of Alexanders purchases.

ftrange, and full of unlikelihoods. His train fave all from being loft, or to drive scleucus confilted of no more than eighteen hundred out of that which he had won. foot, and two hundred horse, a number too fmall to have been placed as Garrison, in four hundred Horse, and somewhat above fome one of those main great Cities, against three thousand Foot, wherewith to oppose which he carried it into the higher Afia. But himfelf: his large Conquest of unwarlike little force is needful, to make way into Nations having yielded him many loving ftrong places, for him that already stands Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when posseled of their hearts which dwell within his enemies were near to the River of Tigris, the walls. The name of Selencus was enough; he withdrew himfelf from the place where whom the Babylonians had found fo good a his refiftance was expected, into certain Governour, that none of them would find marifhes not far off; where he lay fecretly courage to refift him; but left that work to waiting for some advantage. Nicanor Antigonus his ownmen, withing them ill to thought that he had been fled, and was the fpeed. Some of the Macedonians that were less careful in fortifying his Camp, In recomwith daily enemies in his own lodging. It further stroke stricken. remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But unto the new stile, of The Kingdom of the the treason of one principal man, who re- Greeks, an accompt much used by the Jews, volted to the enemy, with more than a thou- Chaldeans, Syrians, and other Nations in fand Souldiers following him, fo difmayed those parts. I will not make any long difthe rest, that they did no more than seek to putation about the first year of this Ara. make good one strong place, wherein were The authority of that great Astrologer Ptokept the Hostages and Prisoners, that Antinot then apparent. Selencus quickly took it; hereupon is needless, than that note of the mia and Babylon.

Perfia, forces convenient for defence of those years after Nabonassar. With the observati-Provinces, that were the utmost of his Do- on of the Saturn, recorded by Ptolomy, agrees minion. In the Countries about Euphrates he (as it ought) the calculation of Bunting;

had not done the like: for his own great Army lay between them and all enemies, How Seleucus recovered Babylon, and made Therefore when the victory at Gaza had on Seleucus recovery at Gaza had binfelf Lord of many Countries in the opened unto Seleucus the way into those bingley Asia. The Erra of the Kingdome of parts; he found little impediment in the bigbest Ana. In the Administration of the Greeks, which began with the Dominihe fought, it behoved him to feek how he might keep his gettings: for his own forces THile Ptolomy followed his business were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his leave of him, and went up to Babylon, to friends could not do for him, his enemies leave of min, and the found fo did. Nicanor, to whom Antigonus had comtry no one favourable, that recovering first his own mitted his Army in Media, joyning unto Province, he became at length mafter of the himfelf, out of Fersia and other Countries, all needful help, came, with ten thousand This expedition of selences was very Foot, and seven thousand Horse, either to

Against this power, Seleucus had only in those Countries, had the like affection; pence of this vain security, his Camp was others made a countenance of War, which taken by furprile, the first night of his arriby easie compulsion they left off, and fol- val; the Satrapa, or Lieutenant of Persia, lowed new Enfignes. This added courage to together with fundry of the Captains, were the people, who came in apace, and submit- slain; he himself was driven to slee for his ted themselves joyfully to Seleucus. In a de-life into the desarts, and the whole Army fection so general, it was not a safe course for | yielded unto seleucus : whose gentle dethe Antigonians, to thrust themselves into meanour, after the victory, drew all Media, the Towns of most importance: for every | susiana, and the Neighbour Provinces, to man of them should have been troubled acknowledge him their Lord without any This victory of seleucus gave beginning

lomy, from which there is no appeal, makes gonus held for his security in those quarters. it plain, that the five hundred and nineteenth pol. Alming. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in year of Nabonassar, mas the fourfcore and se that it is times of leilure, against dangers, that were cond year of this accompt. Other inference 7. 6 8. and so got the entire possession of Mesopota- learned Gauricus, That the first of these years L Gamic. was reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together in annot ad Antigonus had bestowed in Media and with the end of four hundred thirty and eight tam.

ø. VII.

finding the same Planet to have been so pla- advertising his Father of his misfortune, beced in the fign of Virgo, as the Chaldwans fought him to fend a new supply, wherewish had observed it, in the same year; which he might redeem his honour lost. Antigonus was from Nabonassar the five hundred and upon the first news of this overthrow, had nineteenth; from Seleucus the fourscore and said, That the victory which Ptolony wan fecond year; and the last of the hundred upon a beardless Boy, should be taken from thirty and seventh Olympiad. These obser- him by bearded men: yet upon desire that vations of the celeftial bodies, are the fureft his fon, whom he tenderly loved, should marks of time: from which he that wilfully amend his own reputation, he was content varies, is inexcufable. As for fuch occurto make a stand in Phrygia. Ptolomy hearing rences in History, and the years of succeed- of Demetrius his preparations, did nevering Princes (that are not feldom ambiguous, thelefs follow his own business in Calossia: by reason of unremembred fractions) if they thinking it enough to spend part of his Arfeem to be here-against, it is not greatly ma- my under cilles his Lieutenant, against the terial. Yet thus much is worthy of note; remnant of those, that had been already that these years of the Greeks were not vanquished, when Cilles too much underreckoned in all Countries from one begin- valued the power of fuch an Enemy. He ning; as plainly appears in the difference of thought that this young Gallant, having one year, that is found between actions, re- lately faved his life by flight, would now he lated by the feveral Authors of the two more careful of having a fair way at his Books of the Maccabees, who follow divers back, than adventurous in fetting further accompts. He that shall adhere to the time forward, than urgent reason should prodefined by Ptolomy, may apply the other voke him. In this confidence he passed on supputations thereunto, as being no farther without all fear; as one that were already from it, than a years distance.

ø. VIII.

the causes were of the quiet obedience, per- his journey with such diligence, one whole formed unto the Macedonians, by those that | night, that early in the morning, he came had been subject unto the Persian Empire. upon Cilles unexpected, and was on the sud-Of divers petty enterprizes, taken in hand dain, without any battel, Master of his by Antigonus and Demetrius, with ill Camp: taking him alive, with his Soul-

IN a happy hour did seleucus adventure to credit of Demetrius, which his loss at Gaza go up to Babylon, with fo few men as his had almost ruined: but further it enabled friend could then well spare: for had he him, to recompence the bounty of Ptolony, stayed longer upon hope of getting more with equal favour, in restoring to him cilles, Souldiers, Ptolomy could have spared him with many other of his friends, accompanied none at all. Demetrius the fon of Antigonus, with rich prefents. But neither was Piolong having lost the battel at Gaza, received from so weakned by this loss, nor Demetrim so Ptolomy all his own goods, his Pages, and emboldned by his victory, that any matter Servants, in free gift, and therewithal a of consequence thereupon ensued. For Decourteous mellage, to this effect: That no metrius feared the coming of Ptolomy; and personal hatred was the ground of this War, therefore he fortified himself in places of which he and his Confederates held with advantage: Ptolomy on the other fide was Antigonus; but only terms of honour, where- loth to engage himself in an enterprise, in they would feek to right themselves after wherein he might perceive, that if the comfuch manner, that other friendly Offices, ing of Antigonus found him entangled, he without reference to the quarrel, should not should either be driven to make a shameful

in Demetrius an earnest desire of requiting already he possessed. him, with some as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remain- his way towards syria; whither he made der of his broken troups; drew as many as all haste, not so much to relieve his son, as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in Ci- to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceelicia, or other Provinces thereabouts, and dingly, that the young man had fo well ac,

Master of the field, and should meet with none, that would iffue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When Demetrius was informed of this careless march; How Ptolomy loft all he won in Syria. What he took the lightest of his Army, and made diers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit ferved not only to repair the retrait, or a dangerous adventure of his This Noble dealing of Ptolomy, did kindle whole estate, in hope of not much more than

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing flow in

quitted in advice, performed the office of a good Comadvice, performed the office of a good Comglad to offer it, defiring to have them rather mander. Wherefore to increase the repu- friends than servants, for fear of further inration of this late victory, he brought such convenience. forces, as might ferve to re-conquer all syhe imployed in matters of greatest impor-

with Antigonus, than before his coming to utterly taken from them all remembrance have affailed the Camp of Demetrius. Yet of home-born Princes, and incorporated he made it a matter of confultation; as if them into the great body of the Persian Emhe had dared more than he meant. But all pire: fo that wanting within themselves all his Captains advised him to retire into Egypt, | foveraign power, or high authority, the life alledging many good arguments to that pur- and spirit of every Estate; they lay as dead. pounding that course; not without remem- members. brance of the good fuccess against Perdiceas, inthe like defensive War. So he departed that Empire, did not when Darius was taout of Syria, preserving his honour; as being ken from them, as the Macedonian Captains rather led by mature deliberation, than any fuddain passion of sear: and he departed at | hold upon those Provinces, which had many fair leisure, not only carrying his treasures ages been subject unto them, and scarce four along with him, but staying to dismantle years in quiet possession of their enemies; or fome principal Cities, that he thought most | why at least they contended not (when the likely to trouble him in the future. All the terrible name of that great Conquerour did Country that he left at his back, fell pre- cease to affright them) to get their shares fently to Antigonus, without putting him to among his followers, if not wholly to disposthe trouble of winning it by pieces: fo easie | sess them of their new purchases: it is a quegreat Province.

after him. The hot contentions for fupe- Victors. riority between the King of Ifrael, and those of Damascus; between Egypt, and Babylon;

quitted himself, and being left to his own ty: and how these proud Conquerours were

It must therefore be noted, that most of ria: meaning, that the honour of all should these Countries had alwayes been subject he referred unto the good foundation laid unto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom by his ion; whom from this time forwards, the Babylonians and Persians long fince had rooted out, and held them in fuch bondage. that few of them knew any other Law, than ptolomy had now less reason to encounter the command of forraign Masters. This had pose: which they might well perceive to be and were bereaved of motion, when that agreeable to his own intent, by his pro- Kingdom fell, whereof they lately had been

Why the Persian Satrapa, or Princes of after the death of Alexander, strive to lay was it in those times, for the Captain of a stion, wherein who is not satisfied, may find strong Army, to make himself Lord of a no less reason to suspect the History, than authority to confirm it. For we feldome We may justly wonder, that these King- | read, that any small Kingdom, prevailing doms of Syria, Media, Babylon, and many against a far greater, hath made so entire a other Nations, (which the victory of Alex- | conquest, in the compass of ten years, as left ander had over-run with so hasty a course as unto the vanquished no hope of recovery, gave him not leisure to take any good view nor means to rebel; especially when such of them) were fo easily held not only by disorders, or rather utter confusion hath himself, but by the Captains of his Army ensued, by the fury of civil War among the

The cause why the Macedonians held so quietly the Persian Empire, is well set down Babylon and Nineve; the Persians and many by Machiavel; and concerns all other King-Countries; argue a more manly temper, to doms, that are subject unto the like form of have once been in those people; which are Government: the sum whereof is this; now so patient of a forraign yoke, that like Wheresoever the Prince doth hold all his Sheep or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be Subjects under the condition of slaves, there distributed, fought for, won, lost, and again is the conquest easie, and soon affured: recovered by contentious Masters; as if they Where ancient Nobility is had in due rehad notitle to their own heads, but were gard, there is it hard to win all, and harder born to follow the fortune of the Macedo- to keep that which is won. Examples of mians. This will appear the more strange, this are the Turkish Empire, and the Kingif we shall consider, how the several States dom of France. If any Invader should preof Greece (many of which had never pol- vail fo far upon Turky, that the great Sulfessed so large Dominion, as might cause tan and his Children (for Brethren he useth their spirits to swell beyond their ability) not to suffer alive) were taken or slain: did greedily embrace all occasions of liber- the whole Empire would quickly be won

and eafily kept, without any danger of re- doth leave unto them no means, whereby and early kept, without any danger to oppose themselves against the flourishing they may feem, are meer flaves; neither eftate of their Prince; fo would it weaken they may been, are meet have any one both their power and their courage in oiman, whose personal regard could get the ving him assistance, if adversity should make man, whose periodal regard to an attempt, him ftand in need of them. For there is fearce wherein hope of private gain should not any one among the Turk, Bassass, or Provincountervail all apparent matter of fear. cial Governours, that knows either from Contrariwife, in France, it were not enough whence he was brought, or from whom defor him that would make a conquest, to get scended, nor any one among them, that by into his hands the King and his Children; the loss and utter ruin of the Turkifb Empire. though he further got the better part of the can lose any foot of his proper inheritance; Country, and were by far the strongestin and it is the proper inheritance of the sinh the field. For, befides the Princes of the ject, which is also a Kingdom unto him. Royal blood, there are in that Kingdom which makes him fight with an armed heart ftore of great men; who are mighty in their against the Conquerour, who hath no other feveral Countries, and having certain Royal- device painted on his Enfign, than the pities and Principalities of their own, are able Cture of flavery. to raise War in all quarters of the Realm ; whereunto the remembrance of their own Jan, void of liberty in the Subjects, and ancient Families, and long continued Nobi- utterly destitute of other Nobility, than lity, will alwayes ftir up and inflame them: fuch as depended upon meer favour of the fo that untill every ones piece were won, Prince. Some indeed there were of the and every one (an endlers work) of the Royal blood, and others, defeended from chief Nobility brought under or destroyed, the Princes that joyned with Darius, the son the victory were not compleat, nor well of Hystaspes, in oppressing the Magi: these assured. It is true, that such power of the were men of reputation in Persia, but their Nobility, doth often-times make way for an reputation confifted only in their Pedigree, Invader; to whom the discontentments of and their safety in not medling with affairs a few can eafily make a fair entrance. But of State, which made them little esteemed. fuch affiltants are not so easily kept, as they In what small account these Persian Princes are gotten; for they look to be fatisfied at were held, it may appear by this, that the full, in all their demands; and having what Kings Uncles, Coufin Germans, and Brethey would, they foon return to their old thren, were called by the Kings, Their allegiance, upon condition to keep what | Slaves, and so did stile themselves, in speakthey have, unless they be daily hired with ingunto these great Monarchs. That upon new rewards: wherein it is hard to please every light occasion of displeasure they were one man, without offending another as good | handled as Slaves, it is easie to be discerned, as himself. The Turk, on the other fide, in that example of cruelty, practifed by needs not to fear any peril, that might arife Xerxes upon his own brother Maffet; from the discontented spirits of his principal which hath been formerly noted, in place men. The greatest mischief that any of them more convenient. As for the Satrape, or could work against him, were the betraying of some frontier Town, or the wilful to cite examples, proving them to have lois of a battel: which done, the Traitor been meer flaves: it may fuffice, that their hath spent his sting, and must either fly to heads were taken from them at the Kings the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he will; that is, at the will of those Women formerly did hold; or elfe, in hope of doing and Eunuchs, by whom the King was gofome further harm, he must adventure to verned. excuse himself unto his Master, who seldom forgives the Captain, that hath not strived be added the general want of liberty conveby desperate valour against missortune. As nient among the people: a matter no les for making head, or arming their followers available, in making easie and sure the conagainst the great Sultan, and so joyning quest of a Nation, than is the cause alligned themselves unto any Invader; it is a matter by Machiavel. For as #fope his Afs did not not to be doubted: for none of them have care to run from the enemies, because it any followers or dependants at all, other was not possible, that they should load him than fuch as are subject unto them, by verwith heavier burthens, than his Mafter cautue of their Offices and Commissions. Now less this before a commissions, that the before the commissions with the commissions of the Nations, that the before the commissions with the commissions of the Nations that the commissions will be commission to the Nations that the commissions will be commission to the Nations that the commissions will be commissionally the commissions that the commission that as this base condition of the principal men, led min dany to bear: to the realization as this base condition of the principal men, led min dany to bear: to the realization as this base condition of the principal men,

As is the Turkish Empire, so was the Per-

To this want of Nobility in Persia, may

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Arabians bordering upon Syria: against it as his own assured. whom Antigonus lent part of his Army ; Antigonus had laid upon his Son a perempfoot, and fix hundred horse, only fifty horse thing, forsook the enterprize, and went back escaped. To revenge this loss, Demetrius was to his Father. fet out with a great power : yet all in vain; for he was not refifted by any Army, but by the natural defence of a vast Wilderness, lack of water, and of all things necessary. A general Peace made and broken. How all the Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he lost not much honour: for they craved it, and gave him presents. Returning from the Nabatheans, he viewed that hope vanished.

are not greatly fearful of a forein yoke; These petty enterprises, with the ill success Nor will be hafty to shake it off, if by ex- accompanying them, had much impaired perience they find it more light, than was the good advantage against Ptolomy: when the news of Selency his victories in the high from ed. This was it that made the Gafoignes Countries, marred all together. For neither hear such faithful affection to the Kings of was the loss of those great and wealthy. Pro-England; for that they governed more vinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was mildly than the French. This enlarged the it fafe to transport the War into the parts mildy that the Van in Lombardy; for the Towns that they wan, they wan out of the lower Afia should have been exposed to the hands of Tyrannous oppressors: and this did danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle cause the Macedonians, with other Nations course was thought the best; and Demetrithat had been subject unto the posterity of us, with fifteen thousand foot, and three Alexanders followers, to serve the Romans thousand horse, was sent against Selencus patiently, if not willingly; for that by them These forces being fent away, Antigonus did they were eased of many burthens, which nothing, and his Son did less. For Seleucus had been imposed upon them by their own was then in Media; his Lieutenants about Babylon withdrew themselves from necessity So that of this tameness, which we find in of fight; some places they fortified and kept; those that had been subjects of the Persian Demetrius could hold nothing that he got, Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some without setting in Garrison more men than of thesethere were, that could not so easily he could spare, neither did he get much; be contained in good order by the Macedo- and therefore was fain to fet out the bravenians: for they had not indeed been abso- ry of his Expedition, by burning and spoiling lutely conquered by the Persian. Such were the Country, which he did thereby the more the Sogdians, Battrians, and other Nations alienate, and as it were, acknowledge to beabout the Caspian Sea. Such also were the long unto his enemy, who thenceforth held

thinking therewith to bring them under, or tory commandment, to return unto him at rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as he fent, fell upon the Nabathæans, at fuch time | may feem) that in fuch an unfettled state of as they were busied in a great Mart; wherein things, either the War might be ended, by they traded with the more remote Arabians the fury of the first brunt; or else it would for Mirrh, Frankincense, and other such com- | be vain to strive against all difficulties likely modities. All or most of these rich wares, to arise, where want of necessaries should together with five hundred talents of filver, frustrate the valour, that by strength of time and many prisoners, the *Macedonians* laid was like to become less terrible to the enchold upon: for their coming was fudden my. Demetrius therefore leaving behind him and unexpected. But ere they could reco- five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, ver Syria, the Nabatheans overtook them, rather to make shew of continuing the War, and finding them weary with long marches, than to effect much, where himself with made such a slaughter, that of four thousand greater forces could do little more than no-

ø. IX.

bouse of Alexander was destroyed.

Hefe ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselves with uneffectual the Lake Appalities, whence he conceived travel, in feeking to get more than any one hope of great profit that might be raifed, by of them could hold; were contented at gathering the Sulphure. With this good length to come to an agreement: wherein husbandry of his Son, Antigonus was well it was concluded, that each of them should be leafed. pleased, and appointed men to the work: hold quietly, that which at the present he but they were flain by the Arabians, and so had in possession. As no private hatred, but meer defire of Empire, had moved them to

Yyyy

enter into the viai, and a dulness growing up the credit of Antigonus, and to raise his upon the flow advancement of their feveral hopes as high as ever they had been. hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occasion might better serve to contend against one that is equal to them

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fight again. Provinces which every man held, there were all: for, where every one mans help is netwo Articles of the peace, that gave a fair, ceffary to the War, there may any one make but a falle colour, to the bufinels; That the his own peace; but no one can flandout Son of Alexander by Roxane, foodld be made alone, when all the reft are weary. The best King when he came to full age; and, That all was, that he knew all their affections: which the Eftates of Greece should be set at liberty. The advancement of young Alexander to his jects unto any man, much less to the son of Fathers Kingdom, teems to have been a an Affatique woman, of whom they had matter forceably extorted from Antigonus; long fince refused to hear mention. Therein whom was discovered a purpose, to have fore he took a short course, and caused both made himself Lord of all. But this, indeed, the Child and his Mother to be slain; free more neerly touched Caffander. For in his ing thereby himself in a trice, from the dam custody was the young Prince and his Mo- gerous necessity of yielding up his Governther: neither did he keep them in a fort an- ment, which he must have done when the fwerable to their degree; but as close priso- Child had come to age. Roxane was a lacers, taken in that War, wherein they had dy of fingular beauty, which was perhapsthe feen the old Queen Olympias taken and mur- cause, why Perdiccas desired to have her Son, dered, that fought to put them in possession being as yet unborn, proclaimed let to of the Empire. The mutual harred and fear the great Alexander. Immediately upon the between them, rooted in these grounds, of death of Alexander, the had used the favour injuries done, and revenge expected; upon (if it were not love) of Perdicess, to the failthis conclusion of peace, grew up faster than Tying of her own bloody malice, upon 814any time before, in the heart of Cassander: tira, the Daughter of King Darius, whom who faw the Macedonians turn their favouAlexander had likewife married, according rable expectation, towards the Son of their to the custom of those Countries, wherein late renowned King.

Prince must first have possession of Macedon: she did, by affistance of Perdicus, murder whereby Cassander should be reduced to his her and her Sister, and threw their bodies poor office, of Captain over a thousand men, if not left in worse case. As for them that earth. But now, by Gods just vengeance, held Provinces abroad, they might either were she and her Son made away, in the do as they had done under Aridaus; or bet- like fecret fashion; even at such time as the ter, as being better acquainted with their neer approaching hope of a great Empire own ftrength. He, in the mean time, by his had made her life, after a wearifone imprireadines to acknowledge the true Heir, had somment, grow dearer unto her than it was freed himself from that ill-favoured imputa- before. tion, of feeking to make himself Lord of all that Alexander had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, of reforing the Greeks to their liberty. now they held themselves free Lords of all This liberty had hitherto been the subject of that they had under them fearing none other much idle discourse: but it never took ef- change of their estates, than such as might fect. Antigonus held scarce any Town of arise by chance of War; wherein every one theirs, Cassander occupied most of the Counperswaded himself of success, rather better try: which if he should set free, he must be than worse. Hereupon all of them (except a poor Prince; if not, there was matter Lysmachus and Selencus, that had work enough of quarrel against him, as against a enough at home) began to rowze themselves. Disturber of the common Peace.

ther with a great Army, and mony ecough about Hellesport: while their Master was

enter into the War; fo was it no friendly to entertain a greater, might ferve to hold

CHAP. V

With much disadvantage do many men all in puissance. Cassanders friends had left Befides that main point, Of retaining the him in an ill case, but he could not do with plurality of Wives is held no crime. For, ha-All this either little concerned Antigonus; ving by a counterfeit Letter, in Alexanders or tended greatly to his good. The young name, gotten this poor Lady into her hands, into a Well, caufing it to be filled up with

The fact of Caffander was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing unto all the rest of the Princes, For as if now the time were come, for each man In the mean feafon, the Countries lying to improve his own flock. Antigonal his between Euphrates and the Greek Scas, toge-ther with a great Anny, and the Greek Scas, toge-Lieutenants were buffe in Pelopouncies, and GHAP. V. tigonus had put Garrisons into some Towns, which ought, in fair dealing, to be fet at liberty. Under colour of redreffing this enorwon four Towns, and foon after lost them,

Commander, but discontented with the ill and Corinth in his own possession. requital of his services) whom finding short-Towns of Sycion and Corinth.

the Greeke, emboldened by his countenance meaning to place him in his Fathers and affiftance, would all of them take heart Throne. and rife up in arms; whereby with little

ing it to fall into their mouths.

their Town and Terrritory.

careful in following other, and fome greater much moderation: but, in spight of their earters that were more feeretly to be hand-matters that were more feeretly to be the more feered to be the mo matters that weed the liberty of Greece: yet By this base temper of the principal Cities, led. He pretended the liberty of Greece: yet By this base temper of the principal Cities, led. He pretended the minister unto Ptolo-did the same argument minister unto Ptolo-it is easie to gather, how the rest of the Coundid the same a garnel, against both him and try stood affected. Piolomy could not get my matter or quarter; "good saif he had them to fet their helping-hands to their own cadjonder; Ptolomy could not get Cadjanus of their own taken the matter deeply to heart) that Angood, and to furnish him with the promifed Supplies of mony and victuals. Credible it is. that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thraldom; as judging the commodity nity, he fent an Army into Cilicia, where he that would arife by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight than the loss without much labour of his own or his ene- that Cassander should receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once Antigonus After this, putting to Sea with a strong took the work in hand. But when he found Fleet, heran along the coast of Asia, winning such difficulty in the business, he changed many places: and in that voyage allured un- his purpose: and renewing his former to him a Nephew of Antigonus (a good friendship with Cassander, he retained Sycion

Before the coming of Ptolomy into Greece, ly, as false to himself as he had been to his Cassander had been held occupied with veown Uncle, he was fain to put to death. But ry much work. For (besides his pains taken indoing these things, his desire to set the in Wars among barbarous Princes) he Greeks at liberty, appeared not fo plain, as found means to allure unto himself the Lieuhe wished that it should : for their case was tenants of Antigonus, that were in Peloponno way bettered by his molefting Anti- ness, and about Hellespont: making his gonus in Asia. Therefore to get the love of own advantage of their discontentments. that valiant Nation, he made at the last an By the like skilful practice he freed himself Expedition into Greece it felf: where ha- from a greater danger, and made those murving fet free some little Islands, and landed thers which he had committed seem the less in Peloponness, he raised so great an expe-odious, by teaching his enemies to do the ctation of finishing the long-defired work, like. Old Polysperchon, that had made so that Cratespolis, the Widow of Alexander, great a stir in the reign of Aridaus, did af-Tolysperchons Son, gave up into his hands the ter the death of Roxane and her child, enter again upon the Stage: leading in his hand Ttolomy had conceived a vain belief, that another Son of the great Alexander, and

The name of this young Prince was Herlabour their liberty might be gotten; and he | cules: he was begotten on Barsine the daughbe acknowledged as Author of this immor- ter of Artabazus a Fersian; but had been less tal benefit. But long servitude had well- esteemed than the son of Roxane, either neer extinguished the ancient valour of that | for that his Mother was held no better than Nation: and their ill fortune, in many like- a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of ly attempts to recover freedom, had so tired the favour which Perdiccas, and after him their spirits, that they would no more stir in Olympias, did bear unto Roxane. At this time pursute thereof; but sate idly still, as wish- the death of his Brother had moved such compassion, and regard of his being Alexan-The Lacedamonians, about these times, ders only living child, had procured unto began to fortifie their Town with walls; him such good will, that the demand which trusting no longer in their virtue (for both | Polysperchon made in his behalf, was deemed it, and the discipline that upheld it, were too very just and honourable. There were inmuch impaired) that had been a wall to deed more hearts than hands, that joyned with this young Prince: yet wanted he not The Athenians were become as humble sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of fervants, as they had been in times past in- him that least ought, had not been most false. folent Masters: erecting as many statues in Cassander had raised an Army to withstand honour of Demetrius Phalereus, as there were his entry into Macedon: but little trust could daies in the year. This Demetrius was now he repole in that Army, whose wishes he pertheir Governour; and he governed them with ceived to be with Hercules. Therefore he Үүүү 2

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promifes; wherewith at length he prevailed Husband in his Camp. But neither any of fo far, that the old Villain was contented to those brave Captains, that were, in times folmurder his Pupil; chufing rather with ma- lowing fo hot in love with her, durft then ny curses and foul dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of Peloponnesus, and Com- ther, full of other cares, trouble himself with mander of an Army; than to purchase a providing her of an Husband. She therefore, noble fame with dangerous travel, in main- being a lufty Widow, suffered her blood for taining his faith, unto both his dead and li- far to prevail against her honour, that she

ving Soveraigns. Antigonus had not all this while been tainment of Paramours. Alexander hearing afleep; though his losses were hitherto the of this, turned it to a jest: saying, That she chief witnesses of his having been a stirrer in was his Sister, and must be allowed this lithese commotions. He thought it enough for berty, as her portion of the Empire. When him at the present to retain his own: and by his death the Empire lay in a manner therefore took order for the recovery of void, and the portion due to her therein those places which Ptolomy had taken pains grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had to win. As for the rest, it no way grieved been: then did many seek to obtain her. him to see Cassander incur the general hatred while she her self defired only a proper man, of men by committing those murders of with whom she might lead a merry life, To which the profit was like to redound unto this purpose did she invite Leonatus unto him that was the most powerful, or to see her; who made great haste, but was cut off Polysperchon and Ptolomy sweat in a busie by deathere he came to her presence. Now War against Cassander. If they would have at the last, after long tarrying, she had her continued their quarrels, he could well choice of all the great Commanders, Antigohave afforded them leisure, and have nus, Ptolomy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, bethought the time well fpent in beholding ing all her earnest Wooers. All these (Antitheir contentions. For he was throughly gonus excepted) had Wives already; Ptoloperswaded, that when the rest had wearied my had many Wives, and many Concubines themselves in vain with long strife, his Armies | whom he respected as much as his Wives beand Treasures, wherein he exceeded them ing noted of too much dotage in that kind. all, would bring all under. According to This hindred not his fute: peradventure it these haughty conceits, he demeaned him- advanced it, by giving to Cleopatra some hope felf among his followers; looking big upon of mutual toleration. To him therefore the them, and like a King before his time. This bequeathed her felf, and was taking her was it that caused so many of them to revolt journey from Sardes towards him; when from him: but it was no great loss to be Antigonus his Deputy in that City, made for saken by those that looked with envious her to stay, until his Masters further pleaeyes upon that fortune whereon their own fure should be known. Antigonus had now should have depended. Against this envy of a Wolf by the ears: he neither could well his men, and the malice of others, Antigo- hold har, nor durft let her go. She would

pire. lay for the most part in Sardes: whom he | yond her life; as the course taken by Cof. had a great desire to take to Wife. This his fander against Roxane (a Lady less respected defire was not without good hope: for how- than Alexanders own Sifter) did well tellifie. soever she discovered much unwillingness | Therefore he thought it the wisest way to thereunto, yet was she in his power, and procure her death: for to let any other enjoy might therefore be entreated, were it only the commodity of fo fair a title to the King. for fear of being enforced. But it was not dom, it was no part of his meaning. To this his purpose to get her by compulsive means: purpose he sent instructions to the Governor either because his fancy, being an old man, of sardes willing him in any case todo it se was not over-violent; or rather because his cretly. So the fact was committed, and cerambition, whereunto all his affections had tain women about her put in trust with the reference, could have made small use of her, murder: which women afterwards were put by doing fuch apparent wrong. She had to death, as mischievous conspirers against been married unto Alexander King of Epi- the life of that good Lady. So was Antigorus, after whose death she came to her Bro- nus freed from blame, at the least in his own

assailed Polysperchon himself with gifts and ther in Asia; hoping belike to find a new supplied the want of an Husband by entermus bufily fought a remedy, fuch as was like not be his Wife; he had no honest pretence to give him a goodly title to the whole Em- to force her; and to keep her prisoner, had been the way, by which he might have in-Cleopatra, Sister unto the great Alexander, curred a general hatred, lasting perhaps beAuthours.

Alexander the great extinguished, and it was der, and so restored the City to liberty. extinguished by the hands of such as thought I think it not impertinent, sometimes to cent blood, were foon after cast down, overthe ruins, as the sequel will declare.

ø. X.

How Demetrius, the fon of Antigonus, gave liberty to Athens, expelling the Garrisons of Callander out of those parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the Athenians to Antigonus and Demetrius.

name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill-beseemed the weaker, neither seemed it convenient in the judgebe thought equal to any name of Royaltie, whereof in feeming modelty, he was not co-Army, with a Navy of two hundred and fifty the Country free.

tred the Haven; it being thought that a out into loud acclamations: Demetrius Pha- till she had wound up the thred of his life,

opinion: but the world was less foolish, than lereus for fook the Town, and withdrew opinion to be so deluded. How the murther was himself to Thebes under safe conduct; only to be to detected, we need not ask: for feldom is the Garrison in Munychia strove to make detected, we need not all the detected, we need not all the bloody crime unrevealed, and never for good that piece, which after a while was ill smothered, as when great persons are the long of the bloody crime unrevealed, and never so of Munychia, Demetrius went to Megara; Thus was the whole race of Philip and whence he expelled the Garrison of Cassan-

upon nothing less than the execution of relate such accidents, as may seem no bet-Gods justice, due unto the cruelty of these ter than meer trisles: for even by trisles are powerful, but merciles Princes. Wherefore the qualities of great Persons as well disclothe ambitious frames, erected by these Ty- sed, as by their great actions; because in rants, upon fo wicked foundations of inno- matters of importance, they commonly strain themselves, to the observance of gewhelming themselves or their children, with neral commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their own Natures. The Lady Cratesipolis lay in Patras, and had a great defire to fee Demetrius; hoping, belike, that she might by his means better her estate, and recover her Towns of Sycion and Corinth, detained by Ptolomy; to whose Lieutenant in those places, Demetrius before his departure out of Greece, offered mony for the furrender of them. Yet the only bufiness pretended was love. He being One being left alive that had any title to the Kingdom; it ftood with good Country of Megara, and taking a company reason, that they which were Lords of the of his lightest armed, for guard of his per-Provinces, acknowledging no Superiour, lon, made a long journey to meet with should freely profess themselves Kings in ler. This troop also he caused to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might fee her when she came. As closely as the buwhile the strongest of all did forbear it : sines was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conment of Antigonus, to crown his last action ceived good hope, that the diligence of a with fuch a title, as if he had attained unto very few men might overthrow all the great greatness by that foul murder, the infamy preparations of Antigonus; and bring him whereof he was careful how to discharge to any terms of reason, by taking his dear from his own head. He purposed therefore fon prisoner. Their project fell but a little to undertake a plaufible enterprise, even the short of the effect. For they came so suddenliberty of Greece: whereby it was apparent, | ly upon him, that he had no better shift, than that he might get fuch honour as would not to muffle himself in an old cloak, and creep only drown all bad reports, but make him away disguised; leaving them to ransack his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medly of conditions; especially an extreme vetous. To this purpose he delivered a strong dissoluteness in wanton pleasures, and a painful industry in matter of War. He was of a fail, and five thousand talents of silver, unto most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, Demetrius his fon: willing him to begin at and a good wit; excellent in devising En-Athens, and thence to proceed, in fetting all gines of War, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how Demetrius came to Athens before he was to reform his bad fortune, than how to rule expected: fo that without refiftance he enmore active: prosperity puffed him with fleet of Ptolomy, Cassanders good friend, had over-weening, wherein he thought that he been arrived. But when it was known, might do what he lifted. His fortune was both who he was, and what was the cause changeable, as were his qualities: turning of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake often round, like the picture of her Wheel,

CHAP. V.

in such manner as followeth to be shewed. Oracle: or rather so weak is great power

business at Megara; he resolved no longer to attend the illue of a fiege, to affail Munychia by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of Athens: which, untill it was The great victory of Demetrius against Ptofully wrought out, he refused to enter into the City, Munychia was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the affault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that scoured the walls, prevailed upon the resolution of those that lay within it, and wan the place in two dayes. The walls, and all the defences of that piece against the Ci- of greater difficulty; meaning to employ ty, were levelled with the ground, and so his service against Ptolomy, in Cyprus, Bewas it freely put into the Citizens hands, fore his departure out of Greece, he was to whom withal was given their liberty, willed to establish a general Council, that with promife to aid them in maintain-should treat of matters concerning the com-

of any other victory gotten by Demetrius out of Imbros, committing their liberty enwith greater skill and industry. For the Athe- tire, into the peoples hands; whereby it nians, having forgotten how to employ their might appear, that as he would not perhands, laboured to make up that defect with mit any other to oppress the Greek, to their tongues: converting to base flattery, would he be far from doing it himself. This that eloquence of theirs which the vertues was enough to hold his reputation high,

manly arguments.

They decreed unto Antigonus and Demetrius the name of Kings; they consecrated mies. the place in which Demetrius leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their City, and | cyprus, through the indifcretion of Municipal Company, through the indifference of Municipal Company, the control of the cont built there an Altar, calling it of Demetrius lans, Ptolomies brother, and his Lieutenant The alighter; they called them by the names in that Ifle. Nicocles, King of Paphos, wasenof the gods their Saviours, ordaining that tred into some practice with Antigonus; yet every year, there should be chosen a Priest not so far that he thought himself pastexof these gods; and further, that such as were cuse; by which considence, he was perhaps employed by their State, in dealing with the more easily detected. To cut off this neeither of these two Princes, should not be gotiation, and the fall-hearted King of Pacalled Embassadours, but Theori, or Consul- phos at one blow, Menelans was sent thither: ters with the gods; like as were they, whom who furrounding Nicocles his house with they fent unto the Oracle of Jupiter or Souldiers, required, in Ptolomies name, to

all their flatteries, these being so gross. Here- him, that dye he must, and bad him come by they not only corrupted the young forth quietly. This desperate necessity caused Prince; but made that acclamation, which the unhappy King to rid himself of life; and best would have pleased the old man, to be his death strook such an impression into his of no use. For he could not handsomely wife, that she not only slew her self, but pertake upon him the name of King, as imposed | fwaded the wives of her husbands brethren by the Athenians, unless he would seem to to do the like. Also those brethren of Nice approve their vanity, in loading him with cles, unto whom Ptolomy had intended noill, more than humane honours. Yet was he fo being amazed with the suddenness of this tickled with this their fine handling him, calamity, did shut up the Palace, and setting that when their Theori or Confulters came it on fire, confumed it, with all that was in shortly after, defiring him to relieve them it, and themselves together. with Corn and Timber to build ships; he Whatsoever the crime objected was No. gave them almost a hundred thousand quar-cocles perished as a man innocent, because he ters of wheat, and matter fufficient to make was not fuffered to make his answer. Othis chundred Collins of the chundred Colli a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first fad accident, though Menelaus deserved the

Returning to his Camp, and finishing his in resisting the assaults of flattery.

o. XI.

lomy in Cyprus. How Antigonus and Demetrius took upon them the stile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.

Rom this glorious work, Antigonus called away Demetrius, unto a bufiness mon good of the Country. About the same The fame of this action was lowder, than time Antigonus withdrew his own Garrison of their Ancestors had suited unto more among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that he should convert his forces, to the winning of ground upon his Ene-

A pittiful Tragedy had lately hapned in have him yielded to the death. Nicocles It were a frivolous diligence to rehearse offered to clear himself; but Menelaus told

the furthest removed occasion.

Not long abover fufficient, against any fissance they could, he with the rest of the opposition that Ptolomy was like to make. Fleet, puts to Sea against Ptolomy. The Cypriots did little or nothing against the cyrine because they had small strength, and continued long, with doubtful success. nim, can they held it a matter indifferent, of for that they held it a matter indifferent, and they held it a matter indifferent, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, and they held it a matter indifferent indifferen whom they acknowledged as their Lord, whom the that they should not themselves wing of his own Fleet. Each of them prebring an area of their own Country. Mene vailed against the squadron wherewith he have therefore, out of his Garrifons, drew encountred; but the fuccess of Demetrius forth an Army, and fought with Demetrius. was to better purpose. For his victory in one felf within the walls of Salamis, where he was order, and finally drave all to betake themreturningto him, with the first opportunity, fave himself, in hope of better event, that Most of them were Mercenaries: but all might follow some other time. their goods were in Egypt, which was enough

of Sycion and Corinth.

better flored with weapons fit for that fer-the Haven: which they manfully performed, vice; and very well furnished with Engines as great necessity required. in the prows, to beat upon the enemy. Ne-

blame, for his rigorous proceeding; yet it on his back: in which case, it was very likeblame, 101 ms rigorous processing 2 to the back; in which cale, it was very like is to be thought, that much difflike fell also ly that all would go very ill with him. is to be thought, as men that are grieved, cast Against this mischiet, he bestowed ten of his upon Plolomy: as men that are grieved, cast Against this mischiet, he bestowed ten of his upon Prounty. as men upon those that gave own Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to an ill affection even upon those that gave Not long after this, Demetrius came into his horsemen on the shore, to give what af-

The fight began early in the morning, But he was beaten, and driven to fave him- part was such, as caused others to fall out of ich wannamen der der without frong fuc- felves unto speedy flight. As for Ptolomy, he cour, he had no likehood to make good the was fain to leave his advantage upon the place, much less to retain possession of the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might whole Illand. His greatest help at the present relieve and animate those of his own which was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no needed him in another; wherein he found his rewards could win from him, nor good usage loss over great to be repaired, by contend-(when any of them were taken prisoners, and ing any longer against the fortune of that inrolled in the enemies bands) keep from day; and therefore he laboured only to

There fell out in this battel no unufual to keep them faithful. Yet could not this accident; yet was the victory greater than their resolution have stood long against the could have been expected. The occasions odds of number, which Demetrius had of men whereof were, partly the great skill in Seaas resolute, and against his terrible Engines services, which the Greeks and Phenicians of battery, if Ptolomy had not hasted to the that were with Demetrius, had above those which followed Ptolomy: partly, the good Prolomy brought with him a hundred and furniture of the Ships, wherein confifted no forty Gallies, besides two hundred Ships of less, than in the quality of those with whom burden, for transporting his Army and Car- they were manned. Further, we may reariages. This Fleet made a terrible flew, fonably judge, that the two hundred thips of when it was descried afar 5 though more burthen, carrying the strength of Ptolomies than half of it was unfit for service in fight Army, did not more encourage his own men, at Sea. Wherefore tomake the opinion of and terrifie his enemies the day before the his forces the more dreadful, Ptolomy fent fight, than breed in each part the contrary unto Demetrius a threatning message: willing affections, when in the beginning of the fight him to be gone, unless he would be over- they fell off, and ftood aloof. For though it whelmed with multitudes, and trampled to were fitting that they should so do; yet a death in a throng. But this young gallant re- imultitude, prepoficifed with vain conceits, payd him with words of as much bravery, will commonly apprehend very flight occapromifing to let him escape upon condition, fions to think themselves abandoned. Bethat he should withdraw his Garrisons out sides all this, the expectation that Menelaus, issuing with his fleet out of Salamis should Demetrius had no more than one hundred charge the enemy in the stern, was utterly and eighteen Gallies; but they were, for frustrate. He was kept in perforee, by the the most part, greater than those of *Ptolomy*; ten ships appointed to bar up the mouth of

Such disappointment of expectation doth vertheless he frood in great doubt of three-much abate the courage of men in fight; fcore Gallies that lay in the Haven of Sala-effectially of the affailants: whereas on the mis, lest Menelans with them should set up-contrary, they find that some part of their

fears vain, do eafily gather hopeful spirits, Thus marched he fair and foftly forward and conceive an opinion of their own abili-with a great throng at his heels (that fervol ty, to do more than they thought upon, out well to fet out his Pagcant) untill hecame in of their not fuffering the harm that they had fight of Antigonus, who could not contain imagined.

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were, the fruit was very great. For Ptolomy stodemus, upon the sudden, with a high had no more than eight Gallies that accom- voyce falute Antigonus by the name of Kings banied him in his flight: all the rest of his uttering the greatness of the victory (with fleet was either taken or funk. Neither did as much pomp, as before he had covered in Menclaus any longer strive against the vio- with silence) in the hearing of all the prolence of fortune; but yielded up all that he ple; who with loud acclamations, gavether held in Cyprus, together with his Army, con- name of King, both to Antigonus and his fon fifting of twelve thousand foot, and a thou- Demetrius. Antigonus, in requital of the long fand and two hundred horse, and those Gal- suspence, wherein Aristodemus had held him. lies in the Haven of Salamis. The same de- said, That it should also be long ere herejection of spirit was found in the common ceived his reward. But the Title of King, Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as together with the Diademe, which his that had served the Egyptian by Land; none friends did set on his head, he could not of them reposing any more confidence in wish a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore Ptolong, but willingly becoming followers he readily accepted them, and fent the like of a new Lord, whose Army they now in- to his son. creafed.

depended on the event of this fight, than the Kings; it was not long ere their fellows were Ifle of Cyprus, for which they contended. ready to follow the good example. Ptolomy Wherefore the common expectation was his friends would by no means endure, that great; especially Antigonus, whomit most their Lord should be thought a mandejestconcerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, ed for the loss of a fleet; therefore they sathinking every day a year, till he were ad- luted him also King. Lysimachus in Thrace had vertised of the islue. In this mood Aristode- boldness enough to put the Diadem about mus found him, a noble flatterer, whom De- his own head. Seleucus had, before this metrius had honoured with the Message of time, among the barbarous people, taken these good news. Aristodemus had be- upon him as King: but now he used the stille thought himself of a trick, whereby to indifferently, as well among the Greek and double the welcome of his joyful errand: | Macedonians, as in dealing with others On-He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a ly Cassander held himself contented with his good distance from the shore; he himself own name whereby, howsoever he might landed in a Cock-boat, which he fent imme- shadow his pride, he no way lessened the diately back to the ship; and so all alone same of his cruelty against his Masters house. he went forward, looking very fadly, that But the name which he forbore, his forsafno part of his tidings might appear in his ter him were bold to usurp, though with countenance. Report of his arrival (for it ill fuccess, as will appear when they shall was not known where he had been) came enter upon the Stage, whereon these old prefently to Antigonus, who fent Messenger | Tragedians, under new habits, as no lonafter Messenger to meet him on the way, and ger now the same persons, begin to play bring speedy word how all went. But nei- their parts, with bigger looks, and more ther any answer, nor so much of a look, as boistrous actions, not with greater grace might intimate the purport of his errand, and judgement, than in the Scenes already could be won from this demure Gentleman. past.

himself, but went down to meet him at the Whatloever the causes of this victory Gate, and hear the news. Then did drive

When it was once noyfed abroad, that It was generally believed, that much more | Antigonus and Demetrius called themselves

CHAP.

of the Wars between the Kings of Egypt, Afia, Macedon, Thrace, and others untill all Alexanders Princes were consumed.

y. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus against Egypt, with ill success.

of the Navy Demetrius was Admiral.

he made : thinking by celerity to pre- ill attended. cover: Demetrius himself, with the best and leaving Egypt,

LI the rest of these Kings had strongest vessels, did so long bear it up taken that name upon them, in against the wind, that all his fresh water imitation of Antigonus himself, was spent; in which extremity, he and all as befeeming his greatness: his must have perished, had not the tempest which was such as gave him ceased when it did, and Antigonus appeared hope to fwallow them up, together with in fight, from whom these over-wearied, their new titles. Being not ignorant of his thirsty and Sea-beaten Souldiers received own ftrength, he resolved to single out relief. After these painful travels, there Ptolomy, and make him an example to followed a War no less painful than to little others; who should hardly be able to stand, purpose; for Ptolomy had so fortified all the when the greatest of them was fallen. To passages upon the River of Nilus, as he asthis purpose he prepared an army of eight- sured himself either to end the war there, or teen thousand foot, and eight thousand if his guards should happen to be forced, yet horse, with fourscore and three Elephants; could it not be done but so much to the as likewife a fleet of an hundred and fifty weakning of the Affailants, as he should af-Gallies, and a hundred ships of burthen, terward, with a second Army (which he The Land forces he commanded in person: held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that Antigonus When all was ready for the journey, the fought, was to come to blows speedily: Pto-Sea-men advised him to stay yet eight days lomy on the contrary, to beat Antigonus by longer, and expect the fetting of the Plei- the belly. It is true that Nilus gave him waades. But his hasty defire to prevent all pre- ter enough, but wood he had none to warm parations for refiftance that Ptolomy should it: and while Antigonus affaulted the Rammake, rejected this counsel; imputing it piers, raised upon the River, in vain, Ptolomy rather to their fear than skill: wherefore he affayed the faith of his fouldiers, with good departed from Antigonia (a Town which success; for, with great gifts, and greater he had built in syria, and called after his promifes, he ferried them over so fast, as had own name, that was foon changed into Se- not Antigonus thrust some assured Regiments leucia, by his mortal enemy) and came to upon the passages next the enemy, and in Gaza, where he met with his Fleet. The the mean while taken a resolution to renecrer that he drew to Egypt, the more haste turn, Ptolomy had turned him out of Egypt

vail more than by his great power. He Some of them indeed he laid hands on, caused his Souldiers to carry ten dayes pro- in the way of their escape, and those he put vision of Victuals; and had many Camels to death with extreme torments; but in all loaden with all necessaries for passing the likelihood with the same ill success that Per-Defarts, over which he marched with no diceas had formerly done, when he invaded fmall toil, though he met with no refistance. Egypt, had he not readily removed his Ar-At Mount Galfas, which is near adjoyning my further off, from the noyfe of their ento Nilm, he faw his Fleet riding at Anchor, tertainment, that had already been won not far from the shore, in ill case, and many from him. To prevent therefore as well Ships wanting. It had been forely beaten the prefent danger of his stay, as the shame with foul weather, wherein some were lost, following a forc'd retrait, he secretly praothers driven back to Gaza, or cattered ctifed the advice of his Councel, upon whom ellewhere into such creeks as they could re-

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tt is more icis prejudicia. and losses, be where the advantage of power, and of all cates, that errors, dimonours, and other warlike provision promised him vi-laid on Counsellors and Captains, than on other warlike provision promised him vi-Kings; on the Directed, than on the Dire- Ctory. things; on the Enected, than out and reputation of a At this time the City of Rhodes was very cross for the honour and reputation of a Prince is far more precious than that of a mighty, being well governed, and having Vrince is far more precious than that of a linguisty seeing the gottlett, and naying Vallal. Charls the fifth as many other Prin long held it felf in good Neutrality 5 it drew valual. Charts the intigas many other training and differences have done, laid the loss and differences, by the parts, and therein a great deal of richesto way of Provence, to Antonie de Leva, whee it felf; to maintain which, and to encrease ther justly or no, I know not; but howfo- it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Flee ever, all the Historians of that time agree, of well armed Ships, by which it not only that the forrow thereof cost that brave Cap- beat off all Pyrates and petty Theeves, but tain his life. Certainly to give any violent the reputation of their frength was thereby advice in doubtful enterprifes is rather a fo much increased, as all the neighbour testimony of love, than of wisdom, in the Princes fought their alliance and confedent giver; for the ill fuccess is always cast upon racy. the Counsel, the good never wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet they must either refuse all that soughthem, I have fometime knownit, that great Com- and fo ftand friendless and apart; or joyn manders, who are for the prefent in place of themselves to some one, and thereby foregoe Kings, have not only been diffwaded, but the peace, by which their greatnes had held, in a kind, by ftrong hand, from haz-grown) their affections carried them to the zarding their own persons, and yet have Egyptian: both because the greatest part of those kind of Mutiners never been called to their trade lay that way, as also for that Ana Marshals Court.

ø. II.

How the City of Rhodes was befieged by De-

it many dead carcalles, and a great paration, to purfue the War aganst them deal of joy in Egypt. Ptolomy held a folemn openly and ftrongly. All things foon after Feast, and sent Messengers abroad, loaden ordered according to the greatness of the with glad news, to Sciencus, Lysimachus, and enterprise, he employed his Son Demarius Cassander, his Confederates: strongly encou- against them in their own Island, who raging all that fide, with the report of this brought fuch terror upon the Citizens, that his late felicity, though it appeared but in a laying afide all respect of friendship and ho defensive War. Antigonus on the contra- nour, they offered him their affiftance and ry, flattered himself with another interpre- fervice against whomsoever. Demetring, who tation, calling the joyes of his enemies for knew from whence this change came, and witnesses of his own greatness, seeing they that the alteration was perswaded by arose but from so little things: his enemies fear, and not by love; raised his demands being but bare favers by the last bargain, to an intolerable height, requiring a hunand himself, as he supposed, having lost but dred Hostages to be delivered him, and lia little time, and no part of his honour in berty to lodge in their Port as many hips of the late retrair. Howfoever it were yet he War as himfelf pleafed. These conditions, meant to follow his affairs henceforth in more properly to be imposed upon a State another fashion; for that which he could not cleave a funder by great blows, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by another off the hearder fashion. cutting off the branches first, to fell the lost courage, and made them resolve to de-Tree it self with the more facility. To effect fend their liberty to the last manthis taught which, he refolved (leaving the great ones them to infranchife all their able bond-men, to grow awhile) to root up the Dependants and wifely rather to make them their felof his Enemies: Dependants, whom the low-Citizens, than to make themselves felfore-named Confederates should be forc't low-slaves with them. cither torelieve, or to lose; and hereby he Demetrius having refused the fair condi-

It is indeed less prejudicial in fuch like doubted not to draw them into the field,

In this fo dangerous a time (in which tigonus his disposition, greatness, and neighbourhood was fearful unto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to Antigonus, who began to declare himself against them by petty injuries, of taking fome of their ships, with such other griev-His departure of antigonus, left behind ances, while he made a more weighty pre-

tions offered (as the Rhodians the fearful ones propounded unto them) makes preparation for a long fiege, and finding no appearance to carry the place in fury, he fet in hand with his Engines of battery; in the invention and use of which he did never shew himself a greater Artisan, than in this War. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had fuftained all the affaults given them for a hand Army into Greece, quickly drave whole year, after many brave fallies out of cassander, out of Attica; and pursuing his

Officers of the City.

CHAP. VI.

us had formerly taken from him; neither did try, bestowing liberty upon such as needed Caffander make the War as in former times, it. The Town of Sicyon he translated by fuccess) did Polysperchon invade Peloponnesus. gotten by fetting all Greece at liberty.

ther it were not lawful to call him a god. gods, and just with men. The Priests which attended in the Temple of Hammon, gave the same fair answer for tent themselves with the style of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

ø. III.

How Demetrius prevailed in Greece. Caffander desires peace of Antigonus, and cannot obtain it. Great preparations of War against Antigonus.

Emetrius coming with a strong Fleet the Town, and the famine which they en- fortune, ichased him beyond the straits of dured within the Town, which had proved Thermopple. Herein his reputation did much farmore extream, if Ptolony had not with avail him; which was fo great, that fix manyhazzards relieved them, Demetrius by thouland of his enemies Souldiers revolted mediation of the Grecian Embassadors, gave unto him. So, partly by the greatness of his over the fiege; a hundred hostages they gave name, partly by force, he recovered in short him for performance of the peace made, but | space all that Cassander held in those straits, with exception of all the Magistrates and and giving liberty unto the people, he beflowed upon the Athenians those pieces, Hereunto Demetrius was brought by the which had been fortified against them, to usual policy of War, and State: for while block them up. Then went he into Pelowith the flower of all his Fathers forces he ponnesus, where he found the like, or more lay before Rhodes, Cassander recovered ma- easie success: for he suddenly took Argos, ny of those places in Greece, which Demetri- | Corinth, Sicyon, and the most of the Coun-

by practice and surprise, but by a strong and consent of the Citizens, from the old seat well compounded army, which he himself into another place, and called it after his lead as far as into Attica, and therewith own name, Demetrius. This done, he betook greatly distressed and endangered Athens it himself to his pleasure. At the Isthman games self. On the other side (though with less | he caused himself to be proclaimed Captain General of Greece, as Philip and Alexander These dangerous undertakings upon Greece, had been in former times: whereupon (as advised the Athenians and Ætolians to di- if he were now become as great as Alexanspatch their Embassadors towards Demetri- der) he despised all others, making it a w, and advised Demetrite rather to abandon matter of jest, that any, save himself or his the enterprise of Rhodes, than to abandon father, should usurp the Name of King. But the great honour which he had formerly in his behaviour he was so farr unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leasure, he Demetrius was no sooner out of the Island, deserved none other name than of a drunthan that the Rhodians erected Statues in ken Palliard. Yet were the Athenians as reahonour of Lysimachus and Cassander; but for dy as ever to devise new honours for him: Ptolomy, whom they most affected, and from among which they made one Decree, That whom they received their most relief, they whatsoever King Demetrius should comconsulted with the Oracle of Jupiter, whe mand, ought to be held sacred with the

All Greece being now at the disposition of Antigonus, Cassander stood in great fear, lest Ptolomy, which they had formerly done for the war should fall heavily upon him in Alexander his Master; for as Alexander con- Macedon: which to avoid, he knew no betfulted the Oracle with an Army at his heels, ter way than to make peace with his enefo was Ptolomy at this time Lord of the foil: mies betimes. And to that purpose he sent and yet was this a far more cleanly creation Embassadors; but had no better answer than that done by the Athenians, who dei- from Antigonus, than that he should submit fied Antigonus and Demetrius by decree of his whole estate to his discretion. This proud the people. A mad age it was, when so ma- demand made him look about him, and lany of Alexanders Captains could not con- bour hard in folliciting his friends, both to affift him, and take heed to themselves; neither found he them flow in apprehending the common danger: for Lysimachus knew

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that if once Cassander had lost Macedon, De- end he might not be driven to leave any that it once canadate had been of Thrace. part of his Army for defence of the Coun-Metrius would look be vialtet to the Country and that his journey might be without. Neither were Ptolomy and Selencus igno-trey; and that his journey might be without. rant of that which was like to befall them, any fuch blemish of reputation, as if he had rant of that which was fine to but himself in abandoned his Dependants: for one Article it Antigonus were unifered to put limited.

of the Peace was that all the Cities of Grave wherefore it was agreed, that with joint should be at liberty. Cassander was glad to forces they should all together set upon the be so rid of an Enemy that was too strong common enemy.

all their preparations, faying, That he would contrariwife than they did in Afasteeingthe as easily scatter them, as a flock of birds ratification thereof was referred unto Antiare driven away with a frone. With these gonus. It sufficed, that for the presenters conceits he pleased himself, and no way hin-ry one found means to clear himself of all dred the proceedings of his Enemy. He lay incumbrances elfe-where, to the end that atthat time in his Town of Antigonia (a name each of them might freely apply himlest that it must shortly lose) where he was care to the tryal of the main controversiein. fully providing to fet out some stately game Asia. and Pageants, in oftentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous news of Lysimachus his victories about Hellespont. For Cassander had committed un- How Antigonus was slain in a great battel at to Lysimachus part of his forces, wherewith topass over into Asia, while he himself with the rest should oppose Demetrius on Europe fide. So Lysimachus passing the Hellessont, Selencus, with his Son Antiochus, joyning began to make hot war upon the subjects of With Lysimachus, compounded a great Antigonus; getting some of the Cities in Army, which was (all considered) notinthose parts, to joyn with him by fair means: feriour to that of the Enemy. In greatness winning others by force, and wasting the of name (that helpeth much in all Wars,

Countrey round about. tigonus made hasty journeys, and came soon adversaries: for Antigonus had of long time enough to recover his losses, but not strong kept them under with a mastering spirit, and enough to drive Lyfmachus home, or com- had been reputed a King indeed, when the pel him to come to battel. Lysimachus waited rest were held but Usurpers of the Title, for the coming of Selencus; keeping him-Likewise Demetrius was generally acknowfelf the whilest from necessity of fighting, ledged a brave Commander, having given But Babylon was far off; and Seleucus his proof of his worth in many great lervices preparations were too great to be foon in a of all kinds, and enriched the art of war readiness. The Winter also did hinder his with many inventions, which even his enejourney : which inforced them on both mies, and particularly Lyfimachus, did much fides to rest in some quiet, without perform- admire. Selenens, who had some times slating any matter of importance. This delay tered Antigonus, and fearfully ftolinaway of debating the quarrel in open field, held from him to fave his live, with young dmiall those Nations in a great suspence, and ochus, a Prince not heard of before this jourbred much expectation. Yet might all have ney; and Lysimachus, that had lived loogin come to nothing, had not Antigonus been fo a corner, hardly keeping his own from the forward, that he refused to yield upon any wilde Thracians; wanted much in reputation peaceable conditions. At length selencus on of that which was yielded to their oppodrew neer with a mighty Army of his own fites: yet so, that as ancient Captains under (for he had gathered strength in that long Philip and Alexander, two of them were time of leafure, which Antigorus had given held worthy enough to receive any benefit him) and with great aid from Ptolomy, that that fortune might give, and the third a was joyned with his forces.

To help in this needful case, Demetrius to make experience. was called over into Affa by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his most part hardy and well exercised: many departure out of Greece, he made peace with of them having ferved under Alexander Cassader, upon reasonable terms: to the though of those old Companies, the long

for him. Yet would this league have done Hereof Antigonus had notice:but formed him little good, if things had fallen out:

o. IV.

Iphis, neer unto Ephefus; wherein his whole estate was lost.

but especially in the Civil) they were ra-To repress this unexpected boldness, An- ther unanswerable than unequal to their Prince of great hope, whereof he now came

CHAP. VI. good Captain.

> private with his fon whom he commended blesome life. to the Army as his Successor: whereas in racle, had chanced.

charged valiantly upon young Antiochus; rified upon his Son. whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was fo transported with the heat of his good success, that he never gave over his pursuit, but left his Father naked, and lost thereby both him, and the victory. For when seleucus perceived this advantage, he enterposed his Elephants, between Demetrius and the Phalanx of Antigonus; and with many troops of horse offering to break up-

fpace of two & twenty years had confirmed on the enemies battel, wherefoever it lay space of two & Cherry, But concerning their most open, he did so terrifie the Antigonians, the greatest number. Substance of Scharger was that a most open, he did so terrifie the Antigonians, the greatest quantities affections, the followers of selencer were that a great part of them rather chose to affections, the control of the state of the eany permanent the upper hand, or put in fairly invited, than to fustain the fury of fo muttermer get all that belonged unto the dangerous an impression. This cowardize, extreme uning in the covardize, Confederate Princes; whereas Antigonus or rather treason of some, discouraged Contestate a lines, and other necessity of others; and finally, cast them all into flight; nismentonia the obliniate quality of their exposing their General to the last end of his lightings that needs would be Mafter of all. destinies Antigonus was then four core Lord that had about threefcore and ten years olds every fat and unwildy, fo that he thouland foot, ten thouland horse, and three- was unape for flight, if his high spirit could thousand force and fifteen Elephants. His enemies have entertained any thought thereof. He were fix thouland fhort of him in number of had about him fome of his most trusty foltheir foot; in horse they had the odds of lowers, and as many others as he could hold fivehundred; of Elephants they had four together. When one that perceived a great hundred, and an hundred and twenty arm-troop making towards his person, told ed Chariots of War: which helps, though him, Sir King, jonder company means to they little had availed the Persians, yet were charge you; He answered, Well may they; they not to be despised, in the hands of a for who defends me? but anon Demetrius will relieve us. Thus expecting to the ve-Antigonus himself, either troubled with ry last, that his Son should come to the rethe unexpected greatness of his enemies sque, he received so many Darts into his forces, or prefaging little good like to en- body, as took away his lately ambitious but fue, grew very penlive, communing much in then fearful hopes, together with his trou-

His great ability in matter of Arms, former times he had never been so jocund, together with his unsatiable defire of Emas towards the hour of battel, nor had pire, have fufficiently appeared in the been accultomed to make his son, or any whole Volume of his actions. He was other private to his counsel, before it requi- more feared by his enemies, than loved by red execution. Other tokens of bad luck, his friends; as one that could not modeeitherforegoing the fight, or afterwards de- rate his fortune, but used insolence tovised, I hold it needless to recount. Diana of ward all alike, as if it had been some Ephefus dwelt neer to the place of battel, a vertue neerest representing a Kingly Mabusic goddess in many great fights; and jesty. This was the cause that so many of therefore likely to have been thrust into the his followers revolted to his enemies; fable, if any matter neerly resembling a mi- and finally, that a great part of his Army forfook him in his last necessity. For It is easie to believe, that these two so those Kings and Princes that call all the gallant Armies, containing well neer all the carefull indeavours of their Vassals, only strength of Alexanders whole Empire, per- duty and debt; and are more apt to puformed a notable fight, being led by fuch nish the least offences, than to reward the worthy Commanders, and whom the iffue greatest services: shall find themselves upthereof did highly concern. Yet are few of on the first change of fortune, (feeing it the particulars recorded: an easie loss in re- is love only that stayes by adversity) not gard of the much variety, wherewith every only the most friendless, but even the story aboundeth in this kind. The most me- most contemptible, and despised of all morable things in the battel, were these: other. This Antigonus found true in part, Demetrius with his best force of horse, while he lived; in part he left it to be ve-

after his overthrow, was reconciled to Seleucus and Ptolomy, beginning a new fortune, and shortly entring into quarrels.

OR Demetrius, at his return from the troops to re-inforce the Army which science idle purfuit of young Antiochus, finding led, who took hold of a part of Affa the lefs. all quite loft, was glad to fave himself, with and all syria, being no otherwise dyided four thousand horse, and five thousand foot, from his own Territory, than by the River by a speedy retrait unto Ephesius, whence he of Euphrates, For there had not any order made great haste unto athers, as to the been taken by the Confederates for the diplace, that for his fake would fuffer any ex- vilion of all those Lands: because the tremity. But whilest he was in the midst of not expect so prosperous an illus of that his course thither, the Athenian Embasia- War, which they made only in their own dours met him with a decree of the people, common defence. It was therefore lawful which was, that none of the Kings should for selencus, to make the best benefit thathe be admitted into their City. These were could of the Victory, at which nevertheles Embassadours, not Theori, or Consulters others did repine; and though they neither with the Oracle. It was a shameless ingra-could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for titude in the Athenians, to reward their the present, yet seeing the over-grangs of Benefactor, in his mifery, with such a decree: Seleneus brought no less danger to the rest neither did any part of his calamity more of the new Kings, than that of Anticonus afflict the unfortunate Prince, than to see his had done, they consulted upon the same reaadverfity despised by those whom he had son of State as before, how to oppose it in thought his furest friends. Yet was he fain time, Neither was selencus ignorant of what to give good words. For he had left many they had determined; for he read it in the of his ships in their Haven, of which he now Law universal of Kingdoms and States, needflood in great need; and therefore was fain ing no other intelligence. Hereupon they to speak them fair, that sometimes had grof. forget friendships on all sides, and one ly flattered him. But he shall live to teach themselves of all unprostable passion: the them their old language, and speak unto hatred of each to other, and their lows them in another tune. When he had goting laid on the one side, against their profits ted his ships, he sailed to the Islamus, where on the other, were found to far too light, as he found nothing but matter of discomfort. Selencus, who had to day flain Antigonus the His Garrisons were every where broken up; Father, and driven Demetrius the son out of the Souldiers having betaken themselves to Asia, sought to morrow how to match him his enemies pay. So that he was King only lelf with Stratonica, Demetrius his Daugh of a finall Army and Fleet, without mony or ter; and fo by Demetrius to ferve his means wherewith to fustain him and his fol- turn against Lysmachus. lowers any long time. All the reft, or the The flory of this Stratonica, with whom greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, young Antigonus, the Son of Selences fell lo was now in dividing among the Conque- passionately in love, and so diftempered, as rors, and those few places which as yet held Selenew his Father, to fave his Sonsillegave for him (having not perchance heard the her (though the were his Wife) unto him; worst of what had happened) he no way and how his passion was discovered by his knew how to relieve: for to put himfelf in-pulle, is generally noted by all Writers But to the field on that fide of the Sea, he had neither did this alliance between selences no power; and to inclose himself in any of and Demetrius; between Ptolomy and Lyfthem, how firong foever, were but to impri- machin; between Demetrius and Coffander; fon his fortune, and his hopes, or therein in- between Demetrius and Ptolomy, though deed to bury himself and his chate: He for the present it brought him again into therefore creeping thorow those bushes that the rank of Kings; otherwise tye any of had fewest bryers, fell upon a corner of Ly-them to each other, than the marriage be simaehus his Kingdom, whereof he gave all tween Christian Kings have done in latter the fooil that was gotten, to his Souldiers, times, namely between the Austrians, the his own loss having been too great to be Aragonians, the French, and other Princes, repayed again by small prizes.

ces had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Provinces, of which How Demetrius, forfaken by the Athenians their late victory had made them Lords: wherein Seleucus had a notable advantage by being present, and Master of the field for neither Ptolomy nor Cassander were at the overthrow given, having only fent certain

neither have the Leagues of those elder In the mean while the Confederate-Printimes been found more faithful, than those tones or compensation of Francis the First, thousand talents of his Fathers Treasure, charutte compress Naples, Dukes of Millan, that would ferve him to make sport a while, and of the Kings of Naples, Dukes of Millan. and others, the Reader may observe : beand outers, the the year of our Lord one gry terms he demanded the Cities of Tyre tween whom and five, when and sidon, to be furrendred unto him; which Charls the Eighth undertook the Conquest were the only places in Syria, that had not died; the Histories of those times tell us, that all the bonds, either by the Bed or by the Book, either by Weddings or Sacramental Oaths, had neither faithful purpose this profit by giving his Daughter to his from Plistarchus, the Brother of Cassander, who had gotten it as his share in the divifion of Antigonus his poslessions: for the Intruder was not ftrong enough to hold it by his proper forces, from him that entred upon it as a lawful heir; neither would selen- found friends out of envy to the stronger. cus lend him any help, as by the Rule of Confederacy he should have done against the common enemy. So Plistarchus with very angry complaint, as well against seleucus as Demetrius, went unto Caffander; whither Phila, their Sifter, followed him thortly, to pacifie them both, and keep all quiet; being fent for that purpose by Demetrius her Husband, that was not strong enough to deal with Caffander; and therefore glad to make use of that bond of alliance beany good, otherwise than might seem to ad-

have been contented better, that Demetrius, Father-in-law upon the neck of Lysimachus; City, both by Land and Sea. or whether he were indeed greedy of the bargain; he offered to buy of Demetrius for multitude within it, any long time: for it Hereunto Demetrius would not hearken, but command of those Islands, and places abroad,

vance their own ambitious defires.

of the same latter times have been, as in the meant to keep as much Land as he could, of the name and the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of Rories of Charls the Eighth of France, and the Eighth of France, Course the Lagrant and One thougand five lann- followed the fortune of the late great baror trape, and cight, when Henry the Second tel. Instead of giving them up, Demetrins took present order to have them better maned; and spake it stoutly, That were he overcome a thousand times, yet would he not hire Seleucus to become his Son-in-law. nor performance. Yet did Demetrius reap In this quarrel seleucus was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, enemy scleucus, that he recovered silicia that would break friendship with his Father-in-law for two Towns, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govern. But the fire confumed it felf in words, which had it fastned upon arms, like it is that the weaker thould have

ø. VI.

How Demetrius wan the City of Athens, and prevailed in Greece, but lost in Asia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of Caffander.

IN the mean while, the Athenians not knowing how to use the liberty which Demetrius had bestowed on them, were twixt them, whereof in his own prosperity, fallen by sedition, under the Tyranny of Lahe never took notice to the others good. | chares. Through which alteration their di-About the same time he took to Wife a stemperedCity was so weakned, that it seem-Daughter of Ptolomy (plurality of Wives being familiar with these Macedonians, that had learned it in their Eastern Conquests) hastened him, whom they had once called and so was he by two marriages rather freed their God and Saviour, to present himself unfrom two enemies, than strengthened with to them, in the habit of a revenging fury. He two friends; for neither of them wished him brought against them'all the force that he could well spare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, seleucus and Ptolomy could both of them because his doubtful Eastern friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any busiwith help of their countenance, should feek ness, that might entangle him in Greece. His his fortune somewhat farther off, than first enterprise in Athens had ill success; a fettle his estate under their noses. Particular- great part of his Fleet perishing in a tempest. ly, seleucus thought that Cilicia lay very fit- But he foon repaired the loss; and (after ly for himself: and Ptolomy had a great ap- some Victories in Peloponness, where he wan petite (which yet he concealed a while) to divers Towns that had fallen from him) rethe Isle of Coprus. Now whether it were so, turning to the enterprise, wasted the Counthat Selencus would fain have set his new try of Attica, and cut off all relief from the

Athens was not able to feed the great ready money, his late purchase of Cilicia. stood in a barren soil, and wanted now the CHAP. VI

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from whence it was wont to be stored with two younger Brethren, Antipater and Alexvictuals, being also destitute of means to ander, sought for the Kingdom. In this quarkeep fuch a Navy as might bring in fupply, rel Thessalonica the Daughter of King Philip. or dare to do any thing at Sea, against that whom Cassander had married, seemed better of Demetrius. Yet was there some hope of affected to Alexander, than to her elder Son. fuccour from Ptolomy, who (trusting thereby to win the love of Greece) had loaden an barbaroully he flew his own Mother. The hundred and fifty ships with Corn, and sent odiousness of this fact gave a fair lustre to them to relieve the hungry City. But these Alexanders cause: drawing the generality hundred and fifty were unable to deal with of the Macedons to take his part, as in rethree hundred good fighting-ships, which venge of the Queens death, upon that wick-Demetrius had rather they feared to be- ed parricide Antipater. But Antipaterwas conie a prey to him, and therefore hasted so strongly backed by Lysimachus, whose them away betimes, as having done enough, Daughter he had married; that Alexander in adventuring to come so near that they could not hope to make his party good with might be described. This brake the heart out some forein aid. For which cause he of the people, among whom the famine was called in both Pyrrhus and Demetrius; who 6 extreme, that a Father and his Son did how they dealt with him, it will soon appear fight for a dead Mouse, which dropped in the following Tragedy, of him and his down between them from the house top. Brother. Their Father Cassander had been Wherefore they fent Embaffadours to yield one that shifted well for himself, at such time up the Town, and crave pardon, having fo as every man fought how to get somewhat. far offended, that out of desperation, they in the ill-ordered division of the EmpireHe made it a capital offence to propose any mo- was cunning in practice, and a good Soultion of peace. Yet were they fain to abo- dier : one of more open dealing than were lish this Decree, rather because they knew his Companions, but withall more impudent. not what elfe to do than because they hoped rudely killing those, whom others would to be forgiven.

the Victory, did net only forbear to take knocked his head against a wall, upon some away the lives of these unthankful men, opinion of contempt. With Olympias he had which they had submitted unto his mercy; an hereditary quarrel, derived from his Fabut out of his liberality gave them food, and ther, whom the could not abide. Her femiplaced in Office amongst them such as were nine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelmost acceptable to the people. Nevertheless ty that she used against his friends, both live he was grown wifer than to trust them so far and dead; as it made him adventure upon as he had done in times past. And there-shedding the Royal blood: wherewith, fore, when (among other flattering accla- when once he had flained his hands, hedid mations) they bade him take their Havens, not care how far he proceeded in that course and dispose of them at his pleasure; he was of murder. His carefulness to destroy those ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave women and children, whose lives hindred a fure Garrison within their Walls, to keep his purpose, argues him to have been rather them honest perforce. After this he went skilful in matters of Arms, than a valiant into Peloponnesus, vanquished the Lacedamo- man: such cruelty being a true mark of conians in two Battels, and was in very fair wardize, which fears a far off the dangers, possibility to take their City: when the that may quietly pass away: and seeks to dangerous news of Lysmachus and Ptolomy, avoid them by base and wicked means, as that prevailed faster upon him essewhere, never thinking it self safe enough, until there than himself did upon his enemies in Greece, be nothing left, that carries likelihood of called him in all hafte. Lysimachus had won danger. Of Olympias and Roxane it may be many Towns in Asia; Ptolomy had gotten all said, that they had well-deserved the bloody the Isle of Cyprus, except the City of Sala- end which over-took them; yet ill-beseemed mis, wherein Demetrius had left his Chil- it Cassander to do the Office of a Hang-man. drenand Mother, that were strainly besieg- But Alexanders children had by no Law of ed. Whilft he was bethinking himself which men, deserved to dye for the tyranny of their way to turn his face, a notable piece of bu- Father, Wherefore, though Cassander died in finels offered it felf, which thrust all other his bed, yet the divine Justice brought caresout of his head.

more wifely have made away. He deeply Demetrius, contented with the bronour of hated the memory of Alexander, that had fwords upon his wife and children, that well Caffunder was lately dead in Macedon, and revenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by foon after him, Philip his eldeft Son, whose deftroying his whole house as he had done his Masters.

ø. V I I.

of Macedon with Lyfimachus.

covered the Kingdom of Epirus, and was on it was throughly fettled. fettled in it, then fell out that business beboth him and Demetrius into Macedon.

forced the Brethren to composition: but their composition would not satisfie Demetrius. of Pyrrhus and his doings in Macedon. The who took the matter hainoully, that he was death of Cassanders Children. Demetrius sent for, and made a fool, to come so far gets the Kingdom of Macedon; prevails in with an Army, and find no work for it. This Was a grinft the Greeks : lofeth reputation in was a frivolous complaint; whereby it aphis War against Pyrrhus, and in his Civil peared, that Demetrius had a purpose to Government, and prepares to win Asia. How do as Pyrrbus had done; and so much more, all confire against Demetrius. Pyrrhus by how much he was stronger. Hereupon and Lyfimachus invade him, his Army it seemed to Alexander a wise course, to regields to Pyrrhus, who shares the Kingdom move this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon some advantage. Thus Demetrius reported the flory, and it might be Prince Eacides, which perished in War the wisest, believed it not. But the issue against Cassander, was hardly preserved, be- was, that Alexander himself was feasted and ing a fuckling Infant, from the fury of his Fa- flain by Demetrius; who took his part of thersenemies. When his Fosterers had conthe Kingdom, as a reward of the murders veyed him to Glaucias King of Illyria; the excusing the fact fo well, by telling his own deadly hatred of Cassander would have danger, and what a naughty man Cassander bought his life with the price of two hun- had been, that all the Macedonians grew dred Talents. But no man can kill him that glad enough to acknowledge him their shall be his heir. Glancias was so far from King. It fell out happily, that about the betraying Pyrrhus, that he restored him by same time Lysimachus was busied in War force to his Fathers Kingdom, when he was with a King of the wild Thracians: for therebut twelve years of age. Within the com- by he was compelled to feek peace of Demepals offix years, either the indifcretions of his trius, which to obtain, he caused the reyouth, or the rebellious temper of his Sub- mainder of Macedon to be given up; that is, jects, drave him out of his Kingdom, and the part belonging to sutipater, his Son-inleft him to try the world anew. Then went law. At this ill bargain Antipater grievously he to Demetrius (who married his Sifter) sformed, though he knew not how to amend became his Page, followed him a while in it : yet still he stormed; until his Fatherhis Wars, was with him in the great Battel in-law, to fave the labour of making many of Ipfus, whence he fled with him to Ephofus; excuses, took away his troublesome life. and was content to be hostage for him, in Thus in haste, with a kind of neglect, and as his reconciliation with Ptolomy. In Egypt he it were to avoid molestation, were flain the so behaved himself, that he got the favour of Children of Cassander: of Cassander that had Berenice, Ptolomies principal Wife; fo that flain his own Masters Children, in a wife he married her Daughter, and was there- course of policy, with careful meditation upon some home, with mony and men, into (so much the more wicked as the more Epirm; more beholding now to Ptolomy, long) studying how to erect his own house, than to Demetrius. When he had fully re- that fell down upon his grave, ere the earth

It might be thought, that fuch an access of tween the Children of Cassander, which drew Dominion, added much to the greatness of Demetrius. But indeed it shewed his infirmi-Antipater, the elder of Cassanders Sons, ty; and thereby made him neglected by mawas so far too weak for Pyrrhus, that he had ny, and at length hated by all. For he had no defire to attend the coming of Demetrius, no Art of Civil Government : but thought but made an hasty agreement, and divided (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the Kingdom with his younger Brother Alex- the use and fruit of a Kingdom, to be none ander; who likewise felt the aid of Pyrrhus other, than to do what a King listed. He fo troublesome, that he was more willing to gave himself over to Women and Wine, fend him away, than to call in such another laughing openly at those which offered to helper. For Pyrrhus had the audacity to trouble him with supplications, and the terequest, or take as granted, by strong dious discourse of doing Justice. He had hand, Ambracia, Acarnania, and much more more skill in getting a Kingdom, than in ruof the Country, as the reward of his pains: ling it: War being his recreation, and leaving the two Brethren to agree as well as Luxury his nature. By long rest (as fix years they could about the rest. Necessity en-reign is long to him, that knows not how to

reign one year) he discovered so much of his profitable Journey into Epirus (for he had worst conditions, as made the people both wasted much of the Country, and brought weary of his idleness; and the Souldiers of home his Army in good case) as of his Infohis vanity. He was freed from care of matters in Asia, by hearing that all was lost: though more especially, by hearing that the Macedons, not only too sumptuous and Ptolomy had with great honour, entertained new-fangled, but very unmanly; and ferand difmiffed his Mother and Children. This ving chiefly to be a daily witness, how afforded him the better leifure of making much he contemned them and their good War in Greece: where he vanquished the Thebans, and won their City twice in short space, but used his Victory with mercy. Against Lysimachus he would fain have done somewhat (the peace between them notwithftanding) at fuch time as he was taken by the Thracians; but Lysimachus was freely little he esteemed it or them) having by a dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere Demetrius came; fo as this Journey purchased nothing but enmity. Another expedition he took in hand against Pyrrhus, with no better, or rather with worse event. Pyrrbus held fomewhat belonging to Macedon, which he had indeed as honefully gotten, as Demetrius the whole Kingdom; he had also made excursions into Thessaly. But there ous, that Pyrrhus gathered audacity, and inneeded not any handsome pretence of quarrel, seeing Demetrius thought himself strong little relistance. Demetrius lay then sek in enough to over-run his enemies Country, with two great Armies. It is a common the field, had fuch great odds of ftrength, fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they have known raw Novices in and be gone. that faculty, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinary. Pyrrhus was a Captain, of the general hate; which to redres, he whom latter ages, and particularly the did not (for he could not) alter his own great Hannibal, placed higher in the rank of conditions; but purposed to altertheridle Generals, than either Demetrius or any of discourses of him, by setting them on work Alexanders followers. At this time, he mif- in fuch an action, wherein his best qualities fed that part of the Army, which Demetrius might appear, that is, in a great War. His led, and fell upon the other half: which he intent was to invade Asia with a Royal Aroverthrew, not with more commendations my: wherein the fortune of one Battel of his good conduct, than of his private valour, shewed in fingle combate against Pantauchus, Demetrius his Lieutenant; who be- he first made peace with Pyrrhus; that so ing a ftrong man of body, challenged this he might leave all safe and quiet at home young Prince to fight hand to hand, and Then did he compose a mighty Army, of was utterly beaten. The loss of this Battel almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelve did not fo much offend the Macedonians, as thousand horses with a Navy of fivehunthe gallant behaviour of Pyrrhus delighted dred fail, wherein were many thips, far exthem. For in him they feemed to behold ceeding the greatness of any that had been the lively figure of Alexander in his best feen before; yet so swift and useful withall, quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counthat the greatness was least part of their terfeit manner, some of Alexanders graces, commendation. and had good ikill in wearing Princely vestures: but (said they) none, save Pyrrhus, is like him in deed, in performing the office

by the vertue of the *Epirot*, than by diffike dangerous to them all, than ever was his of their one. of their own King; whom they began to difesteem, not so much in regard of his un metrins once prevailed in Asia, there could be metrins once prevailed in Asia, there could be

lence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparel feemed, in the eyes of opinions. Of his Souldiers lives he was retch. les: and suffered unwifely this un-princely fentence to escape out of his mouth; That the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay, He made a mockery of Justice; and (as it were, to publish unto all his Subjects, how fnew of popularity invited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poor Suters after him in great hope, till coming to a Bridge, he threw all their Writings into a River; pleafing himfelf, in that he could fo eafily and fo boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses he grew soodivading Macedon, had almost won it all with his bed: who recovering health, and taking as made Pyrrhus glad to for fake his winnings

At length he began to have some feeling might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end,

The terrible fame of these preparations, made Seleucus and Ptolomy suspect their own forces, and labour hard with Lysimachus and Pyrrhus, to joyn against this ambitious Son of Antigonus, that was like to prove more league notes refolved to begin with him his friends; or whether his behaviour de-Therefore they have that quarter of prived him of fuch friends, as would dare to betimes, and each to invade that quarter of prived him of fuch friends, as would dare to bettines, and tack next his own Kingdom. let him hear the unpleafant found of neces-Lysimachus came first, and against him went fary truth. Demetrius with a great part of his Army: great: were it not, that minds prepared with long discontent, are ready to lay hold upon fmall occasions of dislike. All the Camp was in uproar: some wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to utter feditious words, and many defired leave of Demetrius, to go to their own houses, meaning indeed to have

gone to Lysimachus. When Demetrius perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wifest way, to lead the Macedonians further off from Lysimachus their own Country-man, against Pyrrhus that was a stranger: hoping by victory against the Epirot, to recover the love of his followers, in fuch fort that he might afterwards at leifure deal with the other. But herein his wisdom beguiled him. For the fouldiers were as hasty as he, to meet with Pyrrhus; not intending to hurt him, but they daily heard the honourable fame. Some to fet eye on him. His face was not fo well Caria. known as his Helmet; therefore he was ad-

no fecurity for his friends in Europe, what this calamity: whether it were so, that he no tecurity for most refer of old concluded. would not hearken to the good counsel of league foever were of old concluded.

Whilft Pyrrhus was making this triumbut whill the was yet on the way, news were phant entry into the Kingdom of Macedon; but while the brought into his Camp, that Pyrrhus had Lysimachus came upon him very unseasonawon Berrhea. The matter was not over-bly, and would needs have half: faying, that he had done as much as Pyrrhus in the War; and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gain. The bargain was quickly made, and the division agreed upon: each of them being rather defirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to work his fellow quite out of all, upon better opportunity.

ø. VIII.

How Demetrius gathering forces, enterprifed many things with ill success, in Greece and Afia. How he was driven upon Seleucus, and compelled to yield himself. His impri-Sonment and death.

THE: Athenians were as unthankful 1 to Demetrius in this his adversity, as longing to see that noble Prince, of whom they had been in former times. For they presently forsook his friendship, and called tpake of his valour; some enquired, others Pyrrhus out of Macedon to be their Patron. answered, of his person, his armour, and Demetrius, when he went against Lysimaother tokens whereby he might be known; chus, had left a great part of his forces in as particularly, by a pair of Goats-horns, Greece, under his Son Antigonus. Therethat he wore on his crest. It was not like- fore it is like, that he had soon gotten an ly, that these men should hurt him. Di- Army, though Phila his Wife (who is vers of them fole away, and ran over in- highly commended for a wife and vertuous to Pyrrhus his Camp: where the news that Lady) did poison her felf, upon desperate they brought, were better welcome than grief for his misfortune. The first, upon their persons. For they said, and it was whom he attempted to shew his anger, true, that if the Macedonians might once were the Athenians that had well deserved get fight of Pyrrhus, they would all falute it. He began to lay fiege to their Town: him King. To try this, Pyrkus rode forth, but was pacified by Crates the Philosopher, and presented himself bare-headed in view whom they had made their spokes-man; of the Camp, whither some were sent be- and taking fair words instead of satisfaction, fore to prepare his welcome. The news of passed over into Asia, with eleven thousand his arrival found a general applause, and Souldiers, meaning to try his fortune against every one began to look out, with desire Lysimachus, for the Provinces of Lydia and

At his first coming into those parts, formouished to put it on: which done, all came tune seemed to smile upon him. For many about him, and proffered their fervice; good Towns, willingly, or by compulsion, neither were there any, that spake for De- yielded to his obedience. There were also metrius; only some (and they the most some Captains that fell from Lysimachus to moderate of tongue) bade him be gone him, with their companies and treasures. betimes, and shift for himself. So Demetri- But it was not long ere Agathocles the Son us threw afide his Malkers habit, and at- of Lysmachus, came upon him with an Artyring himself poorly, did fearfully steal my so strong, that it was not for Demetrius away out of his own Camp, deferving well his good, to hazard his last stock against it.

where the resolved to past through the Pro-gia and Armenia, into Media, and the Pro-gia and the Pro gra and armenia, into areas, and in a demy-Island, wherein vinces of the higher Asia; trusting to find a under fure guard in a demy-Island, wherein were goodly Walks, Orchards, and Parks Kingdom tomewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counfel was for hunting. He had all that he afked grievously impeached by Agathoeles: who royally, and friends allowed to visit him, active and their pleasure. Only this counter was allowed to visit him, grievourly impeacined by a safety at his, and their pleasure. Only his liberty pursued him close, and cut off all his propuritied initiation, and take which wayeshe was referved unto the coming of young vinons, arrying min to take a mineraled Antiochus and Etratonica, out of the high courle. In many skirmishes Demetrius vanquished this troublesome enemy: nevertheless, he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poor titulary King, with extream famine. At length, in paffing the riverLycus, so many of Demetrius his men were loft, that the rest could no longer make refiftance: but were driven to travel with Hisafhes were honourably buried in Cofuch fpeed as might well be called a plain rinth; his qualities have appeared in his flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of shew it felf hereafter, in times and places war, eight thouland of them were consumed: the rest with their Captain, escaped into Cilicia. Seleucus had gotten poslession of Cilicia, whilest Demetrius was occupied in Greece: yet was it no part of Demetrius his errand, to lay claim to the Country; but with vehement and humble letters he befought his Son-in-law to call to mind their alliance, and to pitty him in his great mifery. These letters, at the first wrought well with scleucus, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how and (which in those times was a rarecom-Demetrius had carried himself, when he recovered strength after the battel at Ipsus, he changed his purpole, and went against him many children, out of whom he selected with an Army.

of which none took effect, through the jea- years before he died, that so he might conlouse of selencus. Therefore meer despe- firm him in the inheritance of the Kingdom ration enforced Demetrius to fight like a At this, Ptolomy Ceraunus (for all of that mad man, and his turies got him some victo- house assumed the name of Ptolomy) was give ries, though of fmall importance. At length voully incenfed. But no man cared for his fickness took and held him forty days, in anger. Therefore he went to Selenen, who which time, a great number of his few men gave him loving entertainment. There were ranto the enemy. This notwithstanding he now only two of Alexanders Captains left, ftill held out, and once had like to have Selencus and Lysimachus. These two needs taken seleucus in hisbed, had not his com- would fight for it, who fhould be the long ing been discovered by fugitives, that gave eft liver of that brave Company. The true alarm. Finally, when all his Army had ground of their quarrel, was their neer forfaken him, and left him with a few of equality or ftrength, and want of one to part his friends to thift for himfelf, he was com-them. The pretence was the murders which pelled by the latt of those adherents (for Lysimachus had committed upon many of even fome of those few forsook him to his Nobles, together with his poysoning the yield unto seleucus.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, dren fled unto Seleucus for aid. But the approbation of his own humanity having frent their first heat of admiration, and fent him very comfortable meflages. by his followers, was fuch, as renewed his began to hearken fo well to Lysimachus, their jealous thoughts; and hindred him from natural Countrey-man, that they forlook admitting Demetrius to his prefence, though Pyrrhus, upon none other ground than

Wherefore he resolved to pass through Phry- otherwise he used him with as much favour. countreys. In this fort he spent three years. now merrily all the while (as one that livingenjoyed the happiness, which with so much travel and blood-flied, he had fought in vain) and then dyed, leaving to his fon Antigonus, the same which his father had left unto himself; that is, friends and hope, actions, and the fortune of his House will convenient.

ø. IX.

The death of Ptolomy, of Lysimachus, and of Seleucus, that was the last of Alexanders Captains: with other occurrences.

Bout the same time that Demetrius died died also Ptolomy King of Egypt, a vertuous Prince, war-like, gentle, bountiful, mendation) regardful of his word. He had, by many Wives and Concubines, Ptolomy Philadelphus, and caused him to Many treaties were held between them; reign together with himself, two or three thocles his eldest son: whose wife and chil-

The Macedons, after seven moneths pause,

CHAP. VII.

Macedon, to take possession of Europe, where | first purchased.

because he was an Alien. This they had there was none to withstand him. But because ne was an him but they did known well enough before: but they did known well enough in edition lightly from known went chough in taking lightly from moneths followed Lylimachus, and others him no great wrong him. Lyfimachus of his fellows, by a bloody death, being him, that they right by years alone, when treacheroully flain by Ptolomy Cerannus, nad regued about by him, and whose friend and Patron he had been. Sethe City of Symmen falling by an earth-called after his name falling by an earthquake, appeared by events, to have forefought with Lylimachus, and Lylimachus was quare, appeared the fall of his house. His own jea- seventy and four. With them ended the lougie, and the inftigation of a mother-in- generation of old Captains, that had feen law, caused him to poyson his son Agatho- the dayes as it were of another World uncles; which drew upon him that War, der the Persian: yet was there left one equal wherein (after the loss of all his to any of them in the Art of War: even fifteen children that were taken away Pyrrhus the Epirot, of whom we spake beby divers accidents) he perished him fore; that is now ready to enter into war with the Romans, a more warlike people seleucus was encountred by Lysimachus than Alexander himself did ever encounteron Asia side, where one battel concluded Of which war, and of which people, it is the war, with Lystmachus his death. It plea- needful that we here make mention, as of fed selencus more than the victory, that he a ftory more important, than any likely was the last of all the great Heroes that fol- to ensue in Greece, or in the great Kinglowed Alexander. For now he seemed to doms that were held by Alexanders Successions himself as Lord and Heir of all the con- fors, with less (and still decreasing) verquered World. So he passed over into tue, than was that, by which they were

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome, and settling of the Eastern Kingdoms.

٧. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominions in Italy, from the death of Tullus Hostilius, unto such time as they were assailed by Pyrrhus.

ter more important.

Ow Rome was founded by Ro- \ After the death of Tullus Hoftilius (who mulus; settled in good order when he had reigned two and thirty years, by Numa Pompilius; and by was burnt together with his house by lightmany (though small) victories, | ning) Ancus Martius, Grand-child to Numa gathered strength, unto such Pompilius by his daughter, and not much time as it became the head of Latium, by the unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the conquest of Alba, in the reign of Tullus Kingdom of Rome. He walled the City Hostilius: it hath been already noted, in due about; enlarged it with the Hill Aventine, order of time. But whereas now the Roman which he enclosed; built a bridge over Tygreatness beginneth to encounter the pow- bris, and the City of Oftia upon the Sea, fixer of Greece; and extending it felf out of teen miles diftant from Rome. Finally, Italy, to overwhelm the Dominions of other having reigned 24 years, he died, and by his States and Princes: I hold it convenient (as last Will he lest his children in charge in like cases I have done) briefly to set with one Lucumon, the son of Damaratus, a down the growth of this mighty City, in a Corinthian, who avoiding Cypfelus King of compendious relation of those many acti- Corinth his tyranny, had fled into Hetruria, ons, which could not have been delivered & dwelt in Tarquinii, by the name of which in the ages, wherein they were feverally Town he was afterward called Tarquinius. performed, without much interruption of From that City in Hetruria coming to Rome, the History, that was then occupied in mat- and encouraged by fome ominous occurrents, together with his wife Tanaquils prophelie,

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phefic, he grew a favorite of Ancus Martius; Tarquinius Superbus King; returning home by his Grecian wit humouring the factions enforced her Coachman to drive his Chariof the Roman Court, infomuch, that after of over her fathers corps: whereupon the his decease he became not only Potector to street had the denomination of Wickedthe children, but Governour to the City. street. This Tarquine, exercising cruelty the confident, but Governour to the day without justice, and tyranny without mercy, enlarged the Centurions of Horsemen: nei- upon the people and Senators; having tired ther was he less eminent in war, than in himself and them at home, used the same peace: for he prevailed often against the rage of treachery upon his borders. He took Tuscans, and from his victories, the chiefest Oriculum, Suessa, Pometia, and the Gabii. The ornaments of triumph took their original. iffue of befieging Ardea, a town eighteen When this Lucius Tarquinius had reigned mile distant from Rome, was of bad success. 38. years, he was flain by the fons of An- In the heat of which war, his fon Sextus cus Martius, to whom he had been left Tarquinius violently ravished that chash-Guardian. But Tanaquil his wife, perceiving Lady Lucretia, his kiniman Collatines wife: what was done, informed the people, from who in way of expiation for so unchaste a out of an high Turret, that her Husband deed, thought good to walh out those spots was wounded, and fick, but not dangerouf- of infamy with her own blood; so (having ly. And withal fignified unto them, that in first bequeathed the revenge unto her fathe interim of his fickness, one servius Tul- ther Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, her husband lius, whom from his birth fhe alwayes pro- | Collatine and Junius Brutus) fhe kill'd her phefied to be born to great hopes (the fon felf:whereupon chiefly by Junius Brutus his of P. Corniculanus, and Ocrifia a well descen- resolution) Tarquinius Superbus, with his ded, but captive woman) brought up in her wife and children, was deposed and banishhouse, and husband unto her daughter, ed; and fled to Porsenna King of Hetruria for should supply her husbands place, in go- succour, in the five and twentieth year of verning the State, until his recovery: which his reign, and the two hundred forty and government, being thus at first obtained by fourth from the building of their City: in cunning, he afterwards usurped as his right. Which space Rome had scarce gotten pollessi-He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies and on of fifteen miles round about her. Valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, four fcore thou fand were having expelled Tarquine, and freed his mustered, of which number consisted their Country from that heavy yoke of bondage, whole corporation; & by distinction of Dig- inforced the people by solemn oath, never nities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he manag- to admit any government by Kingsamongt ed the Kingdom in as good fort, as if it had them: whereupon they ranfacked their Kings been a private houshold. At length, have- goods, consecrated their fields to Mars, and ing two daughters of different natures, the conferred the government of the Stateupon one mild and gentle, the other fierce and Brutus and Collatine. But because the name outragious: and finding also that the two of King was odious in their ears, they changfons of Tarquinius Priscus, Sextus and Aruns, ed the manner of their government, from which had been committed unto his tuition, perpetual to annual, and from a fingle gowere of different dispositions, proportiona- vernment to a double; lest perpetual or sole bly answering to his daughters; he (willing dominion might be some motive to usurto add water, not oyl, to fire) gave the pation; and instead of Kings they called mild daughter to sextus the hot-headed them Confuls, fignifying, as it may be interion, and the violent, to Aruns the gentle preted, Providers: that their titles might in marriage. But whether by intended cour- remember them of their place, which was fes, or by accident, it hapned; the two to be alwayes mindful of their Citizens welmild ones being made away, the furious na- fare. And yet was it so hard fettling of tures were readily joyned in marriage: troubled waters, that the people, afterthis who foon concurring, and calling the Senate innovation of State, fcarce daring to affine together, began to lay claim to the King-themselves of their own security, enforced dom. Upon this tumult, Servius Tullius Tarquinius Collatine to resign up his authohaftening to the Senate, (where he thought rity, fearing that tyranny would be heredi by authority to have bridled infolency) tary, and fuppoling that the very name and was thrown down the stairs, and going home affinity with the house of Tarquine, savoured fore bruised, was slain by the way, when he already of their condition. In his room was had reigned 44. years. Then Tullia his substitute Valerius Publicola, who that he daughter, first proclaiming her Husband might (as his name importeth) be gracious

Junius Brutus by the help of Collatine,

tion, caused his own house to be pulled down, because it was built in a place defenitching after innovations, hoping to reftore villus. the banished Kings; he caused them, pub-

block. blemilhed integrity of Brutus, well appeafed Mamilius Tusculanus, stomaching a-fresh at to obtain the rest.

him again in his Kingdom.

in the peoples eyes, gave liberty, in matters yet the edge of Tarquinius his fpleen was not of controversie to appeal from the Confuls quite abated, though Aruns his son, and of control and that he might as well in to the people, and that he might as well in Brutus, his enemy, in fingle combat, had to me perfon, avoid occasion of susping sain person, avoid occasion o their Ladies, whose Champion he was, for down, because a Cittadel. Neither their chaftity, not for beauty, mourned the fible, as if it had been a Cittadel. Neither was Bratus any wayes deficient in matter of lofs of him one whole year. Into this place, greater moment; which concerned as well for the refidue of his year, was fubrogated greated monacty, as their favour: for ha- sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, father to Lucrethe people, state; that fome greener tia: and in his room (deceasing naturalwing got maching inturatively and in the first rank his own sons, were ly before the year expired) Horatius Pul-

Tarquin, upon his overthrow, feeling the lickly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and lates disaftrous, thought it no boot to strive then to be brought all unpartially to the against the stream, but spent the residue of his time, which was about fourteen years, Hitherto the Romans, having by the un- privately at Tusculum. Yet his Son-in-law all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter those old repulses, because Porsenna had imployed their military defignments against | made peace with the Romans, and denied Forrainers: first, for their liberty; second- further succour unto the Tarquines, mustered ly, for inlarging of their possessions; and up his Latins, and gave battel to the Rolaftly, for defending their confederate Pro- mans, at the Lake Regillum; where the convinces, and extending their Empire. For flict was fierce, and the issue uncertain, untill Rome, fituated as it were in the mid-way Aulus Posthumus, the Roman Dictator, (for between Latium and the Tuscans, having as they had created this Magistracy greater yet but narrow bounds, being in her mino- than Confuls, purposely for this war, when rity, could not but give occasion of offence | first it was expected) to exasperate his Soulto her neighbours; untill by main opposi- diers courage, threw their own Ensignes tion, having prevailed against her border- amidst the Enemies; and Cossus, or Spurius ers, the used them as instruments, whereby | cassius, (Master of the Horse-men, an affistant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to Their first war, in the first year of Con- take off their bridles, that they might run fuls, was against Porsenna King of Hetruria: with free violence, to recover again their who being over-perswaded by Tarquins la- Ensigns. This fight was so well performed, mentation, came to Rome, together with the | that a report went of Caffor and Pollux, two banished King, and with great forces, to feat | gods, who came on milk-white Steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow-In the first conflict, Horatius Cocles, having helpers of their Victory; for the General long time born the main brunt of his ene- confecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend mies on the bridge over Tibris, at length, for their pairs. After this the Romans fierce feeling himself too faint to stand against so spirits, having no object of valour abroad, many, caused the bridge behind him to be reflected upon themselves at home; and the broken down, and with his armour, leaping fixteenth year after the Kings expulsion, upinto the River, like a hunted Stagg, refresh-on instigation of some desperate banckrouts, ed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed fellows, with the like resolution to sustain a by the Senate and Consuls, they made an new charge. Porfenna, although by this he uproar in the holy Mount; untill by Menehad well-nigh won the hill Janiculus, which nius Agrippa, his discreet allusion, of the inis the very entrance into the City, and found convenience in the Head and Belly's discord, the Victory, in a manner, assured whis own: to that present occasion, they were reconyet admiring their valour, and terrified by ciled to the Senate: with condition, that the constant resolution of Matins Secuola they might have some new Magistrates (who having by errour flain Porsenna his Se-created, to whom they might appeal in cacretary, in ftead of the King himself, did in less of variance, and make them Solicitors in fcorn of torments threatned, burn off his all their controversies, the Consuls authoown hand) he thought it not any whit prejudicial either to his fafety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And people, After this attonement among themselves

themselves, they had continual War with dispersed his enemies, and freed his Count the Latines, concerning their bounds and try in the space of fixteen dayes. In the conlimits, and with other neighbouring States. tinuance of this Volscian war, it was that Ab-Among these, the Volsei and Aqui held them pius Claudius, one of the ten men, whom they longelt; who made War of themselves upon had two years before chosen Governours of the Romans: whereby they lost the best the State, and Inactors of Solons laws City in their whole jurisdiction, Corioli.

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In this conquest, T. Martins got the sur- gating in the mean while the Consuls, and name of Coriolanus: a name honourable all other Magistrates) would have ravished then, as drawn from a great Victory; al- Virginia, the daughter of T. Virginius, Capthough, by reason of the poverty of the tain of a company, and lying then in a camp Town, a Roman General, in after times, at Algidum. Hereupon the people in an would have been ashamed of that title. But uproar took the Hill Aventine, and after ver these graces had been no occasion of dis- much variance, enforced the ten men to paragement, had he not afterwards in a great refign up their authority again to new time of dearth, advised to fell corn, which | Consuls. they procured from Sicil, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon Decius Mus, their to revenge old losses, drew the Romani into Tribune, in their behalf, accused him, and a new war against the Veienter and their after judgement banished him. Coriolanus adherents, upon whom, having tried their flying to the Volsci, whom lately before he forces with diversity of Captains, and variehad vanquished, incenfed them to renue ty of event, they vanquished the Falilei, and their forces again; which being committed the Fidenates, and utterly subdued the Veiunto him, and to Attius Tullus, he prevailed entes. In conquering the Falifei, Furius in field, fo far forth, that he was come within | Camillus shewed no less integrity than fortifour or five miles of the City. Incamping tude. For when a Schoolmaster, by trainthere, he made so sharp war, and was at such ling forth into the Roman camp, many childefiance with his Country, that he would dren of the principal Citizens, thought to not relent by any supplication of Embassa- betray the Town, yielding them allupas dours, untill his mother Veturia, and Volum- hostages: Camillus delivered this Traitor mia his wife, with a pittiful tune of depreca- bound unto his Souldiers, willing themto tion, thewing themselves better Subjects to whip him back into the City; which forththeir Country than friends to their Son and with yielded unto him in reverence of his Husband, were more available to Rome than justice. The fiege of Veii was ten years, and was any force of Arms. Hereupon Coriolanus fo troublesome, that the Romans were there difmissing his Army, was after put to death first inforced to winter abroad under bealts among the Volfer, as a Traitor, for neglecting | fkins (to which they were the more easily such opportunity: or (as others furmise) induced, because then first they received living with them untill old age, he died na- pay) and to make vows never to return mrally.

Not long after this the Veii in Hetruria, provoked the Romans; against whom the they got so large spoils, that they consecrated Fabii, three hundred and fix in number, all their tenths to Apollo Pythius: and the whole of one Family, intreated and obtained, that people in general were called to the ranthey only might be employed, as it had been lacking of the City. But yet they were no in a private quarrel. These Fabii, after less unthankful to Camillus for his service, fome good services, lying incamped at Cre- than before they had been to Coriolanni; mera, were circumvented, and all flain: one for they banished him the City, upon some only of that whole house had been left, by occasion of inequality in dividing the spoils: reason of infancy, at home; from whom yet he requited their unkindness with a new afterward sprang Fabius Maximus, who piece of service against the fury of the vanquished Hannibal.

troubled with the Volsei, at the hill of Algi- times now) lived so long, that the sons, destidum, two miles from Rome; where Lucius tute of means, were enforced to roave Minutius their Conful, with his whole army, abroad, feeking some place where to let up had been discomfited, had not L. Quintius their rest: and withall being a Nation valte Cincinatus chosen Dictator, and taken from in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in the plough to the highest honour in Rome, conditions, wandred as Rovers over many with fuccess answerable to his expedition, Countries. Some of them lighting on Half,

amongst them, procured from Athens (abro-

After this, either new quarrels, or defire without Victory.

At length winning the City by a Mine, Gauls; who being a populous Country, In process of time, the Romans were also and very healthful, the fathers (as somefet upon Clufium a Town in Hetruria: whereof Rome having information (and being careful of her Confederate Towns) fent Embafpeople, not regard by the Roman Embassadours, converted their forces from Chustum towards Rome; and giving a great overthrow unto the Romans, by the River Allia, upon the fixteenth day before the Calends of August (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called Allienfis in the Roman Kalendar)they hastned towards the City. Then was Rome the true map of milery and defolation. For some leaving the City; some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and every one shifting for himself ere the enemy came, Rome was a bandoned as indefensible. The Vestal Virgins, in this tumult, were fafely conveyed away; the Ancients of the City, gathering boldness out of desperate fear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the world, did fet themselves in Thrones, in their several houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to dye, as they had lived, in State. The younger fort, with M. Manlius good the Capitol.

who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some | beian. This was after the building of the ambuth; afterward finding all fecure, they | City 365 years. And now Rome, by suppress fell to the spoil, committing all to the fire | sion of her neighbour Countries, creeping Gaules, with open infolency, made their eft City then in all Italy. weights too heavy: Brennus their Captain, . The families of the Papyrii and Fabii were

with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoils with advantage, and forbear the gold, in accepting which they had lately ful of her connectine to defiff from fuch heen fo nice. Further, having rid the City of fadours, warning them to defiff from fuch injurious enterprifes. But the barbarous them, he fo hotly purfued them thorowa minimus the mediage, upon great part of Haly, that the remainder of very fmall. Other Armies of the Gaules, which followed this first, had the like ill succefs. They were often beaten by the Romans; especialy the victories of M. Torquatus, and of M. Valerius Corvinus (each of which in fingle fight flew a feveral Champion of the Gaules) abated their prefumption, and reflored courage to the Romans. Camillus, for his notable fervice, was afterwards accounted a fecond Romnlus.

The people, after this destruction of their City, were earneftly bent to go to the Veii to inhabit; but Camillus diffivaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the fiege of Veii they changed their government from Confuls to military Tribunes. The government of these also, after some years, was by civil diffention interrupted: to that one while Confuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchy. Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled again, till, aftheir Captain, took upon them to make ter many years expired, the Confular authority was established, it being enacted, that By this the Gaules were entred the City, one of the Confuls should alwayes be a Pleand fword. As for the old Senatours, they fate | well forward out of her Minority, dares fet in their Majesty with a grave resolution; forth against the warlike Samnites, who having first reverenced them as gods, anon | dwelt almost one hundred and thirty miles they tryed whether they would dye like off: fituated between Campania and Apulia. men. When the City was throughly rifled, These did so strongly invade the Campanians they attempted the Capitol: which held their neighbours, that they forced them to them work for the space of seven months. | yield themselves subjects to Rome, and un-Once they were like to have surprised it by dergo any conditions of Tribute, or whatnight, but being descried by the gagling of | soever else to obtain protection : which the Geefe, M. Manlius did awaken, and kept Romans, although both Countries had been themfrom entrance. At length a composition their confederates, yet not willing that the was agreed upon: the Gauls being weary, greater, like fish, should devour the lefs, and the Romans hungry. The bargain was, eafily allowed of ; aiming themselves at the that the Gaules should take a thousand good situation of Campania, the abundance pound weight in gold, to defift from their of Corn and Wine, pleasant Cities and siege. Whilst the gold was in weighing, the Towns, but especially Capna it self, the fair-

calting his fword into the ballance, and with most imployed in the managing of this War, a proud exprobration, laying, that the van- which endured the space of fifty years. And quished must be patient perforce. But in the in this season were the Romans often times midst of this cavilling came Furius Camillus dangerously encountred by the Samnites, with an Army from Ardea, (where he had as when T. Veturius and Sp. Posthumius lived in his banishment) and fell upon the were Consuls, and discomfitted by Pontius Gaules with fuch violence, that he dispersed at Caudium, with no small ignominy: and their troups, quenched the fire of the City when 2 Fabius Gurges lost the field with

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many great Victories made large amends: brought them into quiet subjection. The greatest whereof were gotten by L. Papyrius, and by Quintus Fabius Maximus.

their quarrel. But the force of the Samnites selves as mediatours between the Romans was well broken, ere the Hetrurians (the and Samnites; with a peremptory denumgreater and richer, but less warlike Nation) ciation of War, unto that party which should began to stir. So the one and the other of dare to refuse peace by them tendred. These these two Countries, became at length, tributhreats which discovered their bad affection tary to Rome. In the continuance of this long unto Rome, ended in words; but when the war it was (though in time of truce between Samnites were utterly subdued, matter the Romans and Samnites) that the Latins enough of quarrel was found to examine began to challenge equal freedom in the their ability of performance. Corporation of Rome, and right in bear- The Romans complained that certain files ing office, so that they required to have one of theirs were robbed, and sent Embass. of the Confuls yearly chosen out of them. dours unto Tarentum, to require amends.

reasonable. For the Romans themselves were dours, was laid the foundation of that War. a Latin Colony; besides all which, they wherein the Lucans, Messapians, Brutians. made offer to change their name, and to be and Apulians, joyning with the Tarentines. all called Romans. But the Romans were too procured the Samnites, and other Subiels. proud to admit any fuch capitulation. So a of Rome to rebell and take their part. But great battel was fought between them : fome experience of the Roman strength,

the vertue of the Confuls.

were then Confuls, whom the Soothlayers as the Tarentines also were) great hopewas advertised, that the fide should be victorious conceived, that the Dominion of Rome which loft the General in fight. Hereupon should be confined unto more narrow Decius the Conful exposed his life to the ene- bounds than all Italy, which already in a my, and purchased victory (as was believed) manner it did over-spread. by his death. In which kind of devoting himself for his Army, the son of this Decins being after Consul, did imitate his father in the Hetrurian war. But (as Tully well notes) How Pyrrhus warred upon the Romans, and it was rather the desperate resolution of these Decii, that purchased victory, by rushing into the midft of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of fuch a religion, as compelled a while to live in reft: which he required the lives of fo worthy Citizens, to abhorred no less then a wifer Prince would be facrificed for their Country. The difei- have defired. He had a frong Army, and a pline of Manlius was no less resolute, than good Fleet, which in that unsettled estate of the valour of Decius. He forbade any one things, was enough to purchase a Kingdom: to forfake his place, and fight fingle with an but the fall of Demetrius had so increased enemy. For breach of which order he caufthe power of Lysimachus, that it was no point ed his own fon to be put to death, who had of wildom to make an offensive war upon flain a Captain of the Latins, being chalhim, without far greater forces: Antigonus, lenged in fingle fight.

nici, Campani, Samnites, and Herrurians, mainder of his Fathers Army and traducts, with fome other people, were brought un- left in his hand. Upon him it is like that der obedience; it was a vain labour for any Pyrrhus might have won; but it was better

mans. fortune, and found it bad. For Curius Denta-Yet the Sabines adventured to try their tus, the Roman Conful, wasting all their dours came very fitly to Pyrrhus: and they Country with fire and fword, from the Ri- came with brave offers, as needing no other

three thousand men. But for those losses, ver Nar and Velia, to the Adriatique Sea.

The last of the Italians that madetrial of the Roman arms, were the Tarentines and The Samnites drew the Hetrurians into their adherents. These had interposed them.

This demand of the Latins was not un- Upon fome wrong done to these Emballs. wherein the fortune of Rome prevailed, by taught all these people to know their own weakness. Wherefore they agreed to fend Manlius Torquatus and the elder Decius, for Fyrrhus, by whose aid (being a Greian,

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vanquished them in two battels.

Trrbus, forfaken by the Macedonians, and unable to deal with Lysimachus, was the fon of Demetrius, held Corinth at the same When the Latins, the Equi, Volsci, Her- time, and some other Towns, with the repeople of Haly to contend against the Ro- to let him alone, that he might serve to give some hindrance to Lysimachus.

In this want of imployment, and covetous

feveral Nations, as much as could be defired. with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as far asking what he meant to do after every of ed. the victories which he hoped to get : that of all Italy; that, after Italy he would win Carthage, with all the rest of the Councontented with his own.

he prepared his Army, of almost thirty thou- nor feared him their enemy. fand men, well forted, and well trained ly behooving to their estate.

derate with the Tarentines in this War.

their valour was little: all of these had been Camp. accustomed to shrink for fear of the Roman

aid than his good conduct, which to obtain, that Pyrrhus relied more upon his own forand train its got themselves under his prothey would can take in their company fome of fes. He was now driven either to fet forward tection. They man the sammites, Lucanians, Mellapians, and with those that himself had brought into the sammes, the sammes, the sammes, the sammes that the sammes wherein little was to be reposed; or else to Reverance and the couraged Pyrrhus, and filled him weaken the reputation of his own fufficiency, which by all means he was careful to uphold. In good time a great part of his formigni curary had gotten Eastward; and ces, that had been scattered by soul weather as Alexander had gotten Eastward; as Auctanate has gotten the gate unto ano- at Sea, were fafely come to him: with ther. To which effect it is faid, that once which he refolved to affay the valour of ther. To what his chief Counsellour, Romans, against whom he proudly march-

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Lavinus the Conful was not affrighted having won Rome, he would foon be Master with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and give quickly get the Ille of sicil; that, out of himbattel ere all his adherents should be sicil, he would pass over into Affrick, and ready to joyn with him. This boldness of the Roman, and the flackness of the Messatrey;and being strengthened with the force | pians, Lucanians, Samnites, and others, whom of all these Provinces, he would be too hard the danger most concerned, caused Pyrrhus. for any of those that were now so proud to offer a treaty of peace; requiring to have and troublesome. But Cyneas enquired yet the quarrel between the Romans and his further, what they should do, when they Italian friends, referred to his arbitrement, were Lords of all. Whereunto Pyrrhus | Whether he did this to win time, that the (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that | Samnites and their fellows might arrive at they would live merrily; a thing (as Cyne- his Camp; or whether, confidering better as then told him) that they prefently might at neer distance, the weight of the business do, without any trouble, if he could be which he had taken in hand, he were defirous to quit it with his honour; the short Nevertheless, this Italian expedition answer that was returned to his proposition, feemed unto Pyrrhus a matter of fuch confe- gave him no means of either the one or the quence, as was not to be omitted, in regard other: for the Romans fent him this word, of any scholastical disputation. Wherefore that they had neither chosen him their Judge,

Hereupon both Armies hastned their fouldiers: part of which he fent over before march unto the River of Siris: Levinus inhim under Cyness, with the rest he followed | tending to fight before the arrival of the in person. At his coming, he found the Ta- | Samnites; Pyrrhus, to hinder him from pasrentines, very prompt of tongue, but in mat- fing that River, until his own Army were ter of execution, utterly careles to provide full Upon the first view of the Roman Camp, for the war. Wherefore he was fain to it was readily conceived by Pyrrhus, that he thut up their Theater, and other places of had not now to do with barbarous people, pleasure and resort, enforcing them to take but with men well trained in a brave disciarms, and making such a strict muster, as pline of War: which caused him to set a was to them very unpleasing, though great- strong Corps de garde upon the passage of the river, that he might not be compelled to Whilst he was occupied with these cares, fight, until he saw his best advantage. But Lavinus the Roman Conful drew neer, and he quickly found, that this new enemy was began to waste Lucania, a Province confe- not only skilful in the Art of War, but couragious in execution. For the Roman Army The Lucanians were not ready to defend entred the Foord, in face of his Corps de their own Countrey; the sammites were garde; and their horse, at the same time becareless of the harm, that fell not (as yet) gan to pass the River in sundry places: which upon themselves; the Tarentines were better caused the Greeks to forsake the defence of prepared than they would have been, but their bank, and speedily retire unto their

This audacity forced Pyrrbus to battel; fortitude; and therefore it fell out happily, wherewith he thought it best to present them. Bbbbb 2

them, ere the whole Army had recovered than he could many fuch victories. Therefirm footing, and were in order. So dire- fore he thought it good to compound Ging his Captains how to marshal his bat- with them whilest with his honour he tels; himself with the horse, charged upon might; and to that purpose he sent unto the Romans: who floutly received him as them Cyneas his Embaffadour, demanding men well exercifed in fiftaining furious imprefilions. In this fight, neither did his coultive at reft, and himfelf accepted as their premions. In this night, included that the rage transport him beyond the duty of a especial friend. This did Cyness, with all careful General, nor his providence in discussing, and with liberal gifts labour to recting others, hinder the manifestation of effect: but neither man nor woman could be his personal valour. It behooved him indeed found in Rome, that would take any bribe to do his best; for he never met with better of him; neither did their desire of recoveoppofers. Once, and shortly after the fight ring their captives, or their danger, by the began, his horse was slain under him : after- rising of many States in Italy against them, wards, he changed armour with a friend; fo incline them to peace, as the vehement but that friend paid his life for the use of exhortation of Appins Claudius, anold and his Kings armour, which was torn from his blind Senator, did ftir them up to make back. This accident had almost lost him good their honour by war. So they rethe battel; but he perceiving it, discovered turned answer, that whilest Pyrrhus abode his face, and thereby restored courage to in Italy, they would come to no agreement his men, and took from the Romans their with him. vain joy. The fight was obstinate, and Such was the report that Cyneas made at with the greater loss (at least of more emiliars return, of the Roman puillance and vernent men) on Pyrrhus his fide, as long as tue, as kindled in Pyrrhus a great define of only spear and sword were used. But when confederacy with that gallant City. Herethe Elephants were brought into the wings, upon many kind Offices paffed between whose unusual form and terrible aspect, the them: but still when he urged his mohorses of the Romans (unaccustomed to tion of peace, the answer was; He must first the like) were not able to fustain; then depart out of Italy, and then treat of peace, was the victory quickly gotten. For the In the mean feafon, each part made pro-Roman battels, perceiving their horse put vision for war; the Romans levying amore to the rout, and driven out of the field; mighty army than the former; and Pyrhun finding also themselves both charged in being strengthened with access unto his flank, and over-born, by the force and forces of all the East parts of Italy. So and huge bulk of those strange beasts; they came to the trial of a second battel, gave way to necessity, and saved themselves, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) as well as they could, by hafty flight: in the boifterous violence of the Elephants which consternation, they were so forgetful gave to Pyrrhus a second victory. But this of their discipline, that they tarried not to was not altogether so joyful as the somer defend their Camp, but ran quite beyond it, had been : rather it gave him cause to say, leaving both it, and the honour of the day, that fuch another victory would be hisutter entirely to Pyrrhus.

over Italy; and the reputation was no less drave the Romans into their Camp, yet than the fame. For it was a matter very rare he could not force them out of it, nor to be heard, that a Roman Conful, with a fe- faw any likelihood of prevailing against lect Army, should lose in plain battel, not on- them, that were like to be relieved with ly the Field, but the Camp it felf, being daily supplies, whilest he should be driven fo notably fortified as they alwayes were. to fpend upon his old stock. Neither And this honour was the more bravely won could he expect that his Elephants should by Pyrrhus, for that he had with him none of alwayes stand him in stead. A little knowhis Italian friends, fave the unwarlike Taren- ledge of their manner in fight would foon tines. Neither could he well diffemble his teach the Romans, that were apt Schollers content that he took, in having the glory in such learning, how to make them unof this action peculiarly his own, at fuch serviceable. Wherefore he defired nothing time as he blamed the Lucans and Samnites, more, than how to carry his honour for coming (as we say) a day after the Fair. safe out of Italy: which to do (seeing Nevertheless he wifely confidered the the Romans would not help him, by offer ftrength of the Romans, which was such, ring or accepting any fair conditions of as would better endure many such losses, peace, or of truce) he took a sleight orange

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undoing. For he had loft the flower of his The fame of this victory was foon spread Army in this battel: and though he on, presented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

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where he is beaten by the Romans, and so goes back to his own Kingdom.

all the Dominions of Lysimachus in Europe, as exile. if they had been the due reward unto him, tion enough to advance himself against Cethe fon of Seleucus, he was far off, and might be questioned about some part of Alia, ere he should be able to bring an Army neer unto Europe. Yet he made great shew of meaning to revenge his Fathers death: but being stronger in money than in arms, he was content, after a while, to take fair words, and make peace with the murtherer. While these three strove about the Kingdom, Pyrrhus, who thought his claim as good as any of theirs, made use of their diffention: threatning war, or promiting his affiltance to every one of them. By these means he strengthened himself, and greatly advantaged his Itatrouble, and quietly enjoy his Kingdom,

Thus Ptolomy grew mighty on the fudden; and the power that by wicked means he had gotten, by means as wicked he encreafed.

All Macedon and Thrace being his, the The great troubles in Macedon and Sicil. How Strong City of Cassandria was held by Arsinoe Prirhus, being invited into Sicil, forfook his fifter, the widow of Lysimachus, who lav traly; wan the most of the Isle; and lost it therein with her young children. Her he in hort space. Pyrrhus returns into Italy, circumvented by making love to her; and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of confanguinity) taking her to wife, with pro-Then Fiolomy Cerannus had traited mile to adopt her children: a promife that roully murdered his Benefactor and he meant not to perform; for it was not Patron scleucus, he prefently seized upon long, ere he slew them, and drave her into

In the pride of this good fuccess, which that had flain the Conqueror. The houses his villany found, vengeance came upon of Cassander and Lysimachus were then fal- him from a far, by the fury of a Nation that len to the ground: neither was there in he never heard of. Belgius a Captain of the Macedon any man of strength and reputa- Gaules, having forced his passage through many Countreys, unto the confines of Marannus. The friends of Lysimachus were rather cedon, sent a proud message to Cerannus, pleased to have him their King, that had as commanding him to buy peace with money, he professed) revenged their Lords death; or otherwise, to look for all the miseries of than any way offended with the odiouf- war. These Gaules were the race of those, nels of his fact, by which they were freed that iffued out of their Countrey, to feek from subjection, to one, against whom they new seats in that great expedition, wherein had flood in opposition. Many there were, Brennus took and burnt the City of Rome. that upon remembrance of his fathers great | They had divided themselves, at their setvertue, gathered hope of finding the like ting forth, into two companies; of which in Cerainus: perswading themselves that the one fell upon Italy; the other, passing his reign might prove good though his en- through the Countreys that lye on the Nortrance had been wicked. These affections of thern side of the Adriatick Sea, made long the Macedonians did serve to defeat Antigo- abode in Pannoma, & the Regions adjoyning, nus the fon of Demetrius, that made an at- where they forced all the neighbour Princes tempt upon the Kingdom. As for Antigonus to redeem peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled Ceraunus to do: unto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight years after such time as their fellows had taken Rome.

When their Embaffadors came to Ptolomy, alking what he would give : his answer was, that he would be contented to give them peace, but it must be with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hoftages, and yield up their arms 5 otherwise he would neither pardon their boldness, nor give any credit to their words: At this answer, when it was returned, the Gaules did laugh; faying, That they would lian voyage, which he had then in hand: re- foon confute with deeds, the vanity of questing money of Antiochin, ships of Antigo- such proud words. It may seem strange, nus, and fouldiers of Ptolony, who gave him that he, who had given away part of his his daughter in marriage, and lent him a Army unto Pyrrhus, for very fear; should be ftrong power of Macedonian Souldiers, and so confident in undertaking more mighty of Elephants (covenanting to have them re- enemies. The King of the Dardanians offered flored at two years end) more for fear than to lend him twenty thousand men against for love: that so he might free himself from the Gaules; but he scorned the offer; laying, That he had the children of those, which un-

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all the East. Thus he issued forth against all thage. To him therefore the Syracusans, Leonthe barbarous people with his famous Ma- times, and Agragentines, principal Estates of cedonians, as if the Victory must needs have the Isle, fent Embassadours, earnessly defifollowed the reputation of a great Name. ring him to take them into his protection. But he foon found his great errour when it was too late. For the Enemies were not on- fuch notable occasions of enlarging his Do. ly equal in strength of body, and fierceness minions, should fall out so unluckily, both at of courage, but so far superiour to the Ma- one time. Yet whether he thought the bucedonians in number, that few or none esca- lines of sicil more important, or more full ped their fury. *Ptolomy* himself grievously of likelihood; or whether perhaps he be wounded, fell into their hands, whilft the lieved (as came after to pass) that his adbattel continued; and they prefently strook vantage upon Macedon would not so hashily off his head, which they fliewed to his men pass away, but that he might find some oc. on the top of a Lance, to their utter aftonish- casion to lay hold on it at better kissie;

all Macedon with fuch desperation, that the yet not leaving them free as he found them, people fled into walled Towns, and aban but with a Garrison in their Town to hold doned the whole Country as lost. Only so-them in subjection. fthenes, a valiant Captain, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Army, with grounded on head-long passion, than mature which he many times got the upper-hand, advice; so were his actions following, until and hindred *Belgius* from using the Victory his return into *Epirus*, rather many and at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his tumultuous, than well-ordered, or notevertue, the Souldiers would have made him worthy. The Army which he carried into King; which title he refused, and was conten- that Isle, consisted of thirty thousand foot, ted with the name of a General. But (as and two thousand five hundred horse: with mischiefs do seldom come alone) the good which, soon after his descent into sicil, he fuccels of Belgins drew into Macedon, Bren- forc't the Carthaginians out of all, in effect, nus, another Captain of the Gaules, with an that they had therein. He also won the hundred and fifty thouland foot, and fifteen | firong City of Eryx; and having beaten the thousand horse; against which mighty Army, Mamerlines in battel, he began to change when softhenes with his weak troops made condition, and turn Tyrant. For he drave eppolition, he was eafily beaten, and the Ma- Softrains (to whom his cruelty was sulpedredonians again compelled to hide them- ed) out of the Island, and put Thenon of Siselves within their walls, leaving all their racing to death, being jealous of his great-Country to the spoil of the Barbarians.

they had not heard of in less than fifty years his fortunes declined to fast, as he ferved after the death of Alexander, who fought to himself, and salved the dif-reputation of his discover and subdue unknown Countries, as leaving Sicil, by an Embassage sent himston if all Greece, and the Empire of Persia had the Tarentines, and Samnites, imploring his been too little for a King of Macedon.

ried to Fyrrhus in Italy, who fought a fair them of all that they had. pretext of relinquishing his War with the diffracted him, and carried him away in pur-fuit of nearer hopes. For after the death of affailed in *Haly* it felf, by eighteen hundred Romans; had not other tydings out of sicil Agathocles, who reigned over the whole Mamertines, that attended him in the fraits Illand, the Carthaginians sent an Army to of the Country. Lastly, after he had recoconquer Sicil, out of which, by him, they had vered Tarentum, he fought a third battel been expelled. This Army did to faft prevail, that the Silicians had no other hope to victorious over him, and forc't him out of avoid flavery, than in submitting themselves Italy into his own Epirus. cian, and a noble Prince, they thought it constant; and had he been but a General of an more for their good to obey, than to live Army for some other great King or State, and had

der the conduct of Alexander had hibdued under the well-known heavy yoak of car.

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It grieved Pyrrhus exceedingly, that two over into sicil he transported his Army, The report of this great overthrow filled leaving the Tarentines to shift for themselves

As his departure out of Italy was rather ness; which two persons had faithfully ser-Thus were the Macedonians destitute of ved him, and delivered the great and rich a King, and trodden down by a Nation that City of Syracufe into his hands. Afterthis, present help against the Romans, who fince Very feasonably had these news been car- his leaving Halt, had well-neer disposest

Taking this fair occasion, he imbarked for Italy; but was first beaten by the Cartha-

A Prince he was far more valiant than

one Country or Kingdom, it is to be thought, Army. that he would have purchased no less howhereof not long after he died in Argos.

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from Antigonus.

selves from the impotent rule of his Father woods adjoyning, where he lay close, Demetrius. His coming into the Country with an Army, Navy, and Treasure beseem- were not hasty to pursue him, but fell to ing a King, did rather breed good hope in ransacking the empty Cabbins of the Soulthe people, than fill them with much confi- diers; in hope of finding all that was either dence : for he was driven to use against the lost or hidden. At length, when they had Barbarians, only those forces which he searched every place in vain, angry at their brought with him, having none other than loft labour, they marched with all speed togood wishes of the Macedons to take his wards the Sea-side; that they might fall upbut thought to get somewhat for themselves, on the shore, and in such ships as lay on in the ablence of their fellows: and there- ground. ved. He thought hereby to make them un- to the service of Antigonus. derstand how great a Prince he was, and The fame of this Victory caused all the

had been directed to have conquered any how able if need required, to wage a mighty

To which end, he likewife did thew unto nour than any man of War, either preceding them his Campand Navy, but especially his or fucceeding him; for a greater Captain, or | Elephants. But all this bravery ferved only a valianter man, hath been no where found, to kindle their greedy appetites; who fee-But he never flayed upon any enterprise; ing his ships heavy loaden, his Camp full of which was, indeed, the difease he had, wealth, and ill fortified, himself (as it feemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage, inferiour unto the Gaules, thought all time loft wherein they fuffered the prefent possessions to spend the riches which How Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, deli- they accounted affuredly their own. They vered Macedon from the Gaules. How returned therefore to their companions with Pyrrhus mon the Kingdom of Macedon none other news in their mouths, than of spoil and purchase: which tale carried the Gaules head-long to Antigonus his Camp, HE vertue of softhenes being too where they expected a greater booty, than weak to defend the Kingdom of Mace- the victory over Ceraunus had given to Beldon; and the fortune which had accompa- gius. Their coming was terrible and fudden; nied him against Belgius, failing him in his yet not so sudden, but that Antigonus had noattempts against Brennus: the Macedonians tice of it, who distrusting the courage of his were no less glad to submit themselves un- own men, dislodged somewhat before cheir to the government of Antigonus, than they arrival, and conveyed himself, with his had been formerly desirous to free them- whole Army and carriage, into certain

The Gaules, finding his Camp forfaken, part. Brennus with the main strength of his on him, whilst he was busie in getting his men Army, was gone to spoil the Temple of Apol- and carriages a ship-board. But the success lo at Delphos, having left no more hehind was no way answerable to their expectation. him, than he thought necessary to guard the For being proud of the terrour which they borders of Macedon and Pannonia; which had brought upon Antigonus, they were so were about fifteen thousand foot, and three careless of the Sea-men, that without all orthousand horse. These could not be idle, der, they fell to the spoil of what they found

fore sent unto Antigonus, offering to sell him Part of the Army had left Antigonus, peace, if he would pay well for it; which by where he lay in covert; and had faved it felf the example of Ceraunus, he had learnt (as by getting aboard the Fleet: in which numthey thought) not to refuse. Antigonus was ber were some well-experienced men of unwilling to weaken his reputation by con- War: who discovering the much advantage descending to their proud demands: yet he offered unto them, by the desperate prejudged it unfit to exasperate their furious sumption of their enemies, took courage, and choler, by uncourteous words or usage, as encouraged others to lay manly hold upon Ceraums had over-fondly done. Wherefore the opportunity. So the whole number, both he entertained their Embassadours in very of Souldiers and Mariners, landing togeloving and fumptuous manner, with a royal ther, with great refolution, gave so brave a feast: wherein he exposed to their view such charge upon the disordered Gaules, that abundance of maffie gold & filver, that they their contemptuous boldness was thereby were not so much delighted with the meat, as changed into sudden fear, and they, after a with fight of the veffels, wherein it was fer-great flaughter, driven to cast themselves in-

barbarous

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barbarous Nations in those quarters to re- Gaules and the Elephants, which were nations in their ancient belief of the Mace- thought the best of his strength; a manifest donian valour: by which the terrible and proof that he was in retrait. The Gaules veaoman valour: by which the terrible and properly fulfained Pyrrhus his impreflion; refiftles oppreflors of fo many Countries ry bravely fulfained Pyrrhus his impreflion; were overthrown.

To speak more of the Gaules in this place, and to shew how, about these times, three Tribes of them passed over into Asia the less, with their wars and conquests there; I hold it needless: the victorious Armies of courage by deceiving their expectation. The the Romans taming them hereafter in the Countries which now they wan, shall give after; who finding themselves exposed to better occasion to rehearse these matters the same violence that had confumed some briefly.

people; yet his own Souldiers, that without discomfort; which emboldened Pyrrhus to his leading had won this Victory, could not charge them where they lay in their thereupon be perfoaded to think him a strength. Where the *Phalanx* could be chargood man of war: knowing that he had no ged only in a front, it was matter of extreme interest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct was no better than creeping the Macedonians had feen fo much that they into a wood.

ly helpful unto Pyrrbus : though as yet he adventured to draw near in person, and exknew not fo much. For Pyrrhus, when his af- hort them to yield. Neither the common fairs in Italy stood upon hard terms, had Souldier, nor any Leader refused to become fent unto Antigonus for help: not without his follower. All forfook Antigonus, a few threats, in case it were denied. So was he horse-men excepted, that sled along with fure to get either a fupply, wherewith to him to Theffalonica; where he had some small continue his War against the Romans; or forces left, and mony enough to entertain a fome feeming honourable pretence, to for- greater power, had he known wheretokfake Haly, under colour of making his word vy it. But whill he was thinking how to algood, in feeking revenge. The threats lure a sufficient number of the Gaules into which he had used in bravery, meer necessitive his service; whereby he might repair his loss forced him at his return into Epirus, to put Ptolomy, the Son of Pyrrhus, came upon him, in practice.

He brought home with him eight thoutoo little to be employed, by his reftless na- which he had formenly lurked, before sech ture, in any action of importance; yet greatime as he looked abroad into the world, ter than he had means to keep in pay. There- and made himfelf a King. fore he fell upon Macedon; intending to take what spoil he could get, and make Antigonus compound with him, to be freed of his late mil fortunes in the Roman War: from trouble. At his first entrance into this fo that he sent for his Son Helenus (whom he business, two thousand of Antigonus his fouldiers revolted unto Pyrrhus; and many Ci-rentum) willing him to come over into ties, either willingly or perforce, received Greece, where was more matter of conquelt, him. Such fair beginnings eafly perfivaded and let the Italians shift for themselves the courage of this daring Prince to fet upon Antigonus himself, and to hazard his fortune, in trial of a Battel, for the whole Kingdom of Macedon.

It appears, that Antigonus had no defire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought it the wifest way, by protracting of time, to overtook him in a freight patiage, and charged him in the rear; wherein were the vanquished the Gaules, and beaten suit and

yet were broken at length (when most of them were flain) after a sharp fight: whereinit feems that Antigonus keeping his Macedo. nian Phalanx within the streight, and not advancing to their fuccour, took away their Captains of the Elephants were taken foon ny of the Gaules, yielded themselves and Howloever the good fucces of Antigonus the beasts. All this was done in full view of got him reputation among the barbarous Antigonus and his Macedonians, to their great This (as prefently will appear) was great- discovered so well their affections, that he and eatily defeating his weak forces, drave him to flie from the parts about Macedon, fand foot, and five hundred horse: an Army to those Towns afar off in Peloponnelis, in

This good success revived the spirits of the Epirot, and caused him to forget all forrow had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of Ta-

How Pyrrhus affailed Sparta without success. His enterprise upon Argos, and his death.

Darrhus had now conceived a great hope that nothing should be able to withunto Sparta; but contrariwise professed, had no desire to spend histime. that it was his intent, to have two of his own of the Lacedamonians, to deal in like fort his hands. with others, whom, in the time of their affurance of prevailing.

time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: part, if they so defired. foon after this (it being built upon uneven ground, and, for the most part, hard to approach) the lower and more accessible plating the strength of them should keep the Chickens from his eafie. Three dayes together it was affailed by and gave hoftages to affure his word: for

and won the Kingdom of Macedon. There Pyrrhus exceeding fiercely; and no lefs and won the tangeton, nor, indeed, in all stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Lands that Alexander had won, any the Citizens preserved the Town the first the Lands that I can ame and worth, as defer- day; whereinto the violence of Pyrrhus had red to be fet up against him: which filled forced entrance the second day, but that his him with the opinion that he might do wounded horse threw him to the ground, what he pleased. He raised therefore an which made his Souldiers more mindful of Army, confifting of five and twenty thou- faving the perfon of their King, than of Army, two thousand horse, and four breaking into the City, though already they and twenty Elephants; pretending War had torn in funder the Barricadoes. Preagainst Antigonus, and the giving liberty lently after this, one of Antigonus his Capto those Towns in Peloponness, which the tains got into Sparta, with a good strength fame Antigonus held in Subjection; though of men; and Areus the King returned out itwas eafily discovered, that such great pre- out of Crete (where he had been helping his parations were made, for accomplishment friends in War) with two thousand men, little of fome design more important than War knowing the danger, in which his own against a Prince already vanquished, and Country stood, until he was almost at home. almost utterly dejected. Especially the La- These succours did not more animate the cedemonians feared this expedition, as made | Spartans, than kindle in Pyrrhus a defire to against their State. For Cleonymus, one of prevail against all impediments. But the their Kings, being expelled out of his Coun-third dayes work shewed how great his ertry, had betaken himself to Pyrrhus: who your had been, in forbearing to assault the readily entertained him, and promifed to Town at his first coming. For he was so reftore him to his Kingdom. This promife manfully repelled, that he faw no likeliwas made in secret; neither would Pyrrhus hood of getting the place, otherwise than make shew of any displeasure that he bare by a long siege in which tedious course he

Antigonus had now raised an Army, younger Sons trained up in that City, as in though not ftrong enough to meet the Enea place of noble discipline. With such co- my in plain field, yet able to hinder all his lours he deluded men, even till he entred purposes. This made Pyrrhus doubtful upon Laconia; where presently he demean- what way to take; being diversly affected, ed himself as an open enemy; excusing him- by the difficulty of his enterprise in hand, felf and his former diffembling words with and the shame of taking a repulse in his first a jest; That he followed herein the Laceda: attempt. Whilst he was thus perplexed, monian cultome, of concealing what was truly letters came from Argos, inviting him thi-purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner ther; with promise to deliver that City into

Civil Diffention raging then hotly in Argreatness, they fought to oppress: but now |gos, caused the heads of several factions to they complained of that, as falshood, in call in Pyrrhus and Antigonus; but the com-Pyrrhus, which they alwayes practifed in ing of these two Princes taught the Citizens wildom, till it made them distrusted, for- wit, and made them desirous to rid their faken, and almost contemptible. Neverthe- | hands of such powerful affistants, as each of less, they were not wanting to themselves in the two Kings pretended himself to be. Anthis dangerous extremity. For the old men tigonus told the Argives, that he came to and women laboured in fortifying the fave them from the tyranny of Pyrrhus: and Town; caufing fuch as could bear arms to that he would be gone, if they needed not reserve themselves fresh against the assault . his help. On the other side, Pyrrhus would which Pyrrhus had unwifely deferred, upon needs perfwade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them fafe from Sparta was never fortified, before this Antigonus; offering in like manner, to de-

ces, were fenced with walls, at the present on- enemy: and therefore prayed them both ly trenches were cast, and barricadoes made to divert their powers some other way. with Carts, where the entrance feemed most Hereunto Antigonus readily condescended,

good will. But Pyrrhus thought it enough led to mind an Oracle, which threatned good will. But 1717000 thought of the promife: Holtages he would give none him with death, when he should behold a to promue: riouages he would give to his inferiours, especially meaning deceit. Bull fighting with a Wolf: and that here-This made them suspect his purpose to be upon he made retrait. fuch, as indeed it was. Yet he less regarded Indeed, the coming of Antigonus to the their opinions than to hold them worthy of refeue, the diforder and confusion of his their opinions, than to hold their worth, or affurance, by giving fuch a bond, as he intended to break ere the next morning.

fhould be opened by night unto Pyrrbus, by been away. The tumult was fuch, that no his Complices within Argos: which was directions could be heard; but as some gave accordingly performed. So his Army with- back, fo did others thrust forward, and out any tumult entred the City: till the the Argives preffing hard upon him, forced out any tumuit entred the City. In the Elephants, with Towers on their back, cloyed the way, being too high to pass the Gate. The taking off, and fetting on again of those The taking off, and fetting on again of those covered with Women, that food looking on the covered with Towers, with the trouble thereto belong- the fight. Among these was one, that saw ing, did both give alarm to the City, and her own Son in dangerous cafe, fighting with fome leilure to take order for defence, before Pyrrhus. Wherefore she took a tile-stone, fo many were entred, as could fully mafter or flate, and threw it so violently down on it. Argos was full of dirches, which greatly the head of Pyrrhus, that he fell to the hindred the Gaules (that had the Vant- ground aftonished with the blow; and lyguard) being ignorant of the wayes in the ingin that cafe, had his head cut off, dark night. The Citizens, on the other fide, had much advantage, by their know
Pyrrhus, together with his life: and thus ledge of every by-paffage: and fetting up- returned the Kingdom of Macedon to Antion the enemics on all fides, did put them to gonus; who forthwith possessed the Army, great loss and more trouble.

confused noise, and unequal shoutings of his and was given by Antigonus unto Helenus his own men, that they were in diffrefs entred Son; which young Prince he gracioully the City in person, to take order for their sent home into his Fathers Kingdom of Epirelief, and affurance of the place. But the rus. From this time forwards, the race of darkness, the throng, and many other im- Antigonus held the Kingdom of Macedon; pediments, kept him from doing any thing the posterity of Seleucus reigned over Ala of moment, until break of day. Then be and syria; and the house of Ptolomy had gan he to make his paflage by force, and fo quiet possession of Egpt: until such times far prevailed, that he got into the Market- the City of Rome, swallowing all up, digeplace. It is faid, that feeing in that place | fted these, among other Countries, into the the Image of a Wolf and a Bull, in such po-

he was the weaker, and food in need of fiture as if they had been combatant, hecal-

reasonable cause to have retired out of the City, though the Wolf and Bull had

the body, and the children of his Enemy, the body of Pyrrhus therefore understanding by the The body of Pyrrhus had honourable burial,

Finis Libri quarti.

CHAP. I.



THE RST PART OF THE TOR OF THE

Intreating of the Times from the settled Rule of ALEXANDERS Successors in the East, until the Ro-MANS, prevailing over all, made Conquest of Asia and MACEDON.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

Снар. 1.

Of the First Punick War.

A Discussion of that Probleme of Livie; Whether the Romans could have refisted the Great Alexander. That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equal valour to



pute; which (as it feems to me) the argu- ment, coming upon them before their Doments on both fides do not so well explain, minion was half so well settled? It is easie to as doth the experience that Pyrrhus hath fay, that Alexander had no more than thirty given of the Roman power in his dayes. For thousand foot, and four thousand horse (as if he, a Commander (in Hannibals judge- indeed, at his first passage into Asia, he carment) inferiour to Alexander, though to ried over not many more) & that the rest of

HAT Question handled and little store of mony, or of other needful by Livie, Whether the helps in War, vanquish them in two Bat-Great Alexander could tels, and endanger their Estate, when it was have prevailed against the well settled and held the best part of Italy, Romans, if after his Ea | under a confirmed obedience: what would flern Conquest, he had bent Alexander have done, that was abundantly all his Forces against them, provided of all which is needful to a Conhath been, and is the subject of much dis- querour, wanting only matter of employnoneelle, could with a smal strength of men, his followers were no better than base effe-

Gcccc 2

CHAR.

Armies of Perdiccas, Antipater, Crate- them not, at some time, both before and Arms of results. Antigons and Lyfinachts, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only fome fragment of this would have made refiftance. How they dead Empereurs power, shall easily find, could have sped well, in undertaking such a that such a reckoning is far short of the match; it is uneasie to find in discourse of

Horses, Elephants, Engines of Battery, and cowardly fools, and the unfortunate: for the like: of all which the Macedonian whosoever contends with one too might had abundance; the Roman having nought, for him, either must excel in these, as much fame men and arms. As for Sea-forces; as his enemy goes beyond him in power; he that shall consider after what fort the or else must look both to be overcome, and Romans, in their first Punick War, were to be cast down so much the lower, byhow trained in the rudiments of Navigation; much the opinion of his fortune and verfitting upon the shoar, and beating the fand tue renders him suspected, as likely to make with poles, to practife the stroke of the head another time against the vanquisher. Oar, as not daring to lanch their ill-built Whether the Roman or the Macedonian vessels into the Sea; will casily conceive were in those dayes the better Souldier, I how far too weak they would have proved will not take upon me to determine: though in fuch fervices.

why all Greece and Macedon, being abso- followed not only Philip and Alexander, but lutely commanded by Alexander, might also Alexanders Princes after him, in the not well deserve to be laid in ballance greatest dangers of all sorts of War, beagainst those parts of Haly, which the foreany, that Rome either had, or in long Romans held in ill-assured subjection. To time after did send forth. Concerning for omit therefore all benefit that the Eastern tune, who can give a rule that shall al-World, more wealthy, indeed, than va- wayes hold? Alexander was victorious in liant, could have afforded unto the Mace- every Battel that he fought: and the Rodonian: let us only conjecture, how the States of Sicil and Carthage, nearest neighbours to such a quarrel (had it happened) worthy of consideration; I think it a great would have stood affected. The sicilians part of Romes good fortune, that Alexander were for the most part Grecians; neither came not into Italy: where in three years is it to be doubted, that they would readi- after his death, the two Roman Confuls, to ly have submitted themselves unto him, gether with all the powers of that State, that ruled all Greece befides them. In what were fuprized by the Samnites, and enforced terms they commonly flood, and how ill to yield up their arms. We may therefore they were able to defend themselves , it | permit Livie to admire his own Romaniand shall appear anon. Sure it is, that Alex- to compare with Alexander those Captains anders coming into those parts, would have of theirs, which were honoured sufficient brought excessive joy to them that were | ly, in being thought equal to his followers: fain to get the help of Pyrrhus, by offering that the same conceit should blind our to become his subjects. As for the carthaginians, if Agathocles the Tyrant of Syracuse, vanity. hated of his people, and ill able to defend his own besieged City, could by adventuring to me-thinks it were not amis, for an Employee fail into Africk, put their Dominion, yea, man, to give such a sentence between the and Carthage it felf, in extreme hazard; Macedonians and Romans, as the Romans fhall we think that they would have been once did (being chosen Arbitrators) beable to withfrand Alexander? But why tween the Ardeates and Ariami, that from do I question their ability, seeing that they about a piece of Land; saying, that it be fent Embafiadours, with their fubmiffion, as longed unto neither of them, but unto the far as Babylon, ere the War drew near them? | Romans themselves. must, without other succour, than perhaps Macedonian, or the Roman were the best forme other form Tables and Macedonian, or the Roman were the best forme other form Tables and Macedonian, or the Roman were the best former other former than the best former other for of some other few Italian friends (of Warriour? I will answer, The English

nate Afratiques. But he that confiders the which yet there were none that forfook humane reason. It is true, that vertue It were needless to speak of Treasure, and fortune work wonders; but it is against I might without partiality, deliver mine Now for helpers in War; I do not fee own opinion, and preferr that Army, which mans in the issue of every War. But forasmuch as Livie hath judged this a matter judgment, we cannot permit without much

Now in deciding fuch a Controversie,

If therefore it be demanded, whether the

shall examine the noble acts of our Nation | cedonians. in war, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; against no savage War.

In what fort Fhilip wan his Dominion in Greece; what manner of men the Persians and Indians were, whom Alexander vanquished; as likewise of what force the Macedonian Phalanx was, and how well appointed, against such arms as it commonly fufficiently understand. Yet was this Phaagainst the Roman armies; which were emat once.

as it were in wager, upon the heads of three Champions: and having thereby made her by long war, in many ages, extend her Do-

man. For it will foon appear to any that tech them against the Carthaginians and Ma-

I shall not need to speak of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when she or unmanly people; the enemy being far had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to furctiour unto us in number, and all need-difgrace the Roman valour (which was very ful provisions, yea as well trained as we, noble) or to blemish the reputation of so or commonly better, in the exercise of many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I fay; That among all their wars, I find not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the English. If my judgement feem over-partial, our wars in France may help to make it good.

First therefore it is well known, that Rome (or perhaps all the world befides) had never encountred: any man, that hath taken pains any fo brave a Commander in war as Julius to read the foregoing story of them, doth | Cafar: and that no Koman Army was comparable unto that which ferved under the lanx never, or very feldom, able to frand fame Cafar. Likewife, it is apparent, that this gallant Army, which had given fair proof of battelled in so excellent a form, as I know the Roman courage, in good performance of not whether any Nation besides them have the Helvetian war, when it first entred into used, either before or fince. The Roman Gaule; was nevertheless utterly disheartned, weapons likewise, both offensive and defen- when Casar led it against the Germans. So five, were of greater use than those with that we may justly impute all that was exwhich any other Nation hath served, before | traordinary in the valour of Cafars men, to the fiery instruments of Gun-powder were their long exercise, under so good a Leader, known. As for the enemies with which in fo great a War. Now let us in general Rome had to do, we find, that they which | compare with the deeds done by these best did over-match her in numbers, were as far of Roman Souldiers, in their principal ferover-matched by her in weapons; and that vice; the things performed in the same they, of whom the had little advantage in Country, by our common English Souldiers, arms, had as little advantage of her in mul- levied in hafte, from following the Cart, or titude. This also (as Plutareb well obser- fitting on the shop-stall: so shall we see the veth) was a part of her happines; that the difference. Herein will we deal fairly, and was never over-laid with two great Wars believe Cafar in relating the acts of the Romans: but will call the French Historians Hereby it came to pass, that having at to witness, what actions were performed by first increased her strength by accession of the English. In Cafars time France was inthe Sabines; having won the State of Alba, habited by the Gaules, a front people, but against which she adventured her own felf. inferiour to the French, by whom they were fubdued; even when the Romans gave them affiftance. The Country of Gaule was rent felf Princes of Latium, the did afterwards in funder (as Casar witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were governed by minion over all Italy. The Carthaginians petty Kings, others by the multitude, none had well-near oppressed her: but her Soul- ordered in such sort as might make it applidiers were Mercenary; fo that for want of able to the nearest Neighbour. The factions proper firength, they were easily beaten at were many, and violent: not only in general their own doors. The Ætolians, and, with through the whole Country, but between them, all, or the most of Greece, affisted her the petty States, yea in every City, and alagainst Fhilip the Macedonian : he being most in every house. What greater advanbeaten, did lend her his help to beat the same | tage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there Atolians. The wars against Antiochus, and was a greater. Ariovifius, with his Germans, other Assatiques, were such as gave to Rome had over-run the Country, and held much small cause of boast, though much of joy: part of it in subjection, little different from for those opposites were as base of courage, meer flavery: yea, so often had the Germans as the lands which they held were abun- prevailed in war upon the Gaules that the dant of riches. Sicil, Spain, and all Greece, Gaules, (who had sometimes been the better fell into her hands, by using her aid to pro- Souldiers) did hold themselves no way

CHAP. I.

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equal to those daily Invaders. Had France Let us hear what a French writer faith of the equal to those daily invaders. Flate trans-been so prepared unto our English Kings, home it felf by this time, and long ere this English, when their King John was ready to Jean Rome it felf by this time, and long eternibus give the on-fet upon the Black Prime, at when King time, would have been ours. But when King the hattel of Poitiers. John had all adapts, I was upon the hattel of Poitiers. Edward the third began his war upon trace, he found the whole Country fettled trages over Edward, both of number, force, EDd. France, he tound the whole Country a King hew, Country, and conceit (the which is come walk) in obedience to one mighty King; a King hew, Country, and confideration of no healt imbantance. in obedience to one mighty king a monly a confideration of no small importance using whose reputation abroad, was no less than monly a confideration of no small importance using the state of the confideration of the state of t whole reputation abroad, was no rest that his pullfance at home; under whole enligh, in worldly affairs); and withall, the choice fibrate the King of Bohemia did ferve in person; at all his horsenen (esseemed then the best in pulla). the King of Bosemia and let ve in printing the King of whole call the Genowayes, and other spaces of his whole Realm. And what could be mount bour States, were ready to take arms; final- of his whole Realm. And what could be mount bour States, were ready to take arms; final-(a) The ly, a King unto whom one (a) Prince gave more? ty, a Anng union, for love; (b) another I think it would trouble a Koman Anti-maps away nis Dominion, for love, the state of the like example in their His author fold away a goodly City and Territory for quary to find the like example in their His author fold away a goodly City and Territory for mony. The Country lying so open to the fronties; the example I say, of a King, brought is not mony. The Country lying so open to the fronties; the example I say, of a King, brought is not remaind and the same and being so well fenced against the prisoner to Rome, by an army of eight thouse the same and Englib; it is note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meer vanity to thousand, better appointed, and no less exceptions). match the English purchases with the Roman pert Warriours. This I am fure of that meter conquest) but whether of the two gave the neither syphax the Numidian, followed by a data in greater proof of military vertue. Cefar him-rabble of half Scullions, as Livie rightly figure. telf doth witness, that the Ganles complained terms them, nor those cowardly Kings, Parof their own ignorance in the Art of war, few and Gentius, are worthy patterns. All and that their own hardiness was overmathat have read of Gress and Agincount, will ftered by the skill of their enemies. Poor bear me witness, that I do not alledge the men, they admired the Roman Towers, and battel of Poitiers, for lack of other, as good Engines of battery, railed and planted examples of the English Virtue: the proof against their walls, as more then humane whereof hath left many a hundred better works. What greater wonder is it, that marks in all quarters of France, then ever fuch a people was beaten by the Romans; did the valour of the Romans. If any man than that the Caribes, a naked people, but impute these Victories of ours to the long valiant, as any under the tky, are commonly bow, as carrying further, piercing more put to the worse by small numbers of Spani- strongly, and quicker of dischargethan the ards? Besides all this, we are to have regard French Cross-bow: my answer is ready; of the great difficulty that was found, in That in all these respects, it is allo (being drawing all the Gaules, or any great part of drawn with a ftrong arm) superiour to the them, to one head, that with joynt forces Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of they mignit oppole their assalialiants: as also more use. The Gun and the Cross bow are the much more difficulty of holding them of like force, when discharged by a Boyor long together. For hereby it came to pals, Woman, as when by a ftrong Man; weakthat they were never able to make use of ness or lickness, or a fore finger make the opportunity: but fometimes compelled to long Bow unferviceable. More particularly, ftay for their fellows ; and fometimes driven I fay, that it was the cufrom of our Anceto give or take battel upon extream difad- ftors to fhoot, for the most part, point blank vantages, for fear left their companies should and so shall he perceive, that will note the fall afunder: as indeed, upon any little circumstances of almost any one battle. disafter, they were ready to break, and re- This takes away all objection: for when turn every one to the defence of his own. two Armies are within the distance of a All this, and (which was little less then all Butts length, one flight of arrows, or two at this) great odds in weapon gave to the the most can be delivered before they dole. Romans the honour of many gallant Victo- Neither is it in general true, that the long ries. What such help? or what other world- Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth ly help, than the golden mettle of their more strongly than the Cross-bow: but this Souldiers, had our English Kings against the is the rare effect of an extraordinary arm; French? Were not the French as well ex- whereupon can be grounded no common perienced in feats of War? Yea, did they rule. If any man shall ask, How then came not think themselves therein our superi- it to pals, that the English wan so many great ours? Were they not in arms, in horfe, and battels, having no advantage to help him? in all provisions, exceedingly beyond us? I may, with best commendation of modelly,

with a configured to gain every where without any flay: could make upon France, transporting our he forceth our guard placed upon the Bridge to Forces over Sea. keep the passage. Or I may cite another place of the same Author, where he tells, how the Britons, being invaded by Charls the eighth, King of France, thought it good policy to and Paulus Æmilius, report wonders of our Nation:) the proposition which first I undertook to maintain; That the military vertue of the English, prevailing against all mauner of difficulties, cught to be preferred before that of the Romans, which was affifted with all advantages that could be defired. If it be demanded, Why then did not our Kings finish Kings were like to the Race of Eacida, of They were more war-like than politick. Who- nick War. fo notes their proceedings, may find, that none of them went to work like a Conquerour, fave only King Henry the fifth; the course of whose victories it pleased God to The estate of Carthage before it entred into interrupt by his death. But this question is the more eafily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the Romans attempt | THE City of Carthage had flood above

for prefervation of their own fafety. ly and strongly allied to our enemies the pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and

referr him to the French Historian: who French, and in that regard enemy to us. So relating the victory of our men at Crevant; that our danger lay both before and behind where they passed a Bridge in face of the us: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwayes we fearwith a conquering bravery, as he that was ac-ed, a stronger Invasion by Land, than we

It is usual with men, that have pleased themselves in admiring the matters which they find in ancient Histories; to hold it a great injury done to their judgment, if any apparel a thousand and five hundred of their take upon him, by way of comparison to exown men in English Cassocks; hoping that tol the things of latter ages. But I am well the very fight of the English Red Cross, perswaded, that as the divided vertue of would be enough to terrifie the French. But this our Island, hath given more noble proof I will not stand to borrow of the French of it self, than under so worthy a Leader. Historians (all which, excepting De Serres, that Roman Army could do, which afterwards could win Rome, and all her Empire, making Cafar a Monarch; so hereafter, by Gods bleffing, who hath converted our greatest hinderance, into our greatest help, the enemy that shall dare to try our forces, will find cause to wish, that avoiding us, he had rather encountred as great a puillance as was that of the Roman Empire. But it is the Conquest, as Casar had done? my answer now high time, that, laying aside compamay be (I hope without offence) that our risons, we return to the rehearfal of deeds done; wherein we shall find, how Rome whom the old Poet Ennius gave this note; began, after Pyrrhus had left Italy, to ftrive Bellipotentes sunt magis quam sapientifotentes; with Carthage for Dominion, in the first Fu-

6. II.

War with Rome.

the Conquest of Gaule before the time of I fix hundred years, when first it be-Cafar? Why not after the Macedonian gan to contend with Rome for the maftery War? Why not after the third Punick, or of Sicil. It fore-went Rome one hundred, and after the Numantian? At all these times lifty years in antiquity of foundation: but they had good leifure: and then especially in the honour of great atchievements, it had they both leifure and fit opportunity, excelled far beyond this advantage of time. when under the conduct of Marino, they had | For Carthage had extended her Domininewly vanquished the Cimbri, and Tentones, on in Africa it self, from the West of Cyby whom the Country of Gaule had been rene, to the streights of Hercules, about pitiously wasted. Surely the words of Tully ore thousand and five hundred miles in were true; That with other Nations the Ro- length, wherein stood three hundred Cimans fought for Dominion, with the Gaules ties. It had subjected all spain, even to the Pyrenaan Mountains, together with all the Therefore they attempted not the Con- Itlands in the Mediterranean Sea, to the quest of Gaule, until they were Lords of all | West of sicil; and of sicil the better part. It other Countries, to them known. We on flourished about feven hundred and thirty the other fide, held only the one half of our vears, before the destruction thereof by own Island; the other half being inhabited Scipio: who, besides other spoils, and all by a Nation (unless perhaps in wealth and that the Souldiers reserved, carried thence numbers of men fomewhat inferiour) every four hundred and feventy thousand weight way equal to our felves; a Nation ancient- of filver, which make of our mony (if our CHAP.

ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glo- people in latter times usurped too great aurious City ran the same fortune, which thority in their Councils. This consustant many other great ones have done, both be- Government, together with the trust that fore and fince. The ruine of the goodlieft they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helppieces of the world fore-thews the diffolu-

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tion of the whole. as it was cast down, the Senate of Rome (a) Their avarice was shewed both in exact. caused it to be re-built: and by Gracebus ing from their Vassals (besides ordinary) it was called Junonia: it was again and tributes) the one (b) half of the fruits of again abandoned and re-peopled, taken the carth; and in conferring of great offiagain abandoned and re-people and re-people and necessary search and nec by Bellifarius under Justinian, by the Per- fons, but upon those who could best tyran one by Gans, by the Egyptians, and by the Maho- nize over the people, to augment their manametans. It is now nothing. The feat treasures. Their cruelty appeared, in put- that he thereof was exceeding strong: and while ting them to death without mercy, that had been to the Carthaginians commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compassed it about, these rendred them edious to their Vallals, when faving that it was tyed to the Main by a whom it made ready upon all eccasions, to boile. neck of Land; which pallage had two miles revolt from them: the other did break of the and more of breadth (Appian faith, three the spirits of their Generals, by presenting the miles and one furlong) by which we may in the heat of their actions abroad, the fear first be induced to believe the common report, that the City it felf was above twen- to pass, that many good Commanders of them of ty miles in compass; if not that of Strabo, affirming the circuit to have been twice as los received, have desperately cast them within

the City; and between each of those, three or four Streets, with Vaults under ground, quickly, or to ruine all together; and sew likely of thirty foot deep, in which they had of them have dared to manage their own found place for three hundred Elephants, and all best projects, after that good form, where the first their food: over these they had stables for four thousand horse, and Granaries for the manner of their proceeding should be with their provender. They had also lodgings mis-interpreted: It being the Carthaginian forces for four theuland horfe-men, and twenty Captain, but even him, whose bad council health thouland foot-men, which (according to the difeipline used now by these of China) never peffered the City. It had towards by Roman Hiltorians, I find to be the following in the mean that the control of the South part, the Castle of Byrsa; to cruelty, avarice, crast, unfaithfulnes, and business which Servius gives two and twenty furpering, available, craft, untainfulnes, and seem longs in compare the major translation. Whether the Romans themselves will be longs in compare the major translation of the second services and the second services and the second services are services as a second service services and the second services are services as a second service as a second services are services as a second service are service longs in compals, that make two miles and were free from the fame crimes, let the tryal stages. a half. This was the same piece of ground be referred unto their actions. The first set of which Dido obtained of the Lybians, when league between Carthage and Rome, was ve- all the the got leave to buy only fo much Land of ry ancient: having been made the year folthem, as the could compais with an Oxe lowing the expulsion of Tarquine. In that sages hide. On the West-side it had also the Salt- league the Carthaginians had the superiori- for distances Sea, but in the nature of a standing pool; for ty, as imposing upon the Romans the more the block who a certain arm of Land, faltened to the strict conditions. For it was agreed, that down ground, on which the City flood, firetched the Romans should not so much as have have have it felf towards the West-continent, and left but feventy foot open for the Sea to enter. Pounded. And it is the free-man, and not the flowe, this history over this franching-Sea was built a most rage and the fense of shame deserved by constitute. How free this

bled that of Sparta; for they had titulary bring of Mannors, the Court Barron, and the Court Lets, the Free Mannors, the Court Barron, and the Court Lets, the Free Mannors and the Court Lets, the Tennash The form of their Common-weal refem-Kings, and the Ariflocratical Power of Semators. But (as Regius well observeth) the and (perchance) as little love.

ing causes of their destruction in the end.

Two other more forcible causes of their man About one hundred years after fuch time ine, were their avarice and their crucky. (a) [1] offended through ignorance: the one of they as the Carthaginian Forces, after some great thinks felves, with all that remained under their inglish It had three Walls without the Wall of charge, into the throat of destruction; hold winds

fumptuous Arfenall, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The form of their Computer week of the form of the form of their computer week of the form fervile. For fince the executive bravery and vain experted our ford hath taught them to raife their Rents, fince by Incloues, and district the prince of Managery the Court Perus. lities of the Gentry of England, have been diffolied, the Tennishal payed unto their Lords their rack Rent, owe them now no ferrical the other fide, no Haven in Italy was forbid-needful, against the Epirots. den to the Carthaginians. A fecond league was made long after, which (howsoever it hath pleased Livy to say, that the Romans

Africa, or in the Island of Sardinia. XM. Grue, in Sicil. For that mighty army of three hun- Pyrrhus found leifure to make a step into Si-Carthaginians prevailed at one time, the Si- as when they first began. cilians, either by their own valour, or by being a fubtle Nation, eafily fore-faw, that the rest. the same busie disposition which had

trade in some part of Africk, nor suffer any friends in this war with Pyrrbin; and that trace in base pass beyond the headland, the people of Carthage were very willing to or cape, then called the fair Promontory, un- affift the ftate of Rome, by fending an Army less it were by force of tempest: whereas on into Italy; if their help were thought

It was indeed the main defire of the Car. thaginians, to hold Pyrrhus fo hardly to his: work in Italy, that they might, at good leigranted it, at the Carthaginians intreaty) fure, pursue their buliness in Sicil: which was more strict than the former: prohibiting caused them to make such a goodly offer. the Romans to have trade in any part of But the Romans were too high-minded; and refuled to accept any fuch aid of their By these two treaties it may appear, that friends, lest it should blemish their reputathe Carthaginians had an intent not only to tion, and make them feem unable to fland keep the Romans (as perhaps they did other by their own ftrength. Yet the message was people) from getting any knowledge taken lovingly, as it ought; and the former of the state of Africk; but to counte- league between Rome and Carthage renued; nance and uphold them, in their troubling with covenants added, concerning the preall Italy, whereby they themselves might sent business; That if either of the two Cihave the better means to occupy all sicil, ties made peace with Fyrrhus, it should be whileft that Island should be destitute of with reservation of liberty, to affist the Italian succours. Hereupon we find good other, in case that Pyrrhus should invade eicause of the joy that was in Carthage, ther of their Dominions. All this notwithand of the Crown of gold, weighing twen- | standing, and not with standing that the same ty and five pound, sent from thence to Rome, Mago went and treated with Pyrrhus, using when the Samnites were overthrown. But all means to found his intentions (a matter the little state of Rome prevailed faster in very difficult, where one upon every new Italy, than the great power of Carthage did occasion, changeth his own purposes) yet dred thousand men, which Hannibal condu- | cil: where though in fine he was neither cted out of Africk into Sicil, wan only two getter nor faver, yet he clean defeated the Cities therein: many great fleets were de- purposes of Carthage, leaving them, at his voured by tempests; and howsoever the departure from thence, as far from any end,

So many disafters in an enterprise, that the affiftance of their good friends out of from the first undertaking had been so Greece, did at some other time repair their | strongly pursued, through the length of maown losses, and take revenge upon those ny generations, might well have induced Invaders. But never were the people of the Carthaginians to believe, that an higher Carthage in better hope of getting all Sicil, | providence refisted their intendment. But than when the death of Agathocles the Ty- their defire of winning that fruitful Island, rant, had left the whole Island in combu- was so inveterate, that with unwearied paflion; the estate of Greece being such, at the tience, they still continued in hope of so fame time, that it feemed impossible for any much the greater an harvest, by how much fuccour to be fent from thence. But whileft their coft and pain therein buried had been the Carthaginians were busic in making their the more. Wherefore they re-continued advantage of this good opportunity; Pyr- their former courses; and by force or prarhus, invited by the Tarentines and their clice, recovered in few years all their old fellows, came into Italy, where he made possessions: making peace with Syracuse, the tharp war upon the Romans. These news chief City of the Island, that so they might were unpleasing to the Carthaginians, who, the better enable themselves to deal with

Somewhat before this time, a troop of brought this Prince out of Greece into Italy, Campanian Souldiers, that had ferved under would as eafily transport him over into sicil, Agathocles, being entertained within Mefas foon as he could finith his Roman war. To | Jana as friends, and finding themselves too prevent this danger, they sent Mago Embas frong for the Citizens, took advantage of sadour to Rome; who declared in their name, the power that they had to do wrong; and that they were forry to hear what milad- with perfidious cruelty, flue those that had venture had befallen the Romans their good trusted them; which done, they occupied

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whom they had murdered. These Merce- home, and levying an Army of his own C. naries called themselves Mamertines. Good tizens, well trained and obedient, he hasted Souldiers they were: and like enough it again towards Meffana, and was by the Mais, that meer desperation of finding any that mertines (grown proud by their former would approve their barbarous treache- victory over the Mutiners) incountredin ry, added rage unto their froutness. Have- the plains of Myleum, where he obtained a ing therefore not any other colour of their most fignal victory; and leading with him proceedings, than the law of the ftronger, their Commander captive into syracy, himthey over-ran all the Country round about felf by common confent was elected & fallthem.

that they did not only defend Messaua resolved to give themselves to the Carthagiagainst the Cities of sicil Confederate, to nians, others to crave affistance of the Rowit, against the Syracusians, and others, but they rather wan upon them; yea, and upon the Carthaginians, exacting tribute from purpole. many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to these Mamertines, the Syracustans wan fast upon them; and finally, confining them within whereof, they that had fent for him gave the walls of Messana, they also with a powerful army befieged the City. It hapned ill, that about the fame time a contention beganbetween the Syracustan Souldiers, then good agreement, that this Captain, either lying at Megara, and the Citizens of Syracuse, and Governours of the Commonwealth; which proceeded fo far, that the Army elected two Governours among themselves, to wit, Artemidorus and Hieron, that was afterward King. Hieron, being for his years excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policy of Town that rebelled, having once been that State, to approve any election made by theirs. Hieron the new-made King of synathe Souldiers; yet for the great elemency used at his first entrance, he was by general the smart of injuries lately received added consent established and make Governour. his forces to the Carthaginians, with whom This office he rather used as a Scale, thereby he entred into a league, for exterminating to climb to some higher degree, than rested the Mamertines out of Sieil. So the Mamercontent with his present preserment.

In brief, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himself within the Sea, and with an Army on the one side of the City; and somewhat without it, that gave Town whilest Hieron with his Syraculans, impediment to his obtaining, and fafe lay before it on the other fide. keeping of the place he fought, to wit, a powerful party within the Town, and certain mutinous troops of Soldiers without, often and eafily moved to fedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen the Town, and sending Messengers to the himself, he took to Wife the daughter of Carthaginians, and to Hieron, required them Leptines, a man of the greatest estimation to depart; signifying unto them that the and authority among the syracustans. For Mamortines were now become confederate the second, leading out the Army to besiege with the people of Rome, and that there Messana, he quartered all those companies, which he held suspected, on the one fide of even by force of War, if reason would not the City, and leading the rest of his Horse prevail. have affaulted it in two leveral parts, he fo began the War between Rome and Carbonic Advanced to the War between marched away under the covert of the thage; wherein it will then be time to thew Townwalls; and left the Mutiners to be cut on which part was the justice of the quar-

the City, Lands, Goods, and Wives of those in pieces by the affieged: So returning ted King, Hereupon the Mamertines, finding In this course, at first, they sped so well, themselves utterly enseebled, some of them mans: to each of whom the feveral faction dispatched Embassadors for the very same

The Carthaginians were foon ready to lav hold upon the good offer : fo that a Captain of theirs got into the Castle of Mellana. him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the Romans, had brought their Companions to fo by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doors, and the Town reserved for other

Masters. These news did much offend the people of Carthage; who crucified their Captain, as both a Traitor and Coward; and fent a Fleet and Army to besiege Messana, as a cuse (to gratifie his people incensed with tines on all fides were closed up within Mef-Sana: the Carthaginians lying with a Navy at

In this their great danger came Appins Claudius the Roman Conful, with an Armyto the streights of sicil: which passing by night with notable audacity, he put himfelf into fore he was come to give them protection,

This message was utterly neglected; And

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ø. III.

The beginning of the first Punickwar. That it was unjustly undertaken by the Romans.

When Pyrrhus began his wars in Italy, the City of Rhegium, being well affested to Rome, and not only fearing to be taken by the Epirot, but much more di- low-theeves. strusting the Carthaginians, as likely to seize upon it in that buffe time, fought aid from whether the way of honefty or of profit the Romans, and obtained from them a Legion, confifting of four thousand fouldiers, under the conduct of Decius Campanus, in the other. They confidered, how cona Roman Prefect; by whom they were defended and affured for the prefent. But after a while, this Roman Garrison, considering ons: seeing for the same offences they had at good leisure, the fact of the Mamertines, committed in Messara (a City in Sicil, fitu-their own Souldiers, and restored the opate almost opposite to Rhegium, and no pressed to their liberty. Yet when they beotherwise divided than by a narrow Sea, held the description of the Carthaginian Dowhich severeth it from Haly) and rather minion, and that they were already Lords weighing the greatness of the booty, than of the best part of Africa, of the Mediterran the odiousness of the villany, by which it Islands, of a great part of Spain, and some was gotten; refolved finally, to make the like purchase, by taking the like wick- that Syracuse therein seated (a City in beau-

felves with an obstinate resolution: yet in the sure. end the affailants forced them; and those red to their former liberty and estates.

performed, and the fame thereof founding troubled with his arrival; and less mo-

rell, when some actions of the Romans honourably through all quarters of Haly or ren, water lately foregoing this, have been first consiliately foregoing this foregoing the foregoing this foregoing the foregoing the foregoing this foregoing the raculians, that were in a readiness to inflict the like punishment upon the Mamertines, for the like offence. A very impudent request it was, which they made : who having both given example of that villany to the Roman Souldiers, and holpen them with joynt forces to make it good, do intreat the Judges to give them that affiftance, which they were wont to receive from their fel-

The Romans could not fuddenly refolve, tended the one, but they many times walked lately put to torment, and to the fword, part of sicilit felf, whilest also they feared, ed course. Confederating therefore them- ty and riches, little at that time inferiour to felves with the Mamertines , they Carthage, and far superiour to Rome it self) entertained their Hosts of Rhegium, af- might become theirs; the safety of their own ter the same manner; dividing the spoil, estate spake for these Mamertines: who, if and all which that State had, among them- they (driven to despair by the Romans) should deliver up Mossana, with those other When complaint was made to the Senate holds that they had, into the hands of the and people of Rome, of this outrage; they Carthaginians, then would nothing stand befinding their honour thereby greatly stain- tween Carthage, and the Lordship of Sicil: for ed) for no Nation in the world made a | Spracufe it self could not, for want of succor, more severe profession of justice, than they any long time subsist, if once the Carthaginidid during all the time of their growing ans that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten greatness, resolved, after a while, to take upon that passage from the main Land. It revenge upon the offenders. And this they was further confidered; that the opportuniperformed thortly after, when they had ty of Messana was such, as would not only quenched the fires, kindled in Italy by Pyr | debarr all fuccours out of the continent, rhus. For not with standing that those Romans from arrival in Sicil; but would serve as a in Rhegium (as men for the foulness of their bridge, whereby the Carthaginians might fact, hopeless of pardon) defended them- have entrance into Italy, at their own plea-

These considerations of profit at hand, and which escaped the present fury, were of preventing danger, that threatned from brought bound to Rome, where, after the a-far, did fo prevail above all regard of usual torments by whipping inflicted, accor- honesty, that the Mamertines were admitding to the custome of the country, they had ted into Confederacy with the Romans, and their heads stricken from their shoulders, Ap. Claudus the Consul, presently dispatcht and the people of Regium were again refto- away for Meffana: into which he entred, and undertook the protection of it, as is This execution of Justice being newly shewed before. The besiegers were little

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ved. with his requiring them to defift from Country open to the Romans; who having their attempt. For they did far exceed him spoilled all round, without refiltance, in in number of men; the whole Island was reatended to lay siege unto the great City of dy to relieve them in their wants; and they Syracuse. were ftrong enough at Sea, to hinder any Supply from getting into the Town. All this they animated the Romans, and filled them Appins himself well understood: and against with hopes of attaining to greater matters. all this he thought the stiff mettal of his than at the first they had expected. Yetdid Roman Souldiers a fufficient remedy. There- they not imprint any form of terrour in the fore he resolved to iffue out into the City of Carthage, that had well enough refield, and to let the enemies know, that paired greater losses than this; in which no his coming was to fend them away from more was loft than what had been prepared the Town; not to be besieged by them against the Mamertines alone, without any

In executing this determination, it was very beneficial to him, that the enemy lay confider of those grounds, whereupon the encamped in fuch fort, as one quarter was Romans entred into this war; not how pronot well able to relieve another in diffress. fitable they were, nor how agreeable torules Hieron was now exposed to the same dan- of honesty (for questionless the enterprise ger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his own was much to their benefit, though as much mutinous followers not long before: only to their shame) but how allowable in strict he was strong enough (or thought so) to | terms of lawfulnes; whereupon they built make good his own quarter, without help all their allegations in maintenance thereof others. Against him Ap. Claudius issued of. That the Mamertines did yield themforth, and (not attempting, by unexpected | felves, and all that they had, into the Romans fally, to furprise his trenches) arranged hands (as the Campanes, distressed by the his men in order of battel, wherewith he | Samnites, had done) I cannot find: neipresented him. The syracusian wanted not ther can I find how the messengers of those courage to fight; but furely he wanted good folk, whereof one part had already adadvice: else would be not have hazzarded mitted the Carthaginians, could be enabled all his power against an enemy of whom he to make any such surrendry in the publick had made no trial; when it had been eafie, name of all. and as much as was requifite, to defend his own Camp. It may be, that he thought to full furrendry of themselves and their posget honour, wherewith to adorn the begin- | fessions, were become subject unto Rome, by ning of his reign. But he was well beaten, what better title could the Romans affilt and driven to fave himself within his tren- the Mamertines, against their most ancient ches: by which loss, he learned a point of friends the Carthaginians, than they might wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in have aided the Campanes against the Samgood stead all the dayes of his life. It was nites, without the same condition? which a foolish desire of revenge, that had made was (as they themselves confessed) by none the syracusians so busie, in helping those of at all. But let it be supposed, that some Carthage, against the Mamertines.

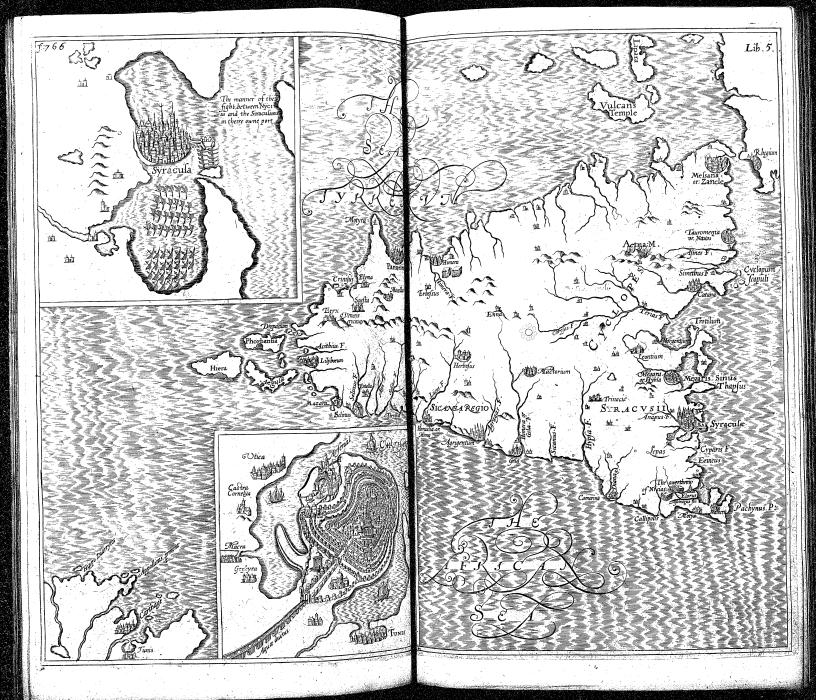
Had Meffana been taken by the Carthagi- all Histories. Doubtless it is, that no comnians, syracuse it self must have sought help | pany of Pyrates, Thieves, Out-laws, Murdefrom Rome, against those friends which it rers, or such other Malefactors, can by any now so diligently assisted. Hieron had (in good success of their villany, obtain the prirespect of those two mighty Cities) but a viledge of civil societies, to make league or fmall frock, which it behooved him to go- truce; yea, or to require fair war: but are vern well: fuch another loss would have by all means, as most pernicious vermine, to made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he be rooted out of the world. I will not take quietly brake up his Camp: and retired upon me to maintain that opinion of some home: intending to let them stand to their Civilians, that a Prince is not bound to hold adventures, that had hope to be gainers by his faith with one of these; it were a Postthe bargain. The next day, Claudius perceiv- tion of ill consequence: This I hold; that ing the Sicilian Army gone, did with great no one Prince or State can give protestion to courage, and with much alacrity of his Soul- fuch as these, as long as any other is using the diers, give charge upon the Carthaginians: sword of vengeance against them, without wherein he fped to well, that the enemy for- becoming accessary to their crimes. Where-

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These prosperous beginnings, howsoever fuspicion of War from Rome.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to

If therefore the Mamertines, by no lawpoint serving to clear this doubt, is lost in fook both field and camp, leaving all the fore we may esteem this action of the



perswaded herein; that he did put to sword present War. periwaded neterns, and people in Sogdiana) and all the Branchiadae (a people in Sogdiana) and penier Isle, adjoyning to Italy, as a part of their City, notwithstanding that they of justice, in this quarrel, than had the opened the Sicilian streights, as Hercilles did Gothes, Hunnes, Vandals, and other Na those of Gibralter. tions, of the Wars that they made upon the They which value the Islands of the midground.

> ø. IV. Of the Island of Sicil.

The quality of the Island: and the first inhabitants thereof.

possession of Messana, being now no not so much for that the was from hence

ROMANS for from being justifiable, by any longer fince the first victories of Appins retence of confederacy made with them 3 Claudius, the objects of the Roman hopes; as that contrariwife, by admitting this neft but the Dominion of all sicil being the of Murderers and Theeves into their prote- prize, for which Rome and Carthage are ction, they justly described to be warred upon themselves, by the people of sieil; yea, although Messana had been taken, and the observed, to make a brief collection of Mamertines all slain, ere any news of the things concerning that noble Island, which Confederacy had been brought unto the hath been the stage of many great acts, perbefregers. The great Alexander was fo far formed as well before and after, as in this

joyfully entertained him as their Lord and Brutium in Calabria, near unto Rhegium, and King; because they were descended from a afterward by violence of tempest severed company of Milestans, who to gratifie King from the same: it is a general opinion of all Kerxes, had robbed a Temple, and were by antiquity. But at what certain time this him rewarded with the Town and Country, division happened, there is no memorial rewhich these of their posterity enjoyed. Ne- maining in any ancient writer. Strabo, Pling, Plinkage vertheless, in course of humane justice, long and Dionysius affirm, that it was caused by 91. Silling. and peaceable possession gives jus acquisi- an earth-quake; Silius and Calsiodorus do tum, a kind of right by prescription unto think it to have been done by the rage and that which was first obtained by wicked violence of the tide, and surges of the Sea. means: and doth tree the descendants from Either of these opinions may be true; for so theorime of their Ancestors, whose villanies was Eubaa severed from Baotia; Atalante they do not exercise. But that the same and Macris from Eubwa; Sillie here in Enggeneration of Thieves, which by a detefta- land, from the Cape of Cornwall; and Britble fact hath purchased a rich Town, should tain it self (as may seem by Verstigans argube acknowledged a lawful company of Ci- ments) from the opposite continent of Gaule: tizens, there is no shew of right. For even But for sicil, they which lend their ears to the Conqueror that by open War obtaineth fables, do attribute the cause of it to Neptune a Kingdom, doth not confirm his title, by (as Eustathius witnesseth) who with his those victories which gave him first posses, three-forked Mace, in favour of Jocastus, the fion: but length of time is requifite to fon of #Bolus, divided it from the main land, establish him, unless by some alliance with and so made it an Island, which before was the ancient inheritors, he can better the but a Demie-Isle; that by that means he violence of his claim, as did our King Henry | might the more fafely inhabit, and possess the the first, by his marriage with Mande, that same. Diodorus Siculus, moved by the auwas daughter of Malcolme, King of the Scots, thority of Hesiodus, ascribeth the labour of orion.1.4. by Margaret, the Neece of Edmund Ironside. fundring it from Italy, to Orion: who that Diad 16. Wherefore I conclude, that the Romans he might be compared to Hercules (cutting ovid de had no better ground (if they had so good) through the rocks and mountains) first Fast. 4.

Roman Empire, wherein Rome her felf, in land Sea, according to their quantity and the time of her vilitation, was burnt to the content, do make this the greatest, as En-Stathius and Strabo, who affirm this, not only to excell the rest for bigness, but also for goodness of soil. As concerning the form of this Island, Pomponius Mela faith, it is like that Capital letter of the Greek, which they call Delta, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally known to be true. That the whole Island was consecrated to Ceres and Proferpina, all old writers with one consent affirm. To Ceres it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of "He defence of the Mamertines, or the fetting and fowing of Corn: to Proserpina,

violently taken by Pluto, as because (which biting that part of Latium, whereon Rome Plutarch and Diodorus do report for truth) was afterward built, were driven by the Pe that Fluto, as soon as she, uncovering her self, lasgi from their own seats, and finding no first shewed her felf to be seen of him, gave place upon the Continent, which they were her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertility and riches of this Country, there is a famous testimony written by Cicero, in his fecond Oration against Verres, where he faith, that Marcus Cato did call it These siculi gave the name of sicilia, to the the Granary and Store-house of the Common- Island; and making war upon the sicani. wealth, and the Nurse of the vulgar fort. The fame Cicero doth add in that place; that it thereof, into the West and South. At their was not only the Store-house of the people landing; they first built the City Zancle. of Rome: but also that it was a well-furnished treasure. For without any cost or Catana, Leontine, and Syracuse it self, beating charge of ours (faith he) it hath usually from thence the Ætolians, who long before clothed, maintained, and furnished our had set up a Town in that place. As for the greatest Armies with leather, apparrel and name of Syracuse, it was not known, till such strates of corints (long after) won thing of it. Whatsoever sicilie doth yield that part of the Island from the sicili: (faith solinus) whether by the sun, and temperature of the air, or by the industry and dispossels the Ætolians thereof, but some labour of man, it is accounted next unto hundred years after their descent, and after those things that are of best estimation: such time as they had founded the Cities were it not that such things as the earth first before named with Nea, Hybla, Trinaria. puttern forth, are extreamly over-grown and diversothers. with faffron. Diodorus Siculus faith, that in the fields near unto Leontium, and in divers out of Italy, called Morgetes; who were other places of this Island, wheat doth grow thence driven by the Oenotrians. Thele lat of it felf without any labour or looking to down in that part of sicil, where they afterof the husbandman. Martianus sheweth, ward raised the Cities of Morganium, and that there were in it fix Colonies, and fixty

good Authors. the people of this Ifland, as well in peace as Iflionable fincerity, reports of Minos, that he War, there be many other things which made conquest of many Islands : and some have made it very renowned, as the birth of such business, perhaps, drew him into sicil. Ceres; the ravishing of Proserpina; the Gi- But the common report is, that he camethiant Enceladus; the mount Etna; Scylla and ther in pursuit of Dædalus. The tale goes Charybdis, with other antiquities and rari- thus: Dædalus fleeing the revenge of Minos, ties; besides those learned men, the noble came into Sicil, to Cocalus, King of the Sice-Mathematician, Archimedes; the famous mi, and, during his abode there, he built a Geometrician, Euclides; the painful Histori- place of great strength, near unto Megara, an Diodorus; and Empedocles, the deep Phi- for Cocalus to lay up his treasure in; toge-

That sicil was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants, Lastrigones, and Cyclopes, barbarous people, and uncivil; all histories and fables do jointly with one confent averr. Yet Thucydides faith, that these savage people dwelt only in one part of the Island. Afterward the sicani, a people of spain, possessed it. That these Sicani were not bred in the Isle (although some so think) Thucydides and Diodorus do very constantly. avouch.

Of these it was named Sicania. These Sicani were invaded by the Siculi; who, inha- nos by treason, and perswades the Cretaria,

able to master and inhabit, passed overing this Island, three hundred years before the Greeks fent any Colonies thither: and (faith Philistus)eighty years before the fall of Trop, drave them from the East and Northern part afterward called Messana; and after that, Neither did the Siculi at their first arrival

After these Siculi came another Nation Leontium. For at this time the Siculi were Cities: there are that reckon more, where- divided, and by a civil war greatly infeeof the names are found scatteringly in many bled. Among these ancient stories, we find the last voyage, and the death of Minos, King Now besides many famous acts, done by of Crete. Thucydides, an Historian of unquether with many notable works for which he

was greatly admired and honoured. Among the rest, he cast a Ram in gold, that was let up in the Temple of Venus Erycina; which he did with fo great Art, as those that beheld it, thought it rather to be living, than counterfeit.

Now Minos, hearing that Cocalus had entertained Dædalus, prepares to invade the Territory of Cocalus; but when he was arrived, Cocalus doubting his own strength, promiseth to deliver Dedalus. This he performs not, but in the mean while, kills Mithis lite octains the Siculi. Hereunto the himself against the Siculi. Hereunto the himself against the Siculi. hmueit against the being dead) gave their had Giants for their first inhabitants; so this confent, and builded for themselves the City of Minoa after the name of the King Minos. After, they likewise built the Town of Engium, now called Gange: and these were the Greeks at the fiege thereof.

made away, they gather and landing near Plutarch, and many other Authors, have Good, Die unto Camicus, they befieged the same five confirmed the opinion: Yea, Vesputius, in his lib. 15. Et unto camen, the notes and (being forced fecond Navigation into America, hath re quest in years, but in vain. In the end (being forced fecond Navigation into America, hath reyears, but in vain. In the characteristic points were rackt on the coast of Halp, and having no means to repair their ships, nor the home means to repair their ships. The ships are also ships the ships of the ships nour they had loft, they made good the any one; as touching their simplicity of life, they cap a. place whereon they fell, and built Hyria, or their mean fare, their feeding on Acorns and ges and Messapii.

Egesta and Elyma.

himself the founder.

their descents, they built the goodly City of from cruelty and oppression. Panormus, now called Palerma.

gan to straggle in those parts.

Lybia and Greece, had Hercules, Orestes, Anta- hundred; from water, to wine and drun-

Minos his followers, to inhabit a part of SiMinos his followers, t Minos histoliowers, tember to strengthen starchaterus, remembred by Saxo Gramma prefathis, cil; the better (as it seems) to strengthen the struct of Sathis Postantia Saxo Gramma prefathis. Ifle of Sicil had her Leftrigones and Cyclopes. This discourse I could also reject for fained and fabulous, did not Moses make us know, that the Zamzummims, Emims, Anakims, and gnm, now contained by the Greeks in Sicil, about og of Basan, with others, which sometime two ages before the war of Troy; for the inhabited the Mountains and Defarts of grand-children of Minos ferved with the Moab, Ammon, and Mount Seir, were men of But after such time as the Cretans under-races of Giants: and were it not, that Tertulflood, that their King had by treason been lian, St. Augustine, Nicephorus, Procopius, Tenul de 1100d, that then that a great Ifdore, Pliny, Diodore, Herodoius, Solims; Refairmade away; they gathered together a great Plutageh, and many other Application and Angell de

Horium, between the two famous Ports of roots, their poor cottages, the covering of Brundusum and Tarentum. Of these Cretans their bodies with the skins of beasts, their came those Nations, afterward called Iapp. hunting, their arms, and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages over great Ri-After the taking of Troy, Egeftus and Ely- vers and Arms of the Sea, upon rafts of trees mu, brought with them certain troups into | tied together; and afterwards their making sicil, and feated themselves among the boats first of twigs and leather, then of Sicani; where they built the Cities of wood; first with Oars, and then with Sails; that they effected as gods, the first finders It is faid, that Aneas visited these places out of Arts; as of Husbandry, of Laws, and in his passage into Italy: and that some of of Policy: it is a matter, that makes me neithe Trojans, his followers, were left behind ther to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For him, in these Towns of sicil: whereof there they all lived in the same newness of time, want not good Authors, that make Eneas which we call Old time, and had all the fame want of his inftruction, which (after the About the same time, the Phanicians seiz- Creator of all things) hath by degrees edupon the Promontories of Pachinus, and taught all Mankinde; For other teaching Lilybaum, and upon certain small Isles ad- had they none, that were removed far off joyning to the main Island: which they for- from the Hebrews; (who inherited the knowtified, to secure the trades that they had with ledge of the first Patriarchs) than that from the Sicilians; like as the Portugals have done variable effects they began, by time and in the East-India, at Goa, Ormus, Mosambique, degrees, to find out the causes: from whence and other places. But the Phanicians stayed came Philosophy Natural; as the Moral did not there; for after they had once assured from disorder and consusion; and the Law

But it is certain, that the Age of Time hath These we find, were the Nations that brought forth stranger and more incredible inhabited the Isle of sicil, before the war of things, than the Infancy. For we have now Troy, and ere the Greeks in any numbers be- greater Giants for vice and injuffice, than the World had in those dayes, for bodily It may perchance feem strange to the Rea-strength; for cottages, and houses of clay der, that in all ancient stories, he finds one and timber, we have raised Palaces of stones; and the same beginning of Nations, after the we carve them, we paint them, and adorn floud; and that the first planters of all parts them with gold, insomuch as men are rather of the World were faid to be mighty and known by their houses, than their houses by Giant-like men; and that, as Phanicia, Agypt, them; we are fallen from two dishes, to two

kenness:

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kennels from the covering of our bodies Siculi, drave them up into the Country and with the fkins of beafts, not only to filk and after a few years, their multitude increasing, gold, but to the very skins of men. But to they added unto the City of the Illand, that conclude this digression, Time will also take of Acradina, Tyca, and Neapolis. So as well revenge of the excess, which it hath brought by the commodity of the double Port, caforth; Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque pable of as many thips, as any Havenofthat auxit, longillima lubruet: Long time brought part of Europe, as by the fertility of the soil forth, longer time increased it, and a time, Syracuse grew up in great haste, to be one longer than the rest. shall overthrow it.

t. II.

The Plantation of the Greeks in Sicil.

17 Hen the first Inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all Sicil: it happened, that one success of the Corinthians, did assail, and oh-Theocles, a Greek, being driven upon that tain the City of Leontium, built and policit Coast by an Easternly wind, and finding by the Siculi. In brief, the Greeks win true the commendations thereof, which had from the siculi, and their Affociates, the been thought fabulous, being delivered only by Poets, gave information to the Athenians of this his discovery, and proposed called Megara. unto them the benefit of this eafie Conquest offering to become their guide. But Theo- had taken Syracufe; Antiphemus, and Enticles was as little regarded by the Athenians, mus, the one from Rhodes, the other from as Columbus, in our Grand-fathers times, was | Crete, brought an Army into Sicil, and built by the English. Wherefore he took the fame | Gela, whose Citizens, one hundred and eight course that Columbus afterwards did. He years after, did erect that magnificent and over-laboured not himself in perswading renowned City of Agrigentum, governed acthe Noble Athenians (who thought them- cording to the Laws of the Dorians. felves to be well enough already) to their own profit; but went to the Chalcidians, that | year after their Plantation, did fet up the were needy and industrious, by whom his City of Acra, in the Mountains; and in the project was gladly entertained. By these ninetieth year Casmena, in the Plainsadwas built the City of Naxus, and a Colony joyning; and again in the hundred and thirplanted of Eubwans.

as ciees our Western Princes of Europe: for they in the very Center of the Island. So didthe relates, was had no Pope, that should forbid them to Cumani about the same time, recover from the greater, and occupy the void places of the World. Δr the *Esculi* the City of *Zancle*, which they moftgood chias of Corinth followed the Eubwans, and had founded in the straight between sicil by City et landed in Sicil, near unto that City, called and Italy. They of Zancle had been the the Greeks afterward * Syracuse: of which, that part founders of Himera. pollett. For only was then compassed with a wall, tionis both which the Atolians called Homothermon; monian built Heraclia; which the Phenicift.ong, and the Greeks, Nasos; the Latines, Insula. He ans, and Carthaginians, fearing the neighor an ex-cellent with his Corinthians having overcome the bourhood of the Spartans, foon after inva-

from every entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port was (for the most part) environed with beautiful buildings: and that part which was withou the City, was on both fides bankt up, and fustained with beautiful walls of Marble. The City it fe I was one of the greatest of the World : for it had in compais (as Strabo reporteth) without the treble wall thereof. a transfer and a company tas a transfer per company tasks a transfer per company tasks a transfer per company tasks and a compounded of four Cirics (Strabs faith, of twe) to wite, Insula, Actadina, Tycha, and Neapolis; of which greaters the traines and tomedations of the walls do yet witness. After such rime as the Doves of Pelopsanefus had driven out the S. ciliant, this goodly City for a long time greatest Cities in this Island. became the feat of Tyrants. The first whereof was Gelo: The second Hiero the elder: The third, Thrafybulus: The fourth and fifth, Dyonfius the elder, and younger : The fixth, Dian : The feventh, Agaitheeles: The eighth, Fyrthus: The ninth, Hiero the younger: The tenth and laft, Rieronymus ; who being flain at Leontium, at length the Romans conquered it under the conduct of Marcellus.

of the goodliest Towns of the world. In thort time the Greeks did possess the better part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the Sicilians to withdraw themtelves into the falls and mountainous parts of the Island, makeing their Royal relidence in Trinacria,

Some feven years after the arrival of Archias, the Chalcidians, encouraged by the Cities of Catana and Hybla, which in honour of the Megarians that forc't it, they

About five and forty years after Archias

The Syraculians also, in the seventieth tieth year of their dwelling in Syracuse, they But the rest of the Greeks were wifer than built Camerina: and soon after that, Enna,

> Not long after this, Doriaus the Lacedaded and ruined though the fame were again ere long re-edified.

Selimus also was built by a Colony of Megara: and Zancle was taken by the Meffenians; who having loft their own Country, gave the name thereof unto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the †. III.

of the Government and Affairs of Sicil before Dionyfius his Tyranny.

THE most part of the Cities in Sicil. were governed by the rule of the people, till fuch time as Phalaris began to ercife all manner of Tyranny therein.

This was that Phalaris, to whom Perillus, the cunning Artificer of a deteftable Engine, gave an hollow Bull of Brass, wherein of Agrigentum. to inclose men, and scorch them to death: praising the device with this commendation; three Brethren; Hiero, Polyzelus, and Thra-That the noise of one tormented therein, Sphulus: to the first of which he gave up the

fome matter of conspiracy.

Common-weal: at which time also Panatius made himself Lord of Leantium; and Cleander of Gela: but Cleander having ruled feven years, was flain by one of the Citizens. Cleander being dead, his Brother Hippocrates succeeded in his room, and greatly afvers others of the ancient Inhabitants, he Sicil. forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He against the Siculi, before Hybla.

At this time did the Syracufians change together with the Cretans, had long before, Nation. among other of the Greeks, feated themselves

the occasion and advantage of a contention in Syracuse, between the Magistrates and the People. For coming with a ftrong Army to the fuccour of the Governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeed) the most famous, that ever governed the Eyracusians. This change happened in Paulites usurp the state of Agrigentum, and to ex- the second year of the threescore and twelfth Olympiad; wherein the better to establish himself, he took to wife the Daughter of Thero, who had also usurped the state

Now this Gelon, the Son of Dinomenes, had

should be like unto the bellowing of a Bull. City of Gela, when he had obtained the The Tyrant gave a due reward to the In- Principality of syracuse. For after that time. venter; by causing the first tryal to be all his thoughts travelled in the strengthenmade upon himself. He reigned one and ing, beautifying, and amplifying of syracuse. thirty years, faith Eusebius; others give He defaced Camerina, that a little before him but fixteen: Howfoever it were, one was fallen from the obedience of the stracu-Telemachus in the end, fell upon him with sians who built it, and brought the Citizens the whole multitude of Agrigentum, and to Syracuse. The Megarians that had mofloned him to death; being thereto anima- ved a War against him, he overcame; the ted by Zeno, even whilst the Tyrant was tor- richer fort he brought unto Syracuse; and menting the same Zeno, to make him confess the people he fold for slaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like oc-After the death of Phalaris, the Citizens casion. Not long after this, There a Prince recovered their liberty, and enjoyed it long, of the Agrigentines, having disposses Teriltill There usurped the Government of the lus of his City Himera; the Carthaginians were drawn into the quarrel by Anaxilus; Lord of Messena, Father-in-law to Terillus: and Gelon was also solicited by his Fatherin-law, Thero. Gelon was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the Carthaginians, and other Africans, led by Amilcar, were fflicted the people of Naxos, of Zancle, of overthrown by Gelon: and an hundred and Hered. & Messena, and of Leontium; whom with di- lifty thousand of them left their bodies in Dio.

This Gelon it was, to whom the Athenians also made war with the Syracusians, and, in and Lacedamonians sent for succour, when the end, got from them by composition, the | Xerxes with his huge Army past the Helle-City of Camerina. But when he had reign- font. He, for their relief having armed thired seven years, he was slain in a Battel ty thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships refused nevertheless to send them into Greece, because they refused him the comtheir form of Government, from Popular mand of one of their Armies, either by to Ariftecratical; a preparation towards a Sea, or Land. So he used to their Embassa-Principality, whereinto it was foon after dours only this Saying, That their spring was changed. After the death of Hippocrates, withered; accounting the Army, by him pre-Gelm (defeended from the Rhodians, which pared, to be the very flower of the Greek

The Carthaginians, after this great Ioss in Sicil) that had commanded the forces of received, fearing the invation of their own Hippocrates, in the former War, with notable Country, fent to Gelon by their Embassasuccels, became Lord of Gela. He, after his dours, to desire peace, who grants it them Masters death, breaking the trust commit- on these conditions: That from thenceforth ted unto him by Hippocrates over his chil- they should not facrifise their children to dren, and being in possession of Gela, took Saturn; That they should pay him twee

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with two armed ships, in sign of amity. These and added it to that of his own, or exalted conditions the Carthaginians, not only wil- himself from being a private man to the Imply accepted, but with the two thousand dignity of a Prince, it behoveth the Succession talents, and the flips for war, they fent unto four to maintain it by the fame way and art. Demarata, Gelons wife, a Crown, valued at | by which it was gotten. an liundred talents of gold, with other pre- To conclude, Stracufe (though not withfents. Whereby we fee, that some Nations, out blows, ere that she could cleanse her and fome Natures, are much the better for felf of the creatures and lovers of Gdon) being well beaten. The wars ended, and sicil was now again become Miltres of her in peace, Gelon beautified the Temples of felf, and held her felf free, well-mar the gods, and erected others in honour of threescore years, to the time of Dionifius. them. So being exceedingly beloved and though the were in the mean while greatly honoured of his Subjects, he left the world, endangered by a Citizen of her own, called and left for his successor his Brother Hiero. Tindario. Philiftus and Pliny report, That when his body was burnt, according to the cuftom of among them, for the future, they devied a that Age, a Dog of his, which alwayes wait- kind of banishment of such among them, as ed on him, ran into the fire, and suffered were suspected; taking pattern from the himself to be burnt with him.

man rude, cruel, covetous, and fo fuspicious wherein every one wrote upon an Oliveof his Brethren Polyzelus, and Thraffbulus, as leaf (as at Athens they wrote upon fhells) the he fought by all means to deftroy them. name of him, whom he would have expelled Notwithstanding all this, by the conversati- the City. He that had most suffrages against on which he had with Simonides, he became him, was banished for five years. Herebyin of better condition, and greatly delighted a flort time, it came to pass that those of with the study of good Arts Divers quarrels | judgment, and best able to governthe Comhe had, as well with Theron of Agrigentum, as mon-weal, were, by the worst able, either with other Cities: all which he shortly af- supprest, or thrust out of the City. Yes, ter compounded, and gave a notable over- fuch as feared this Law, though they had throw to the Carthaginians, whom Xerxes not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as sehad incited to invade sicil, fearing the fuc- cretly as they could, feeking some place of cours which Gelon had prepared, to aid the more security, wherein to maintain them-Grecians against him. He also overthrew in selves. And good reason they had so to do; battel Thrasidaus, the Son of Theron, and seeing that there is nothing so terrible in thereby restored the Agrigentines to their any State, as a powerful and authorizedigformer liberty. But in the end, he loft norance. But this Law lasted not very long. the love of the Syracufians; and after he For their necessity taught them to abolishit, had reigned eleven years, he left the King- and reftore again the wifer fort unto the dom to his Brother Thrasybulus, who became Government; from which, the Nobility a most unjust and bloody Tyrant. Thrasi- having practised to banish one another, the bulus injoyed his Principality no longer than State became altogether Popular. But aften months. For, notwithstanding the terawhile, being invaded by Ducetius, King force of mercenary Souldiers; which he of the Sicilians, that inhabited the inner entertained for his guards, he was beaten part of the Island (who had already taken out of syracuse by the Citizens; to whom, Enna, and some other of the Grecian Cities, being belieged in Acradina, he reftored and overthrown the Army of the Agraginthe Government , and was banished the tines) the Syracustans sent forces against Island. From whence he failed into Greece, him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen where he died a private man, among the of theirs, called Bolcon. This their Captain

again their former liberty, as all the rest of did to see from the Army he led, as soon as the Cities did; after which they had never Ducetius presented him battel. So for want fought; had the Successors of Gelon inherited of conduct, the greatest number of the Syrahis vertue, as they did the Principality of custans perithed. Syracufe. For in all changes of Estates, the But making better choice among those prefervation ought to answer the acquisi- whom they had banished, they key other When a liberal, valiant, and advised troops: by whom, in conclusion, Duction

shouland talents of filver, and present him Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory

Now, to prevent the greatness of anyone Athenian Oftracisme. They called this their To Gelon, Hiero his Brother succeeded; a new devised judgment of exile, Petalifinus. made nothing fo much hafte to find out Du-And now had the Syracustans recovered cetius, against whom he was imployed as he

built the City Collatina on the Sea-fide.

eria excepted; which also by force of Arms, in the fourierre and fifth Olympiad, they

brought to reason.

But they do not long enjoy this their Superintendency. For the Citizens of Leontime, being opprest by them, seek aid from ter, than the terrible report of same had the Athenians, about the fixth year of the made it. reloponnessan War. In this suit they prevailed by the eloquence of Gorgias their Ora- engaged all her power; as regarding not ontor; and got an hundred Athenian Gallies ly the greatness of the enterprise, but the ches, and Charwodes. To this Fleet, the Leon- time. For the Lacedamonians (as hath altines, and their Partners, added one hundred ready been shewed in due place) stood at Eurymedon, and other Athenian Captains, War. Wherefore it was thought necessary, finis, and their Partifans; wann and lost di- or altogether to forbear it: which was likeout the advice of the Athenians, came to honour. an accord with the Syracustans, and were Of this business, mention hath been altheir expectation, by the good agreement of confequence, doth in this place require a knew not how to amend; but (according to | a great conversion. the custom of popular Estates) by taking after this, followed the most memorable the chief Commanders therein-War, that ever was made by the Greeks in Si-

being heaten, fubmitteth himself, and is end, than that which they pretended, namebeing nearen, and the fill and for a time. Yet ly, to help a people of their own Tribe, that it was not long ere he returned again, and craved their fuccour, being in diffres. The Ductius being dead; all the Greek Cities their preparations were fo great as discoverdid in a fert acknowledge Spracuse, Trina- ed their intent to be none other, than the Conquest of the whole Island. Yet they which had called them in, were fo blinded with their own passions, that they would not believe their own eyes; which prefented unto them a Fleet and Army, far grea-

In this expedition, the City of Athens had to faccour them, under the leading of La- necessity of finishing it in a short space of more; with which forces, and with some that time in such broken terms of peace fupplies brought by sophocles, Pythodorus, with Athens, as differed not much from open they invaded the Territories of the Syraen- either to spare cost in this great Expedition, vers places; took Meffana; and, in the fe- ly to be hindred by Wars at home, if their venth year of the Peloponnesian War, lost it proceedings were tlack abroad. And furely, again. They also at the same time attempted had not the desire of the Athenians been Hymo.1, but in vain. The fire of this quar-lover-passionate, the arguments of Nicions had rel took hold upon many Cities, which did caused them to abstain from so chargeable a invade each others Territory with great business, and to reserve their forces for a violence. But when they had wearied more needful use. But young counsels prethemselves on all hands, and yet could see vailed against the authority of ancient men, none iffue of the War, the Leontines, with- that were more regardful of fafety than of

admitted into their fociety, with equal free- ready made, in that which we have written dome. So the Athenians, who hoped to of the Peloponnesian War. But what was there have greatned themselves in sicil, by the di-delivered in general terms, as not concernvition and civil War, were disappointed of ing the affairs of Greece, otherwise than by the sicilians, and fain to be gone with the more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein broken remainder of their Fleet. This they the whole State of sicil was like to have felt

Though Alcibiades had prevailed against revenge upon their own Commanders. So Nicias, in exhorting the people to this great they banished Pythodorus, and Sophocles, and voyage; yet Nicias, together with Alcibiades laid an heavy fine upon Eurymedon. Shortly and Lamachus, was appointed to be one of

These had commission and direction, as cil: which was that of the Athenians, against well to succour the Segestans, and to rethe Sclinuntines and Syracusians, in favour establish the Leontines, cast out of their plaof the Cities of Egefta, Leontium, and Catana. ces by the Syracufians; as also by force of They of selims had opprest the Egestans; Arms, to subject the syracustans, and all their and they of Syracuse the Leontines, and the adherents in Sicil, and compel them by tri-Catanians: which was the ground of the bute to acknowledge the Athenians for their War. For the Athenians undertook the fupreme Lords. To effect which, the foreprotection of their old friends: and, in ha- named Captains were fent off, with an huntred of the Athenians, aid from Lacede- dred and thirty Gallies, and five thousand mon was fent to the Syracusians. The Laceda- one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirty monians dealt plainly, having none other ships of burden, which transported their Eeeee a

CHAP. L

victuals, engines, and other munitions for fight, and the syracustans had the loss; but the War: and these were Athenians, Manti-the Athenians, wanting horse, could not purneans Rhodians, and Candians: there were, fue their victory to any great effect. They besides these, six thousand Megarians light- then retire themselves, with a resolution to armed, with thirty horsemen.

at Rhegium, where the Rhegians refuse to upon Messana, hoping to have taken it by an give them entry; but fell them victuals for intelligence, but in vain. For Alcibiader had their money. From thence they fent to the discovered such as were Traitors within the Egefrans, to know what treasure they would City to the Messansa. This he now did in contribute rowards the war, seeing for their despight of his own Citizens, the Athenian: fakes they had entred thereinto. But they because they had recalled him from his comfound by their answers, that these Egestans mand, with a purpose either to have put were poor, and that they had abused the him to death, or to have banished him: Athenian Embassadours with fasse shews of whereof being assured by his friends, he gold, having in all but 30 talents. The Athenitook his way towards the Lacedamonian, ans further were discouraged, when they and to them he gave mischievous counsel found that the Rhegians, their ancient against his Country. While this winter vet friends, and allied unto the Leontines, re- lafted, the Syracufians fend Embaffadorsto fused to trust them within their Walls. Lacedamon, and Corinth, for aid : as likewife Hereupon Nicias adviseth to depart towards the Atherian Captains in Sicil, send to Ather the Selinuntines, and to force them, or per- for supplies. Which both the one and the swade them to an agreement with the Ege- other obtained. frans; as likewife to fee what disbursements the Egefrans could make; and for return again beginning of the eighteenth year of the Education of the Egefrans could make; and for return again beginning of the eighteenth year of the Education of t into Greece, & not to waste Athens in a need-ponnessan war) the Athensans in Sicil salless war. Alcibiades, on the other side, would from the Port of Catana to Megara, totaken folicite the Cities of sicil to confederacy of the Inhabitants; from whence, foraging against the syracustans and selimintines, the Country, they obtain some small vice whereby to force them unto restitution of ries over the straigling syracusans: and at the straight of all that they had taken from the Leontines, their return to Catana, they receive a supply Lamachus, he perswades them to asiail Syra-of two hundred men at arms, but without cuse it self, before it were prepared against horse, which they hoped to surais in the them. But in the end (being excluded out of Island from the Segoft ans, and other their divers Cities) they surprise Catana: and there adherents: they were also strengthned with they take new counsel how to proceed, a company of Archers, and with three hun-Thence they imployed Nicias to those of dred talents in mony. Egelfa, who received from them thirty ta- Hereupon they take courage, and incamp lents towards his charges; and one hundred near Syracuse, upon the banks of the great and twenty talents more there were of the Port, repelling the Syraenfians, that fallyed spoils they had gotten in the Island. Thus the to impeach their intrenchments. They allo Summer being spent in idle consultations, received from their Confederates sourhunand vain attempts, the Athenians prepare to dred horse-men, with two hundred other assail Syracuse. But Alcibiades having been horse, to mount their men at arms. Syrause accused at home, in his absence, was sent for was now in effect blockt up, so as hardly any back by the Athenians to make his answer: succours could enter, but such as were able and the Army was left to the conduct of Ni- to force their pallage : yet the Albenian ciss and Lamachus. These Commanders obtain a landing place very near unto Syracuse, not the least, that Lamachus, one of their by this device.

They imploy to Syracuse an inhabitant of Catana, whom they trust; and instruct him, with the Lacedamonian & Corinthian forces, to promife unto the syracufans, that he arrive, and take land at Hymera. The Citiwould deliver into their hands all the Albe- zens of Hymera, and of Gela, together with nians within Catana. Hereupon the Syracuft. the Selimintines, joyn with themso that with ans draw thitherward with their best forces. these and his own troups, Gylippus adven-But in the mean while, the Athenians, fetting tured to march over-land toward sprange. fail from Catana, arrive at Syracufe, where The Syracufans fend a part of their forces to they land at fair eafe, and fortifie themselves meet him and conduct him. The Atlantain against the Town against the Town. Shortly after this, they prepare to encounter them, expeding his

refresh their Army at Catana, for the winter. With these troups and fleets they arrive season. From thence they made an attempt

best Commanders, was slain.

In the mean while, Gylippus and Python,

don and Demosthenes, to joyn with Nicias: the Spring following.

to succour Nicias, the other Gylippus. The loss substitting by being at large, the other by between them was in effect equal; and nei- close imbattailing. ther fo broken, but that each of them profe-

upon the arrival of a new supply into, the der also those Athenian Gallies, which came

arrival near unto the City upon a place of Town, the Athenians had all confented to arrival and an entire they had depart, and to lodge at Catana: had not an advantage. At the first encounter they had depart, the better of their enemies, by reason that Eclipse of the Moon, boding (as was thought) the Syracuffan horse-men could not come to ill success caused them to deferr their defight in those straights: but soon after, 69- parture. But this superstition cost them dearfight in those straights: but soon artes, or highest charging them again, brake them, and for the Syracusans, Lacedemonians, and constrained Nicios to fortise himself within constrained Nicios to fortise himself within Corinthians, with threescore and seventeen his Camp. Whereupon Nicias made the fail of Gallies, entred the great Port of \$7flate of his affairs known, by his letters to racuse, wherein the Athenians kept their the Athenians; thewing, that without great | fleet, and whereon they had fortified themfupplies by Sea and Land, the enterprife felves. The Athenians in the fame Port enwould be loft, together with the small Army countred them with four core and fix Galremaining. These letters received, the Athe- lies, commanded by Eurymedon: in which nians appoint two other Generals, Euryme the Athenian fleet was beaten, by the leffer number, and Eurymedon flain. Now, though it the one they dispatch presently with some were so, that the Syracusans received the supplies; the other they send after him in more loss by land(for the fight was general) yet when the Athenians were beaten by fea, In the mean while, Gylippus at Syracuse, in which kind they thought themselves infights with the Athenians both by Sea and vincible, they were wonderfully cast down. Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times For it was well said of Gylippus, to the Strawith good success: but in conclusion, he custans; When any people do find themselves took from their Fort, near unto Syracuse, the vanquished in that manner of fight, and with Promontory called Plymmyrium; wherein those weapons, in which they perswade themthe Athenians lost their treasure, and a great Selves that they exceed all others, they not only part of all their provisions. Notwithstand- lose their reputation, but their courage. The ing which loss and that the Athenians them- Athenians, befides the Gallies funk and selves, in Greece, were (in effect) belieged | wrackt, had seventeen taken, and possest by within Athens, by the Lacedemonians; yet the enemy : and with great labour and loss were they most obstinate in prosecuting the they defended the rest from being fired, War in Sicil, and dispatched away Demo- having drawn them within a Palisado, in one fthenes with new fuccours. Demosthenes, in corner of the port, unadvisedly : for it is as his way towards sicil, encountred with Po- | contrary to a Sea-war, to thrust ships into a lyanthes the Corinthian, with his fleet: both straight room and corner, as it is to scatter the Captains being bound for sicil, the one foot in a plain field against horse; the one

The Syraculians, having now weakned the cuted the enterprise they had in hand. But Athenian fleet, resolve to imprison them before the fuccours arrived to either, Gylip- within the Port. And to that purpose they pus and Ariston had affailed the Athenians in range all their Gallies in the mouth of the the great Port of Syracuse, and in a Sea fight Haven, being about a mile over, and there put them to the worst, to the great discouthey came to Anchor; filling the out-let ragement of the Athenians. On the neck of with all manner of Vessels; which they man this, Demosthenes arrived with threescore most strongly, because the Athenians, being and thirteen Gallies, charged with footmen; now made desperate, should not with douand (blaming the floath of Nicias) he invad- | ble ranks of Gallies break through the Syraed the Syracustans the same day that he arri- custan fleet; which lay but single, because ved. But he made more haste then he had they were forc't to range themselves over all good speed, being shamefully beaten, and the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, repulled with great loss. Hereupon Demo- not only mored themselves strongly by their fthenes and Eurymedon determine to rife up Anchors, but chained the fides of their Galfrom before syracuse, and return to the lies together, and laid behind them again fuccour of Athens: but Nicias disputed to certain ships, which served in the former war the contrary, pretending that he had good for victuallers: to the end, that if any of intelligence within syracuse, whereby he their Gallies were funk; or the chain, which learned, that the Town could not long hold | joyned them to their fellows, broken; the Athenians might yet find themselves a se-Whatfoever Nicias his intelligence was ; cond time, intangled and arrefted. To difor-

on in form of a wedge, to break through, the Port, to return to Athens. This was no and force a passage, the syracusians had left | ill counsel. For, as we have heard of many within these Gallies and Ships, inchained to- great Captains (yea, the greatest number of gether, a certain number of loofe ones, to all that have been victorious) that have frop their course and sury. For where the neglected the speedy prosecution of a beaten way of any vessel, using oar or fails, is broken, enemy; so might we produce many exam. and their speed foreslowed, they cannot ples of those, who, having slept securely in force with any weight and violence, the the bolome of good fuccefs, have beenfud-

refiftance oppoling. On the other fide, the Athenians knew of a broken Army, and have thereby loft that they were utterly loft, except with an again all the honour and advantage former invincible resolution they could make their ly gotten. But Nicias opposeth the advice way, and break down this great bridge of of Demosthenes: Others lay, that the Sea. boats; or (at leaft) force a paffage through men were against it. Whereupon abandon. them in some part or other: which they re- ing their Gallies, they all resolve to march folve to hazard, with all their shipping (to over land to the Cities of their Confede the number of one hundred and ten of all rates, till some more favourable fortune forts) and with all the ftrength of their should call them thence. On the other side, Land-army, in them imbarqued. But the Gylippus, and other the Lacedamonian and Gallies, which were within the bridge of Corinthian Captains, with Hermocrates, exboats, did so disorder the Atherian fleet, ere hort the Syracustans to put themselves prethey came to force the bridge, as albeit some sently into the field, and to stop all thepas few of them had broken through the chains, lages, leading to those Cities of their eneyet being flopt with the ships without, and mies, to which the Athenians might make affailed by other loofe Gallies of the Syracu- retrait. But many were weary, and many fians, which were purposely left at large in were wounded, and many of them thought the fea, they were either taken or funk. that they had done enough for the prefent. Three great disadvantages the Athenians Which humour in some of our Commanders had: the first, that fighting within a Haven, at Cadez, lost us both the Indian fleet, and and (as it were) in a straight, they had no the spoils of many other neighbour places. roomto turn themselves, nor to free them- Hermocrates, the Syracufian, finding it a lost felves one from another, being intangled; labour, to perswade his Countrimen to any the fecond, that having overpettered their hafty profecution, devifed this good first Gallies with Souldiers, who used offensive gem, whereby to gain time; not doubting, arms of darts and flings, they had not place but that after a day or two, he should draw upon the decks to stretch their arms; the them willingly out. He fent two or three third was, the discomfortable end for which horse-men out of syracuse by night, willing they fought, namely, to force a passage, by them to find Nicias, and (after they had which they might fave themselves by runing affired him, that they were of the Athenian away. To be short, the fight was no less faction) to give him advice not to march terrible than the confusion: the slaughter away over-hastily from the place, wherein great on all fides; and the noise, and the he was fortified; alledging that the 874 cryes, fo lowd and lamentable, as that no cnstans had lodged their Army, which could direction could be heard. But in the end, not long stay there, upon the passages and the Athenians, as many as survived, were places of advantage, leading towards the beaten back to the Land, with loss of three- Cities of their Allies. These tidings Wiciss fcore of their Gallies, broken, funk, or aban-eafily believed, and put off his journey to doned. The Syracustans did also lose twenty the third day. For men newly beaten, are of theirs, with Python, Commander of the (for the most part) more fearful than wile; Corinthians. The rest of the Atherian Gallies, and to them, every thisse in the field ap running themselves into the bottom of the pears, by night, a man at arms. Port, faved themselves by the help and countenance of the Land-army there forti- and all their baggage) they remove; being fied. In this desperate estate, the Athenian pierced and pursued with the lamentable Commanders go to counfel. Demosthenes out-cries of those that were sick and burt: perfivades them to furnish with fresh Soul- whom they abandon to the cure of their diers those few Gallies which remained; enemies swords. The restmarch away to the and while the Syracustans were triumphing, number of forty thousand; and make their and made fecure by their prefent victory, to first passage by force, over the River of their fet upon them, and forcing their way out of pw, notwithstanding the opposition of their

denly awaked, by the re-allied Companies

The third day (leaving all their Gallies,

marenes, and by the grand provision of nionin sicil, yet confidering the prosperity pearen in nom weak and heartless. The of the Syracustans, and their late victories food, they grow weak and heartless. syrangians also possess the Mountain Lepus, over the Albenians, they stayed a while to by which they were to pass towards Came dispute of the matter, whether they should by which they force them to fall back refuse or accept the offer made unto them: rina, and towards the Sea-coast, and to take for the Selinuntines were straightly allied to again towards what way they could: being unable to the Straculians, as may appear by what is proceed in their journey intended. Many past. In the end the senators of Carthage rehard thifts they made, in difficult paflages, lolve upon the enterprife; and (by a trick of and blind marches by night; which they their Punick wit) to separate the Syracustans were fain to endure, as having none other from the Selinuntines, they fend Embaflameans to escape from the enemy that purdors to syracuse: praying that City, as in fired them, and held them waking with confided them, and held them waking with confided them. tinual skirmishing. To keep all in order, linuntines to take reason, and to rest content Nicias undertook the leading of the Vaunt with fo much of the lands in question, as ers to be starved in loathsome prisons; and buried them therethe rest, fold for flaves. This was the fuc-Olympiad.

the Egyfrans (for whose defence against the condemned to exile for his meer vertue, whom they offered themselves, and their Ci-ster fort within Syracuse were forry for their

mies But being every day charged in their ty, as their vassals, The Carthaginians, though mies, and by the Syracustan horse-men, ambitious enough of enlarging their Domiguards and Demosthenes conducted the Rear. they of Syracuse should think meet to allow At the River Erinens, Nicias takes the start them. The Syracusans approved the motiof a whole nights march; leaving Demost- on; for it tended to their own honour. But kenes to make the retreat: who being incompassed, and overpress with numbers, in the pointment: rather they took it ill, that the end renders himfelf. The conditions he ob- Syracuftans, with whom they had run one tained, were farr better than he could have course of fortune, in the Athenian war, should hoped for; and the faith of his enemies offer to trouble them, by interpoling as Arfarrworse than he suspected. For he was bitrators, in a business that themselves could afterward, with Nicias murdered in prison. end by force. This was right as the Carthagi-The Army of Demosthenes being dissolved, nians would have it. For now could they of they purfued Nicias with the greater cou- selinus with an ill grace crave aid of Syrarage: who being utterly broken upon the pat cufe; and the Syracufians as ill grant it unto fage of the River Affinarus, rendred himself those, that had resuled to stand to the Arto Gylippus, upon honest conditions. Gylippus | bitrament, which the Carthaginians would fought to preferve him, and to have had have put into their hands. Hereupon, an the honour to have brought these two to Army of three hundred thousand men is set Sparta; Nicias, as a noble Enemy to the out from Carthage, under the conduct of Lacedemonians, and who, at the overthrow | Hannibal, Nephew to that Amilear, who (as which they received at Pylus by the Athe- you have heard before) was overthrown nians, had faved the lives of the vanquish- with the great Carthaginian Army at Himera ed; Demosthenes, as one that had done to by Gelon. Hannibal was exceeding greedy of Lacedamon the greatest hurt. Hermocrates this imployment, that he might take revenge alfosthe Commander of the *Syracustan* Army as well of his Uncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them having been slain by the *Hi*from using any barbarous violence, after so merans, the other by those of Selinus. Both noble a victory. But the cruell and cow-the Cities, Hamibal, in, this war, won by force ardly fort, (cowardife and cruelty be- of arms, fackt them, and burnt them; and ing inteparable pattions) prevailed, and having taken three thousand of the Himecansed these brave Captains to be misera- rans prisoners, he caused them to be led unbly murdered; one part of their Souldi- to the place, where Amilcar was flain, and

After this followed some trouble at Syracels of the sicilian war: which took end at cufe, occasioned by the banishment of Hermothe River Allinarus, the four and twentieth crates, who had lately been General of the day of May, in the fourfcore and eleventh Spracufian forces, against the Athenians. The malice of his enemies had so far prevailed The Athenians being beaten out of sicil; with the ingrateful multitude, that he was Schimitines, this late war had been taken at such time as he was aiding the Lacedain hand) fearing the victorious Syracusans, monians, in their war against Atbens 5 fought help from the Carthaginians; to wherein he did great service. All the honeinjury done unto him, and fought to have ans, grew from his acculation of the princihim repealed. Hermocrates himself, return-pal men. It is the delight of base people to ing into Sicil, gathered an Army of fix reign over their betters: wherefore gladly thousand; with which he began to repair did he help them to break down, as letters Selinus; and by many noble actions labou- imprisoning their liberty, the bars that held red to win the love of his Citizens. But it under fate cultody. Long it was not, ere the faction that opposed him was the stron- the chief Citizens had found whereat he ger. Wherefore he was advised to seize aimed. But what they saw, the people would upon a Gate of Syracuse, with some strength not see: and some that were needy, and knew of men; whereby his friends within the not how to get Offices without his help, were Town, might have the better means to willing to help him, though they knew his rife against the adverse party. This he purposes to be such, as would make all the did: but presently the multitude fell to City to smart. He began early to huntaf. arms, and let upon him; in which con- ter the tyranny; being but five and twenty flict he was flain. But his Son-in-law, Dionyfius, shall make them wish Hermocrates alive again.

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†. IV.

Of Dionysius the Tyrant: and others, following him, in Syracuse.

He Syracustans had enjoyed their liberty about threescore years, from the death of Thrafybulus, to the death of Hermocrates: at which time Dionysius was raif- fome neighbour-towns, bound unto him. ed up by God, to take revenge, as well of their cruelty toward strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their own best Citizens. For before the time of Dionysius, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace: which custome they must now be taught to amend.

Dionysus obtained the principality of syracuse, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves the other, Aristomache, the daughter of Hipmasters of other Cities, and of syracuse it self. parinus, and tister to Dion, honourable men For, being made Prator, and commanding in Syracuse; which bare unto him many chiltheir Armies against the Carthaginians, and dren, that served to fortific him with new other their enemies, he behaved himself so alliances. well, that he got a general love among the people, and men of war. Then began he to racusans (envying his prosperity)incited the follow the example of Piliftratus, that made multitude, and took arms against him, even himself Lord of Athens; obtaining a band in the novelty of his Rule. But their enof fix hundred men, to defend his person: terprise was more passionately, than wisely under pretence, that his private enemies, be- governed. He had shamefully been beaten ing traiteroully affected to the State of sy- by the Carthaginians at Gela: which, as it racuse, had laid plots how to murder him, vexed the Sicilian men at arms, making because of his good services. He doubled the them suspect that it was his purpose to let pay of his Souldiers; alledging, that it would the Carthaginians waste all that hemight incourage them to fight manfully: but in- afterwards take possession of the delolate tending thereby to affure them to him-places; so it inflamed them with a desire to felf. He perswaded the Citizens, to free themselves from his tyranny. They decall home, out of exile, those that had parted therefore from him, and marchedhabeen banified, which were the best men of stily to spracys, where they found friends Syracyle; and these were afterwards at his to help them: there they forced his Place, tlevotion as obliged unto him by fo great a ranfacked his treasures, and fo financially benefit. His first favour, among the spracus- labused his wife, that for the greif thereoffile

years of age when he obtained it : belike it was his defire to reign long. His first work. of making himself absolute Lord in Syracuse, was, the possession of the Citadel, wherein was much good provision, and under it the Gallies were mored. This he obtained by allowance of the people, and having obtain. ed this he cared for no more, but declared himself without all shame or fear. The Army; the chief Citizens restored by him from banishment; all the needy fort within Syracuse, that could not thrive by honest courses and either for his help in war, or for establishing the faction, reigning at that prefent; were wholly affected to his affiftance. Having therefore gotten the Cittadel into his hands, he needed no more, fave to affure what he had already. He strengthened himfelf by divers marriages; taking first to wife the daughter of Hermocrates; and after her, two at once; the one a Locrian , Doris, by whom he had Dionysius, his Successor;

Yet it was not long, ere some of the Sy-

fures, and his Guards.

free Cities of Sicil: but while he lay before fending Mago with the other by Sea: he fent Herbesse, an in-land Town, the Syracustians Leptimes, his brother to encounter Mago. the Campanians, who forced their passage lost. It is very strange, and hardly credithrough the City, with one thousand and ble, which yet good Authors tell us; That two hundred horse, he again recovered the one City should be able to surnish five hunthen goes to the field with fourfcore thouwan Motya by affault, and put all therein Hereupon, finding their own fuccess pro-

poisoned her felf. But he followed their to the sword 5 but before Egefta he lost a pononce her and firing a Gate of the heels apace; and firing a Gate of heels apace; and ming of the Citizens. In the mean while Himileo arrives; City by night, entred from enough to take Citizens. In the mean while Himileo arrives; Cary of making a speedy riddance of but, ere he took land, he lost in a fight at revenge, by maning a present shown, from For he foared none of his known, them. For he foared none of his known, them. For he pattern and nor of his suspected enemies. After five thousand Souldiers, besides many ships no nor or ms angelest and fine that, he grew to doubtful of his life, as he of burden. This notwith tanding, he recoverable that, he grew to doubtful of his life, as he of burden. This notwith tanding, he recoverable that the grew to doubtful of his life, as he of burden. This notwith tanding, he recoverable that the grew to doubtful of his life, as he of burden. This notwith tanding, he recoverable that the grew to doubtful of his life, as he of burden. This notwith tanding, he recoverable that the grew to doubtful of his life, as he of burden. This notwith tanding, he recoverable that the grew to doubtful of his life, as he of burden. This notwith tanding, he recoverable that the grew to doubtful of his life, as he of burden. This notwith tanding, he recoverable that the grew to doubtful of his life, as he of burden. This notwith tanding, he recoverable that the grew to doubtful of his life, as he of burden. tnat, ne grewith Barber to trim him, nor red again Motya upon his first descent. From never durit trans and the same as his brother, thence marching towards Mefana, he took any penon, no his chamber, unftript and Lipara, and (foon after) Messaga, ne took to enter into his chamber, unftript and to ence the was the greatest Robber razed it to the ground. Now began Dionysof the people that ever reigned in any w greatly to doubt his eftate. He therefore or the people that state, and withal the most unrespectively fortified all the places he could, in the Territory of the Leontines, by which he suppo-After this, he separated with fortification sed that Himileo would pass toward syrathat part of the City, called the Island, from cufe; and he himself took the field again, the rest; like as the Spaniard did the Cita- with four and thirty thousand foot; and del of Antwerp: therein he lodged his Trea- one thousand horse. Now, hearing that Himileo had divided his Army into two parts, He then began to make war upon the marching with the one half over-land, and rebelled against him; so, as with great difficulty he recovered his Citadel: from Carthaginians; twenty thousand of his men whence, having allured the old Souldiers of were flain, and an hundred of his Gallies mastery over the Syracustans. And when a dred sail of ships, and two hundred Gallies: multitude of them were bussed in gathering (for, so many did Syracuse arm in this war) in their harvest, he disarmed all the Towns- and more strange it is, that in a battail at men remaining, and new strengthened the Sea, without any great Artillery, or Mus-Fort of the Island, with a double wall. He ket-shot, twenty thousand should be slain inclosed that part also, called Epipoles; which, in one fight. In all our fights against the with threescore thousand labourers, he fini- Turks, of which that at Lepanto was the fhed within three weeks, being two leagues | most notable, we hear of no such numin compass. He then built two hundred new | ber lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, Gallies; and repaired one hundred and ten that ever happened in our age, nor before of the old; forged one hundred and forty us. When Charles the fift went to befrege thouland Targets, with as many fwords, and Algier, he had in all his fleet, transporhead-pieces, with fourteen thousand cor- ters and others, but two hundred and fifflets, and all other futable arms. Which done, ty fail of thips, and threefcore and five he sent word to the Carthaginians (greatly Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, infeebled by the plague) That except they he fought help from all the Cities and would abandon the Greek Towns, which Ports of Spain, Naples, and the rest of Itathey held in Sicil, he would make war upon 19. But in old times it was the manner to them : and, not ftaying for answer, he took | carry into the field, upon extremity, as mathe spoil of all the Phanician ships, and ny as were needfull, of all that could bear merchandize, within his Ports; as King arms, giving them little wages, or other Philip the second did of our English, be- allowance: in our dayes it is not so; neither fore the war in our late Queens time. He indeed, it is often requifite. Upon this overthrow, Dionysius posts away to Syracuse, to fand foot, and three thousand horse, and strengthen it: Hamileo follows him, and besends his brother Leptines to sea, with siegeth the Town by Land and Sea. But the two hundred Gallies, and five hundred Tyrant, having received aid from the Lacethips of burden. Most of the Towns demonians under the conduct of Pharacidas, which held for Carthage yielded unto puts himself to Sea, to make provision for his him; faving Panormus, Segesta or Egesta, Citizens, who, in his absence, take twenty Ancyra, Motya, and Entella. Of these, the first of the Carthaginian. Gallies, and fink four. ill, having also at the present weapons in from Carthage to Mago, but these take eggs their hands, they confult how to recover for their money, and make peace with Dintheir liberty. And this they had done, had nysus, leaving the Sicilians in Tauromenot Pharicidas the Lacedamonian refifted nium, to shift for themselves: whom them. It also fell out to his exceeding advantage, that the plague was fo increased, and gave their City to his mercenary Souland fo violent among the Carthaginians, as diers. it is faid, that above an hundred thousand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the victories there, brought the Rhegians on power that he could gather together, fets up. their knees, forced them to pay him one on them both by Sea and Land; and having hundred and fourfcore thouland crowns, to flain great numbers of them, forceth Himileo furnish him with threefcore Gallies, and put to delire peace. This peace Dionysus fold him in an hundred pledges, for assurance of their for a great fumm of money; on condition, future observance of covenants. This he that he should steal away with his Carthagi- did, not with any purpose to performunto mians only: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the Africans and Spani- bought; but that having taken from them ards. Yet no faith was kept with him: for their Galleys, he might befiege them, and he was purfued, and left many of his Cartha- ruine them utterly, with the more ease. ginians behind him. The rest of the Afri- Now to the end he might not, without some cans fell under the fwords of their enemies; colour, falfifie the faith that he had given only the Spaniards, after they had a while to them; he pretended to want vidual for bravely defended themselves, were (after his Army, at such time as he seemed ready their submission) entertained, and served to depart out of Italy, and sent to them to the Conquerour.

ing having I noted in other places, and can to syracuse. hardly forbear to deliver unto memory the like practices, when they meet with their furnish him, he would then make their refumatches: That which hapned unto Monfieur fal the cause of his quarrel: if they yieldde Piles, was very futable to this treachery, ed to aid him with the proportion which he wherewith Dionyfus purfued Himilco. I was defired, that then they should not beable, present when De Piles related the injury for want of food, to endure a siegeany long done unto him. He had rendred S. John d'An- time against him. For, to ruine them he had gelie to the French King Charles IX. who be- fully determined, at what price soever. And fieged him therein. He rendred it, upon pro- great reason he had to take revenge of mile made by the faith of a King, that he them, if he had done it fairly, and withshould be suffered to depart in safety, with our breach of faith. For when in the beginall his followers. Yet in presence of the ning of his reign, he defired them to bellow King himself, of the Duke of Anjou his Bro- a daughter of some of their Nobility upon ther, General of his Army, of the Queen him for a wife; they answered, that they Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marshals had not any one fit for him, save the Hangof France, he was fet upon and broken in mans daughter. Princes do rather pardonill his March; spoiled of all that he had, and deeds, than villanous words. Alexander forced to fave his life by flight; leaving the the great forgave many sharp swords, but most of his Souldiers dead upon the place; never any sharp tongues; no, though they the Kings hand and faith warranting him told him but truly of his errors. And to march away with enfigns displaid and certainly, it belongs to those that have withall his goods and provisions, no whit warrant from God, to reprehend Prinavailing him. It needs not therefore feem | ces; and to none else, especially inpubstrange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus lick. break his faith, fince Kings, profeffing Chriflianity, are bold to do the like, or command had his heart more inflamed against the their Captains to do it for them.

Dionysius after this great victory, took care to re-edifie Meffena. Mago, who stayed Amiens, than for his confpiracy with thesty in Sicil, to hold up the Carthaginians there niard or Savoyan: for he had pardoned in, is again beaten by Dionysius; who is alfo beaten by the Tauromenians. A new fup- their swords against him. The contemp

sperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ply of fourscore thousand Souldiers is sent

He then past into Italy, obtained divers furnish him therewith, promising to return Many fuch examples of perfidious deal- them the like quantity at his coming home

His resolution was that if they resuled to

It is faid, that Henry the fourth of France, Duke of Biron, for his over-bold and biring taunts, that he used against him before

tuous words that Sir John Parret used of our faid) had two Wives; Doris of Locis, and tuous words that on John were his ruine; and Ariftomache a Syracufian, the fifter of Dion, late Queen Elizabeth, were his ruine; and Ariftomache a Syracufian, the fifter of Dion, not the counterfeit letter of the Romifb which Brother-in-law of his he greatly en-Priest produced against him. So fared it riched. with some other, greater than he, that foon after.

on all fides, which he continued to do fines; the younger, called Areta, he befrowed on an index, till he won it by force. on his Brother Theorides: after whose death He used his victory without mercy, spe- Dion took her to wife, being his Neece. cially against Phyton, who had commanded

within it.

thaginians, after the taking and razing of to sensuality, prevailed so much with Plato, this City; and those with variable fuccess. whose Disciple he had been, as he drew him For, as in one encounter he flue Mago, with into Sicil, to instruct the young King. And ten thouland Africans: fo the fon of Mago having perswaded the King to entertain beat him, and flew his brother Leptines, with him, he wrought fo well with him, as Diofourteen thousand of his Souldiers. After nysus began to change condition; to change which he bought his peace of the Carthagi- Tyranny into Monarchy; and to hold the and Adversity, as all Kings and States do.

World will love her own.

he remitted unto his Citizens divers pay- their State. ments, by his Father imposed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping that he offer which he made, to ferve the King with had fastned unto himself the peoples affe- so great a preparation, at his own charge, ctions; he cast off the sheeps skin, and put begot him many enemics. For they that

on that of the wolf. For being jealous of had ferved the King for none other end than his ownBrethren, as men of more vertuethan to raile and enrich themselves, and had alhimself, he caused them all to be slain; and all ready been raised & enriched, thought themthe kindred that they had by their Mothers felves bound to make the same offer that Di-

By Doris he had this Dionysius, who fucwith joine cone; gand a worse fortune, ceeded unto him: and by Aristomache he had To be flort, he made them know new elder, called Sophrofine, he gave in marriage bread from old. He affaulted their Town to his eldeft fon, and her half-brother Diony-

This Dion a just and valiant man, finding that Dionysius had abandoned all exercise of Some other wars he made with the Car- vertue, and that he was wholly given over nians, as they had formerly done of him; Principality that he had, rather by the love following therein the advice of Prosperity of his People, and his National Laws, than by the violence of his Guards and Garri-When he had reigned eight and thirty lons. But this goodness of his lasted not years, he died: some say in his bed, peace- long. For Philitus the Historian, and other ably, which is the most likely, though others his Parasites, that hated Dions severity, report it otherwise. Alcruel man he was, and wrought him out of the Tyrants favour, a faithless; a great Poet, but a foolish one. and caused him soon after to be banished He entertained Plato a while, but afterward, out of Sicil, to the great grief of the for speaking against his tyranny, he gave or- whole Nation. For whereas Dion had made der to have him flain, or fold for a flave. For offer to the King, either to compound the he could endure no man that flattered him quarrels between him and the Carthagininot beyond measure. His Parasites therefore ans, of whom Dionysius stood in great fear; filled his cruelty, The hate of evil men; and or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish his lawless flaughters, The ornaments and ef- | him with fifty Gallies at his own charge, dufetts of his justice. True it is, that flatterers | ring the war against them : his enemies are a kind of vermine, which poylon all the found means, by finisfer interpretation, to Princes of the World; and yet they prosper | convert his good will into matter of Treabetter than the worthiest and valiantest men on. They told Dionysus, that all the great do: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: commendations, given of Plato, had tendand as our Saviour Christ hath told us, The ed to none other end, than to soften his mind, and to make him neglect his own af-To this Dionysius his son of the same name fairs, by the study of Philosophy; whilest fucceeded, and inherited both his King- Dion in the mean time having furnished domand his Vices. To win the love of the fifty Gallies under colour of the Kings fer-People, he pardoned, and released out of vice, had it in his own power either to deprison, a great number of persons, by his liver to the Syracustans their former liberty, Father lockt up and condemned. Withall, or to make himself Lord and Soveraign of

It is likely, that the honest and liberal side. For Dionysius his Father (as hath been on had made, if the King had had the grace

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to conceive it aright. But the covetous and to death by torment. But Dion, for the ignorant cowards, that had neither the recovery of his Countries liberty, had the knowledge, nor the daring that Dion had, fame reward that all worthy men have had were bold to file his Love and Liberality, from popular Estates. He was disgraced Pride and Prefumption; and heartned the affaulted, and forced to abandonthe City. young King in his oppressing, and eating up He retired himself to the Leontines, who rehis own people, of whose spoils they themfelves shared no small portion. I have heard departure from Syracuse, new troops enter it. That when Charls the fifth had the rethe Castle: they sally out, assail, spoil, and pulse at Algier, in Africa, Ferdinando Cortese, burn a great part of the City. Dion is sent one of the bravelt men that ever spain for, with humble request: yet, ere he could brought forth, offered unto the Emperour, arrive, Dionysius his Souldiers were retired; to continue the fiege at his own charge. But and the Towns-men thinking themselves sehe had never good day after it. For they cure, thut the gates against Dion. But the that envied his victories, and his conquest next night they of the Castle sally out again. of Mexico in the West-Indies, perswaded the with greater fury than ever they kill Man. Emperour, that Cortese fought to value Woman, and Child, and set fire in all parts himself above him; and to have it said, that of the Town. In this their extremity Dion what the Emperour could not, Cortese had comes the second time to their succour; the effected, and was therefore more worthy of love of his Country furmounting all the inthe Empire, than he that had it.

rant was contented at first to fend him the of his Army; and quencheth the fire every revenues of his Lands, and permit him to where kindled, with the other part. Incondispose of his moveables at his own pleasure: clusion, after he had conquered both the not without giving hope to recall him in fire and the fword, that had well near burnt thort time. Had he continued in this good to ashes, and depopulated Syracuse, he recomood, like enough it is, that Dion would vered the Castle, with the munition and have been well pleased to live well, as he did, surniture thereof, and sent Apollocrates after at Athens. But after some time, Dionysius made Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby urged him to take another course, even to feek the restitution of his end to his dayes. For he was soon after his Country to liberty. The vertues of Dion, victory, murdered by Gylippus; who after especially his great Liberality, had purchased he had with ill success, a while governed much Love in Greece. This Love made him fuspected and hated of the Tyrant: but it with which he had murdered Dion. ftood him in good ftead, when he fought to raise men, with whose help he might return | sus, with the affistance of his friends in Haly, into Sicil. Yet he got not above eight hun- recovers his estate; and returns to Syracuse, dred (for he carried the matter closely) to driving Nyseus thence, whom he found Gofollow him in his adventure. But many of vernour therein. The better fort of the them were men of quality, and fit to be Citizens, fearing more than ever, his cruelty, Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding fice to Icetes, a Syracusian born, and then ruin Syracuse, as many as should be needful, ling the Leontines. Icetes enters into confethat would readily affift him. Therefore deracy with the Carthaginians, hoping by he landed boldly in sicil, marched to syra- their affiltance, not only to prevail against cuse, entred the City without resistance, Dionysius; but by the hatred of the syracuarmed the multitude, and won all, fave the fians towards Dionystus, to make him also

quickly had advertisement of this danger- Corinthians for succour. Icetes also sends ous accident. Wherefore he returned ha- thither, and dissipated the Corinthians, as stily to Syracuse: whence, after many vain well as he can, from intermedling in the butreaties of Peace, and fome forcible attempts fines. He tells them, by his Messengers, to recover the Town, he was fain to depart; That he had entred into league with the leaving yet a Castle to the Custody of Apol- | Carthaginians, who were so strong by Sea, locrates his eldest Son. Yet ere he went, his that it was not in the power of Corinth, to Minion Philiftus, coming with a strength of land an Army in Sicil. But the Corinthians, men to affift him, was beaten, taken, and put being by this treason of Icetes, more inraged

juries that he had received. He fets upon When Dion was newly banished, the Ty- the Garrison of the Castle, with the one part Dionylius his Father into Italy. But their malice, of whom he had best deserved, and whom he had loved most, gave an untimely syracuse, was flain with the same Dagger,

Ten years after the death of Dion, Diony-Lord of their City. The Syracusians, being Dionysius was then absent in Italy, but he descrivedly afflicted on all sides, send to the fieged him.

him, if he would not be perswaded. Time- Acradina, which he fortified. leon, finding himself over-mastered, makes

Corinth.

ceived by Andromachus the Governour. other parts of the Island. From thence he marched toward Adranum, where furprifing Icetes his Army, he flew a Amilear, Carthaginians, arrive about Lilybapart thereof, and put the rest to run. It is the | um, with threescore and ten thousand Soulnature of victory to beget friends. The diers, transported (with all their provisions) Adranitans joyned with him, and so did Ma- in a thousand ships of burden, and two hunmercus, the Tyrant of Catana. Dionysius also dred Gallies. Timoleon marcheth thither, fent to Timoleon, offering to furrender the and chargeth this great Army upon the Castle of syracuse into his hands, as thinking it better to yield up himself, and the pla-

than diffwaded, fent Timoleon with nineteen | ply of two thousand foot, and two hundred than universely stratufe from tyranny. In horse, which are stayed in Haly by soul weathe mean while, Lettes had entred Syracyfe, ther. Lettes is strengthened with threescore and with the help of the Carthaginians, dri- thouland Africans, brought unto him by Maand with the Caftle, where he be- go (all which he lodgeth within Syracuse) and with an hundred and fifty Gallies, to keep Iceter, being himself a Tyrant in Leontium, the Port. This was the first time that ever rather fought how to enlarge his power, than the Carthaginians had dominion within the how to deliver his Country. Therefore, walls of that City, With this great Army hearing that Timoleon was arrived at Rhe- Icetes affaileth the Castle Timoleon sends gium, he fent to perswade him, to return his them victuals, and succour, in small boats, his Fleet; for that all things were (in effect) by night, from Catana. Mago and Icetes do established in Sicil. The Carthaginian Gal- therefore resolve to besiege Catana; but lies were also in the same Port of Rhegium, they were no sooner on their way towards whose Captains advised Timoleon to get him it, with part of their forces, than Leon, Capgone in peace. They had far more Gallies tain of the Corinthians, fallied out of the there than he had, and were like to compel Castle, and took that part of Syracuse, called

In the mean while, the two thousand corequest to the Carthaginian Captains, that rinthians arrive: with whom, and two they would be pleased to enter into Rhegi- thousand other Souldiers, Timoleon marchum, and there, in an open assembly of the ed towarp Syracuse. Mago abandoneth Icetes people, to deliver unto him those arguments | being frighted out of Sicil (which he might for his return, which they had used to him easily have conquered) with an idle rumour. in private; that he might, by publick testi- of treason. This made him return to Carthage; mony, discharge himself to the Senate of where the general exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that The Carthaginians, perswading themselves, for fear of further punishment he hanged that a victory obtained by a few fair words, himself. Timoleon enters the City, and beats was without loss, and far more easie, than down the Castle (which he called The Nest that of many blows, and wounds, yielded to of Tyrants) to the ground. But he found the Timoleons defire. But while the Orations City, when the strangers were fled, in effect were delivering, Timoleon, favoured by the defolate; fo as their horses did feed on the Rhegians, stole out of the prease; and ha- grass growing in the Market-place. Thereving set fail, before the Gates were opened | fore he writes to Corinth for people to reto the Carthaginians, he recovered the Port | inhabit it. Ten thousand are sent out of of Tauromenium, where he was joyfully re- Greece, many come from Italy; others from

> But a new frorm arifeth. Afdrubal and paffage of a River.

A tempest of rain, hail, and lightning, with ces which he could not defend, unto the co. boysterous winds, beating upon the faces rinthians, than either to Icetes, whom he of the Carthaginians, they are utterly brodistained, or to the Carthaginians, whom he ken, ten thousand slain, five thousand taken, hated. Now Timoleon, who, within fifty with all their carriages and provisions: dayes after his arrival, had recovered the among which there were found a thousand Castle of Spracuse, and sent Dionysius to Corloss guilt and graven. After this, Timorinh, to live there a private man, was still leon gave an overthrow to Icetes, and followinvaded by the Armies, and molested by the ling his victory, took him, with his Son Eupopractices of Icetes. For he belieged the lemus, and the General of his horse, priso-Corinthians within the Castle of syracuse, ners; whom he caused all to be slain: and and attempted (but in vain) the murder of afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he suffered Icetes his wives The Corinthians fend unto Timoleon a fup- and daughters to be put to death. But this

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(after the marter of Dions wife, and a young child of felf by promife and oath to remain a friend his, with Ariffomache his Sifter, to be cast and servant to the State of Carthage, for

mercus fied to Hippon Tyrant of Messena: but Timoleon, purfuing him, won the Town; delivering Hippon to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had Mamereus, and all other the Tyrants in Sicil.

Finally, he made peace with the Carthapasthe River of Lyeus. After this, he lived Senators, kills all his enemies and oppoin great honour among the spracuffans, till fites; divides the spoil of the rich among his death; and was folemnly buried by them the poor; and gives liberty to his Souldier, in the Market place of their City: the day to rob, to ravilh, and to murder, for two of his Funerals being for ever ordained to whole dayes and nights, without controle be kept holy among them.

brought reace to the whole Illand; the In- fes, befides those that had broken their habitants injoyed their liberty in peace, necks over the walls 5 their fury had no furabout twenty years. The Cities and Temples ther subject to work on. were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant failed in fafety; and the Labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to govern them; should any long time subsist.

Twenty years after the death of Timoleon. there started up one Agathocles among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition: governed, from the sirst institution, with so who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; great glory and prosperity. This he did to from a Souldier to a Captain; and so from have the Crown clapt on his head (as it degree to degree, rifing to be a Prætor : fi | were) perforce. For, as he knew that he had nally, became Lord and Soveraign of the left none living, within the City, fit or able to Syracusans. Many fortunes he ran, and exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew under-went as many dangers, ere he obtain- he right well, that all they which had affiled the principality. For he had more than ed in the murder and spoil of their fellowonce attempted it, and was therein both Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man the support of a lawless Lord, who had been he was, and did notable fervice, as well for partaker with them in their villanies and those by whom he was employed, as also cruelties committed. So as this rable, his for the Syracuftans, and against them. For Oration ended, proclaimed him King: again in their Wars against those of Enna, and and again saluting and adoring him, by that the Campanes, he did them memorable fer- name, as if it had been given to him by some vice: and on the contrary, as memorable lawful election. Hence had our King Richard fervice for the Murgantines against the syracustans. For being entertained by the people was of base, the other of Kingly Parents; of Murgantia, and made General of their the one took liberty from a Common-weal, forces, he fackt Leontium; and belieged syrathe other fought only to succeed in a Monarcufe fo straightly, that the Citizens were chy; the one continued his cruelty to the driven to crave aid, even from their ancient end, the other, after he had obtained the and natural enemies, the Carthaginians. Amil- Crown, fought, by making good Laws, to car was fent by the Carthaginians to relieve recover the love of his people. Syracuse. With him Agathocles wrought so The life of this Tyrant is briefly written

was the revenge of God upon Icetes, who well that he got him to make peace between (after the murder of Dion) had caused himself and the Syracuscans; binding himself an He again prevailed against Mamercus Ty-ness, and compounded the quarrels berant of Catana, and won Catana it felf. Ma-tween Agathocles and the Syracufus; Agathocles is chosen Prætor; he entertains five thousand Africans, and divers old Souldiers of the Murgantines, under colour of a purpose to besiege Herbita. With these. and with the affiftance of the poor and difcontented Syracusians (the City also being ginians, on condition that they should not divided into many factions) he assails the ment: the third day, when they had blunt-After fuch time as Timoleon had delivered ed their barbarous appetites, and frewed Syracuje from the tyrauny of Dionysius, and the streets with ten thousand dead carksf

Agathocles, in an affembly of the people (being an eloquent knave)perswaded them. that, for the violent fickness, by which the Common-wealth was utterly confumed, he found no better than the violent remedies which he had administred; and that he affected no other thing than the reducing of the state from an Oligarchy, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democraty, by which it had been

CHAP. I. (somuch taunted by the Romans, as no better return into Africk. than meer fallhood) shewed it self very howith the syracustan, as gave him not only means to weaken others, but to strengthen against the Carthaginians. Such is com-

by Juline; more largely and particularly own life in what fort he thought best. This by pipolorus siculus: the fumm whereof is desperation of Amilear served to inform by Division The fame Amilear that had brought Agathoeles of the Carthaginians intent. He this syracuse, and that had lent him faw they would not be deluded with words, five thousand men to help in the Massacre of and therefore resolved to get the start of the Citizens, was also content to wink at mathem in action. He diffembled no longer; ny wrongs that he did unto the Confede- but, instead of spoil and robbery, made open ny wises of the Carthaginians. It was the pur- War upon all their Adherents. He had made pole of Amilear, to fettle Agathoeles in his the better part of Sicil his own, ere the Carryanny, and to let him vex and wafte the thaginian Forces arrived: which thinking to whole filand; because it was thereby like to have incountred an ill-established Tyrant. rome to pass, that he should reduce all sieil found him ready, as a King, to defend his into fuch terms as would make it become own, and give them sharp entertainment. an easie prey to Carthage. But when the They were beaten by him; and their Navv chits, confederate with the Carthaginians, tentiheir Emballadours, with complaint of ther dogood by Land, nor Sea, but were this ill dealing, to Carthage; the Funick faith glad to leave their business undone, and

The Carthaginians prepare a new Fleet: roundlein taking order for the redrefs.Em- which being very gallantly manned and furhalladours were fent to comfort the Sieili- nished, was broken by foul weather, and the ans, and to put Agathocles in mind of his Co- best part of it cast away, even whilst it was venants; Amilear was recalled home into yet within kenning of their City. But Amil-Africk, and a new Captain appointed to fue- car, the Son of Gifco, gathering together ceed in his charge, with fuch forces, as might the remainders of his shipwrack, was bold compel Agathocles to reason, if otherwise he to pass over into Sicil, and landed not far would not hearken to it. All this tended from Gela; where Agathocles was foon reato fave their Confederates, from fuffering | dy to examine the cause of their coming. fuch injuries in the future. For that which Many skirmishes passed between them, in was past (since it could not be recalled) they | which (commonly) the Syracusian had the took order to have it severely punished. better. But his good success begat pre-Amilear was accused secretly, and by way sumption; whereby he lost a battel more imof scrutiny: the suffrages being given, but portant than all the other fights. One adnot calculated; and so reserved until he verse chance is enough to overthrow the should return. This was not so closely hand- state of a Tyrant if it be not upheld by great led, but that Amilear had foon notice of it. | circumspection. The War was soon transfer-In managing his business with Agathocles, it is red to the walls of Sgracuse; within which likely that he had an eye to his own profit, Agathocles was closed up, and driven to make as well as to the publick benefit of his Coun- his last defence by their help, who may be try. For he had made fuch a composition | judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of Syracuse, after that great Massacre of the principal men, made himself, both in power and authority, even in the beginning of this new Tyranny, were (for the most part) such, as had been either monly the custom of those, that hope to mercenary Souldiers, infranchised flaves, or work their own ends by cunning practices, base and needy people; helpers in establishthinking to deal fubtlely and finely, they ing the present Government, and Executiopintheir threads fo small, that they are bro- ners of the murders, and spoil committed in ken with the very wind. Amilear faw, that that change. If there were any other (as his Carthaginians had a purpose to deal sub- some there were) they were so well obserfantially; and that therefore it would be ved, and (withall) fo fearful, that they durft hard for him, to make them follow his crook- not ftir. But it was enough that they all ed devices: which if he could not do, it agreed in the common defence of themselves Was to be expected, that their anger would and their City; Famine was likely to grow break out into fo much the greater extremiby how much the more they had contheir resolution. In this necessity Agathocles ccaled it. Therefore he followed the ex- adventured upon a frange course, which ample, which some of his fore goers had the event commended as wise. He imbarqued taught him; and, for fear of fuch a death as as many as he thought meet, in those vesiels the Judges might award him, he ended his that rode in the Flaven; and committing

the Government of the City to his Brother to lock upon their walls. Their Townsare Antander, willed the people to be of good ill ferrified, their people untrained, and courage, for that (as he told them) he had experienced in dangers; the mercenary bethought himself of a mean, both to raise the fiege, and to repair all other losles. A Carthaginian Fleet lay in the mouth of the Haven, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keep the befieged from isluing letting them have some share with usin all

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to depart, advertisement came, that many thips of burden, laden with Corn, and other already Master of all the riches in Africk; provisions, were drawing near unto Syracufe. To intercept these the Carthaginians men so well, that they were contented to se hoise fail, and lanch forth into the deep. fire on all their ships (reserving one or two They were not far gone, when they might to use as Messengers) to the end that no behold Agathocles illuing forth of the Port, hope should remain, save only in vistory, with purpose (as they thought) to give In this heat of resolution, they winby some convoyunto his victuallers. Hereupon they two Cities; which after they had throughly wheel about, and make amain toward him, facked, they burnt to the ground: as a mark as thinking him the better booty. He nei- of terrour to all that should make resissance ther abode their coming, nor fled back into The Carthaginians hearing this, are amazed; the City, but made all fpeed towards Africk; thinking that Amilear is broken, and his and was purfued by the Carthaginians, as whole Army destroyed in Sicil. This imlong as the day would give them light. In pression so dismayes them, that when they the mean feason the victuallers were gotten know the truth of all, by such as had sato Syracuse; which was the more plentiful- ped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they fear, ly relieved by their coming, for that Agathocles had unburdened the place of no small | cars faith, who had suffered Agathocks to number. When the Carthaginian Admiral land in Africk: they suspected their principerceived, first, that by pursuing two Fleets | pal Citizens at home, of a meaning to be at once, he had milied of them both: and tray Carthage unto the enemy; they railea fecondly, that Agathocles returned not again, but was gone to feek his fortune elfewhere, he thought it good to purfue those that were fled, and to attend fo well upon them. that they should not have leisure to do mischief in some other part.

The Carthaginian Navy followed Agathocles (whether by chance, or by relation of fuch as had met with him at Sea) directly towards Africk, and overtook him after fix dayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; fo that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselves in seeking their own misfortune: for he fought with them, the Carthaginians, made easie the victory and beat them; and, having funk or taken against the one half of them. For Bomilmany, drave the reft to flye which way they | car would not flir, but suffered Hanno tobe could, laden with fuch strange tydings of cut in pieces.

his voyage. Africk, then did he discover unto them his the Carthaginian society, to take part with project, letting them understand, that there Agathocles: who pursuing his Victory, win was no better way to divert the Carthagini- neth many Towns, and fends word to 87 ans, not only from syracuse, but from all the racuse of his good success. The Cartheir Ille of Sicil, than by bringing the war to their nians also fend unto Sicil, willing dail own doors. For here (aid he) they have ma- car, their General, to fuccour the state of ny that hate them, and that will readily take Africk, which was in danger to be lolt, Arms against them, as soon as they perceive whilst he was travelling in the Conquest of that there is an Army on foot, which dares Sicil Amilear fends them five thouland men:

forces that they levy in these parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promise and make good, by the wealth of the Carthaginians, than our Now, as such time at 'Agathocles was ready chemies can do, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one and with many brave words encouraged his and know not what. They suspect Amilgreat Army, and know not to whole charge they may lafely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captains in the City, Hanno and Bomilear, great enemies, and therefore the more unlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generals of the Army levied, which far exceeded the forces of hythocles. But it seldom happens, that diffention between Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Necessity drave Agathocles to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deal with the whole multitude of

The reputation of this great Victory, When Agathocles had landed his men in brought over a King of the Africans, from althor forces he thought it not needful to cified the tumult, by the accustomed proalthis recess thorough rather to draw Agatho-mifes of great booty and spoil. It hadnow

Agathocles.

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been time for him to offer peace to the Carby one, that could fearce retain his own thaginians: which to obtain, they would But these good hopes had a bad (questionless) have given to him both monv Hefrent fome time in winning a few chough to pay his Army, and all that they Towns that adhered unto the Syracustans: then held in Sicil. For their City had been and having brought his matters to some distressed, not only by this his war, but by and parties the conceived a fudden hope of the treason of Bomilear, who failed not much raking Spractuse by surprise. It was a pret- of making himself Tyrant over them. But ry (though tragical) Accident, if it were ambition is blind. Agathocles had all his The as Tully relates it. Amilear had a dream thoughts fixed upon the conquest of Carwhich fold him that he should sup the next thage it felf: out of which dream he was day within Syracuse. His fancy begot this awaked, by the loss of a battel, not so medream, and he verily believed it. He made morable in regard of any accident therein, more hafte then good speed toward the Ci- as of the strange events following it. The tv: and coming upon it on the fudden, had Carthaginians, after their great misfortunes good hope to carry it. But his enemies were in this war, had renewed their old facrifices prepared for him, and had laid an ambush of children to Saturn: from which they to intraphim, whereinto he fell. So he was had abstained ever fince they made peace carried prisoner into the City 5 in which it with Gelon. And now they made choice was likely that he had no great chear to his of some, the goodliest of their prisoners, tasupper: for they struck off his head, and ken in the battel, to offer unto the said Idol. fent it into Africk (a welcome present) to in way of thankfulness for their victory. The fire, with which these unhappy men were This good fuccess of things at home, did confumed, caught hold upon the lodgings put such courage into the Sicilian Army, nearest unto the Altar, and spreading it that Agathoeles was bold to wear a Crown, felffarther through the Camp, with the deand file himself King of Africk. He had al- ftruction of many men, caused such a tumult lured Ophellas, King of the Cyrenians, to take as is usual in the like cases. At the same his part, by promises to deliver the Country time, the like accident of fire burnt up the into his hands : for that (as he faid) it was Pavilion of Agathocles. Hereupon both the fufficient unto himfelf to have diverted the Armies fled away, each of them believing, Carthaginians from Sicil, wherein (after this that the noyle in the adverse Camp, was a warended) he might reign quietly. Ophellas | fign of the enemies coming to invade it. But came with a great Army, and was friendly the Carthaginians had a fafe retrait: Agaentertained. But the traiterous Sicilian, thocles, by a second errour, fell into a new taking an advantage, did murther this his calamity. In the beginning of this his flight affiffant; and afterwards by good words, in the dark, he met with his own African and great promifes, drew all the Cyrenian Souldiers, and thinking them to be enemies, Army to follow him in his Wars. Thus his (as indeed the one half of them had revoltvillany found good fuccess; and he so pre- ed from him, to the Carthaginians, in the vailed in Africk, that he got leasure to make last battel) he began to assail them, and was after into sicil. Many Towns in sicil had fo ftoutly refifted, that he loft in this blind embraced a defire of recovering their liber- fight above four thousand of his men. This ty; thinking it high time to fight at length did so discourage his proud heart, that, befortheir own freedom, after that they had ing fallen from the near hope of taking the follows been exposed, (as a reward of victo- City of Carthage, unto some distrust of his ry) either unto Aliens, or to Tyrants of own fafety, he knew no more how to modetheir own Country. These had prevailed rate his present weak fears, than lately he far, and gotten many to take their parts, as had known how to govern his ambition. in a common cause: when the coming of Therefore he took the way that came next Aguithocles abated their high spirits, and his into his head; which was, to steal closely good fucces in many fights, compelled them aboord his ships, with his younger son (the to Obedience. Out of Sicil he returned elder he suspected of Incest, and of Ambitiinto Africk, where his affairs stood in very on and so to flye into Sicil; thinking it the bad terms. Archaeathus, his fon had loft a best course to shift for himself, as wanting battel; and (which was worse) had ill vessels wherein to transport his Army. His means to help himself: his Army being in elder son Archagathus, perceiving his drift, mutiny for lack of pay. But Agathocles pa- arrested him and put him under custody:

Ggggg

but by means of a tudden tumult, he was let his name than by any force, for they yielded loofe, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both at his first coming. This done, he went to the his fons behind him. His flight being noyfed life of Lipara, and made the Inhabitants buy through the Army, all was in an uproar; and peace with one hundred talents of gold, But extremity of rage caused not only the comextremity or rage cauted not only the com-mon Souldier, but even fuch as had been would needs exact a greater; and finding friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two sons, and kill them. That this flight of Agathocles was extreamly base, I need not Herein (me thinks) he did well enough of Agathocles was extreamly base, I need took for how could he believe those tobe god, use words to prove: That his fear was For how could he believe those tobe god, truly, as all fear is faid to be, a passion, depriving him of the fuccours which reason horrible perjuries? Then he returned ichoffered, the fequel doth manifest. His forfaken Souldiers, being now a headless company, and no longer an Army to be feared, were cast away by foul weather at Sea; one obtained nevertheless a reasonable compofition from the Carthaginians: to whom they fold those places, whereof they had possession, for ninetcen talents. Likewise, Agathocles himfelf, having loft his Army, did nevertheless, by the reputation of this late war, make peace with Carthage upon equal wife that he had taken out of Egypt) and

from forain enemies, discovered his bloody younger fon of his own, began to control nature, in most abominable cruelties, among about the Kingdom. Neither did they the Sicilians. His wants and his fears, urged him so violently, that he was not satisfied rants decision; they regarded him not so with the spoils of the rich, or the death of much. But each of them laid wait for the those whom he held suspected: but in a others life: wherein the Nephew sped so beaftly rage depopulated whole Cities. He well, that he flew his Uncle, and got his devised new engines of torment; wherein Grandfathers Kingdom, without alking any ftriving to exceed the Bull of Phalaris, he leave. These tydings wounded the heart of made a frame of brafs, that should serve to Agathoeles with fear and sorrow. He aw fcorch mens bodies, and withall give him himfelf without help, like to become a prey leave to behold them in their milery. . So to his ungracious Nephew, from whom he devilish is the nature of man, when reason, knew that no favour was to be expeded, that should be his guide, is become a flave either by himself, or by those, whom only to his brutish affections. In these mischies he now held dear, which were Theogenia he was focutragious, that he neither spared and her children. Therefore he advised her Sex, nor Age; especially, when he was in- and them to fly before they were surprised: formed of the flaughter of his children in for that otherwise they could by no means Africk. But this was not the way to preserve avoid, either death, or somewhat that his cstate: it threw him into new dangers. would be worse. He gave them all his trea-They whom he had chafed out of their fures and goods, wherewith he even com-Country took arms against him, and drave pelled them (weeping to leave him defolate him into fuch fears, that he was fain to feek in fo wretched a case) to imbark themselves that love at Carthage, which by ruling well hastily, and make speed into Egypt. After he might have had in sicil. He freely delivered into the Carthaginians hands, all into the fire, or whether his difease confithose Towns of the *Phenicians* in *Sicil*, bemed him, there was none lest that cared to longing unto them, which were in his poffession. They requited him honourably, with great store of corn, and with four hundred talents of gold and filver. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed against the Rebels, and setled his cil, he made a voyage into Italy. There he ans begin to renew their attempts of confidence of the conf Subdued the Erutians, rather by terrour of quering all Sicil. What the Nephew of Age

plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoil the Temples of their gods. that had continually given deaf earstohis ly home, with eleven ships loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his fleet, Gally excepted, in which he himself elcaped, to fuffer a more miferable end. A grievous fickness fell upon him, that rotted his whole body, spreading it self through all his veins and finews. Whilft he lay in this cafe. all desiring his end, save only Theogenia (a her fmall children: his Nephew, the son of After this, the Tyrant being delivered Archagathus, before mentioned, and a their departure, whether he threw himself attend him but he ended his life as basely, as obscurely, and in as much want as he first

began it. After the death of Agathocles it was, that the Mamertines, his Souldiers, traiteroufly occupied Messana, and infested a great part of the Island. Then also did the Carthagini-

man Confuls, M. Valerius, and C. Octacilius made unable to compass its foundhim, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made use of their present advantage, and fold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Ta- How the Romans beliege and win Agrigentum.

These Consuls had brought a great Army into sicil; yet did they nothing else in effect than bring over Hiero to their fide. If the Syraculian held them busied (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by that should have received all the profit of nition. the victory: feeing they did expose him to

thorte did, I cannot find. Likely it is that firength of Syracufe, in the dayes of Agathothe quickly perillied. For the Sicilians were less and therefore knew, that it was able hequically permitted to help them, who directioned for Pyribus to help them, who directioned for Pyribus to help them, who directioned for the help them with a daughter of daughter to be an a very frong fiege. And hereupon it directions the help them with a daughter of daughter to be a superior of the help them. directions and adapter of Agatho-had marryed with a daughter of Agathohad many was foon weary of the ing help: if (perhaps) it were not fome pare der. pat (as hath been shewed before) and of their defire, that both Rome and Syracuse Country (Control of the Control of t there agoodly champion field, wherein own work might be the eafier against them hexage and Carthage flould fight for superio-both. Yet indeed, the case of the besieged Romans In which bulines, how these two great City was not the same, when the Romans lay Gies did speed, the order of our story will before it, as it had been when the Carthaginians attempted it. For there was great reason to try the uttermost hazard of war against the Carthaginians, who sought no other thing than to bring it into flavery: arccontinuation of the Roman War in Sicil. not to against the Romans, who thought it How Hieron, King of Syracuse, for fook the fufficient if they could withdraw it from the Carrhaginians, and made his peace with party of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by Agathocles, or by Hiera. The former of these cared not what When Appius Clandius, following the dadvantage of his victory gotten at preferve his own tyranny: the latter, as a Mollana, brought the War unto the Gates Just and good Prince, had no greater defire of spraule, and befreged that great City 5 than to win the love of his people by feek-Hieron found it high time for him to feek ing their commodity; but including his own peace: knowing that the Carthaginians had felicity within the publick, laboured to unneither any reason to be offended with him, hold both, by honest and faithful dealing. for helping himself by what means he Hereby it came to pas that he enjoyed a could, when they were not in case to give long and happy reign, living dear to his own him affiftance; and forefeeing withall, that Subjects, beloved of the Romans, and not when once he had purchased his quiet from greatly molested by the Carthaginians; the Romans, it would be free for him to fit whom, either the confideration, That they fill, without fear of molestation, whilft had left him to himself, ere he left their society, Rome and Carthage were fighting for the made unwilling to feek his ruine; or their maltery. In this good mood the new Ro- more earnest business with the Romans,

ø. VI.

Their beginning to maintain a fleet. Their first loss, and first victory by sea. Of sea-fight in general.

Iteron, having fided himself with the Romans, aideth them with victuals the fum of mony imposed upon him, and by and other necessaries: so that they, pretheir performing none other piece of fer- fuming upon his affiltance, recall fome vice) all the whole time of their abode in part of their forces. The Carthaginians the island; than was his departure from find it high time to bestir them; they the friendship of Carthage, no less to his ho- fend to the Ligurians, and to the troups nour than it was to his commodity. For they had in Spain, to come to their aid 5 by no reason could they require, that he who being arrived, they made the City of thould fuffer his own Kingdom to run into Agrigentum the feat of the War, against the manifelt peril of subversion, for their sakes Romans, filling it with all manner of mu-

The Roman Confuls, having made peace thewhole danger, without ftraining them with Hieron, return into Italy; and, in Cless to give him relief. But the Carthaginitheir places, Lucius Pofthumus and Quinans had lately made good proof of the tus Mamilius arrive. They go on towards Gggg 2

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* Agrigen ** Agrigentum: and finding no enemy in the as broken, till they came to the body of the * Agrigen- * Agrigentum : and mining to them were ftuf- Army, that lay shadowed behind some rising goodly Held, they benege it, thousand Souldiers. After a ground. The Numidians performit accor. by the while, the time of harveft being come, a dingly; and while the Roman purfied the Godes, unwhile, the time of narven being coins, a dingry, and the time of the Roman Army range the Country Numidians, Hanno gives upon then, and der the conduct of to gather corn, and those at the siege grow having slaughtered many, beats the reliance of the Roman Army range the Country Numidians. Arifon and negligent; the Carthaginians fally furiously, their Trenches. Pylifus, negligent; the Carring Army, but are in the end repelled into the Town with great made no other attempt for two months, but ten miles los; but by the smart felt on both sides, the lay strongly encamped, waiting until some and Affailants redoubled their guards, and the opportunity should invite them. But An. is had forestimes befreged kept within their covert. Yet the nibal that was befreged in Agrigentum, as initeight Romans, the better to affure themselves, cut well by figns as messengers, made Hamno hundred a deep trench between the walls of the Ci-know how ill the extremity which heenthousand a deep trenet between the analysis and another on the outty and their Camp: another outty anoth Cay, by indetnereo; that neither the carbagonian course. Lanno the tempon, a lecond time, might force them fuddenly, by a fally; nor provoked the Confuls to fight: But his Elereason to the Country without, break upon phants being disordered by his own Vam. ty of the unawares : which double Defence guard, which was broken by the Roman, be foll, and them unawares : which double Defence guard, which was broken by the Roman, be foil, and the unawares while the receiving loft the day: and with such as escaped, he bour-hood any relief of victuals, and munitions, whilst recovered Heracles. Annibal perceiving this, of car-ibage, grew the Syracustan supplies the assaultants with and remaining hopeless of succour, resolved to make his own way. Finding therefore frace from fuccour to Carthage, after they had been in that the Romans, after this dayes vidory, gianings, this fort pent up five months. The Cartha- wearied with labour, and fecured bytheir to great ginians imbark an Army, with certain Elegood fortune, kept negligent watch in the gory and control of Hanno; who night; he rusht out of the Town, with all the plenty and arrives with it at Heraelea, to the West of remainder of his Army, and past by the Ro-Agrigentum. Hanno put himself into the man camp without resistance. The Confuls field, and furprifeth Erbefus, a City wherein | purfue him in the morning, but in vain: fure

great, as it the Romans had bestowed all their provisi- they were, that he could not carrythe City Empedacies on. By means hereof, the famine without with him, which with little a-do the Roto fay, that grew to be as great, as it was within Agrithe Agrimans entred, and pitifully spoiled. The Rothe Agrimans proud of this victory, pushed rather the Agric gentum; and the Roman Camp no less mans, proud of this victory, pursued rather built Pala- Traightly affieged by Hanno, than the City to follow the direction of their prefentgood ces of such was by the Romans: infomuch, as if Hieron fortunes, than their first determinations. ty, as if had not supplyed them, they had been They had resolved in the beginning of this they meant forced to abandon the fiege. But feeing War, only to fuccour the Mamertinu, and to live for the strength of the field of the strength of the streng to live for that this diffress was not enough to make to keep the Carthaginians from their own made such them rise, Hanno determined to give them coasts: but now they determine to make realts, as if battel. To which end departing from He- themselves Lords of all Sicil; and from they meant to dye the raclea, he makes approach unto the Roman thence, being favoured with the wind of Camp. The Romans resolve to sustain him, greatest and put themselves in order. Hanno directs the disease of Kings, of States, and alloof pomp and the Numidian horsemen to change the Vantmagnin-cence, was guard, to the end to draw them further on;

Temples, and Theatres, Water-conduits, and Fish-ponds: the ruines tempers, and inearers, water-conducts and rim-points: the follow whereof at this day are fufficient arguments, that Rome is left could never boaft of the like. In the Portch of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, (by which we may judge of the Temple it felf) there was fee our on one fide which we may judge of the temple fitter). These was teven to not only the full proportion of the Glands, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polithed marble of divers colours; a work the meft magnificent and rare that ever hath been feen; on the other fide, the war of Twy, and the encounters which happed at that fige; with the perfonages of the Heroes. that were doers in that war; all of the like beautiful stone, and of equal stature to the bodies of those men in ancient times: In comparison of which, the latter works of that kind, are but petty things, and meer trifles It would require a volume to express the magnificence of the Temples of Hercules, Afculapius, Concord, Juno Lucina, Chaffitie, Proferpina, Caftor and Pollux, wherein the Master-pieces of those exquisite Painters and Carvers Phidias, Zeuzu, Myron, and Polycleus, were to be feen. But in process of time it ran the same fortune that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamities of war : whereof this war prefent brought unto it not the leaft.

After this encounter, the Carthaginians good fuccess, to fail over into Africk. It is private men, to covet the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the defire of that which done, he commands them to return which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true use and fruition of what we have already. This curse upon mortal men, was never taken from them fince the beginning of the World unto this day.

To profecute this War, Lucius Valerius and Titus Octacilius, two new Confuls, are sent into Sicil. Whereupon, the Romans being Mafters of the field, many in land Towns gave themselves unto them. On the contrary, the Carthaginians keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The Romans therefore, as welto fecure their own coasts, often invaded by the African nim Gallies, of five banks, to the shore.

they were directed by the Master, that so Majesties great ships, and a London-Barge. they might learn the stroke of the Gally, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

not easily beaten by fifty.

fleets, as to equal themselves in every Gallies, whereby they might fasten or grapneces, and of warfare with their enemies, deter- ple themselves with their enemies, when mine to make a flect. And herein fortune they were (as we call it) boord and boord, favoured them with this accident, that be- that is, when they brought the Gallies fides layouted the ignorant in ship-wrights craft, together. This done the weightier ships had ing anogaring and thrust one of the Carthagi- gotten the advantage, and the Africans lost it. For neither did their swiftness serve Now had the Romans a pattern, and by them, nor their Marriners craft; the veffels irthey began to fet up an hundred Quinque- wherein both Nations fought, being open: remes which were Gallies, rowed by five on fo that all was to be carryed by the advanevery bank; and twenty, of three on a bank: tage of weapon, and valour of the men. Beand while these were in preparing, they ex- sides this, as the heavier Gallies were acciand wante defined their men in the feat of rowing. This dentally likely to crush, and crack the sides ther did after a strange fashion. They placed of the lighter and weaker, so were they by mon the Sea-fands many feats, in order of the reason of their breadth, more steady; the banks in Gallies, whereon they placed and those that best kept their feet, could also their water men, and taught them to beat best use their hands. The example may be the fand with long poles, orderly, and as given between one of the long boats of his

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Certainly, he that will happily perform a fight at Sea, must be skilful in making choice When their fleet was finished, some rig- of Vessels to fight in: he must believe, that ging and other implements excepted, C.Cor, there is more belonging to a good man of melius, one of the new Confuls (for they War, upon the waters, than great daring; who being more in love with this new kind difference, between fighting loofe or at ofwarfare, than well advised, past over to large, and grappling. The Guns of a slow Mellana with seventeen Gallies, leaving the ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, rest to follow him. There he stayed not, but as those in a swift. To clap ships together. would needs row along the coast to Lipara, without consideration, belongs rather to a hoping to do some piece of service. Hannibal mad man, than to a man of War: for by such a Carthaginian was at the same time Gover- an ignorant bravery was Peter Stroffie lost at nour in Panormus; who being advertised of the Azores, when he fought against the Marthis new Sea-mans arrival, fent forth one quest of Santa Cruz. In like fort, had the Boodes, a Senator of Carthage, with twenty Lord Charles Howard, Admiral of England, Gallies to entertain him. Boodes, falling been lost in the year 1588. if he had not upon the Consul unawares, took both him been better advised, than a great many maand the fleet he commanded. When Hanni- lignant fools were, that found fault with his bal received this good news, together with demeanour. The Spaniards had an Army the Roman Gallies, and their Conful; he aboord them; and he had none: they had grew no less foolith hardy than Cornelius more ships than he had, and of higher buildhad been. For he, fancying to himself to | ing and charging; so that, had he intangled furprize the rest of the Roman fleet, on their himself with those great and powerful Vefown coast, ere they were yet in all points sels, he had greatly endangered this Kingprovided; fought them out with a fleet of dom of England. For twenty men upon the fifty fail; where with falling among them, he defences, are equal to an hundred that boord was well beaten, and leaving the greater and enter; whereas then, contrariwile, the number of his own behind him, made an | Spaniards had an hundred, for twenty of hard escape with the rest: for of one hun- ours to defend themselves withall. But our dred and twenty Gallies, the Romans under Admiral knew his advantage, and held it: Cornelius had lost but seventeen, so as one which had he not done, he had not been hundred and three remained, which were worthy to have held his head. Here to speak in general of Sea-fights (for particulars are The Romans, being advertised of Corneli- fitter for private hands than for the Press,) "hisoverthrow, make haste to redeem him, I say, that a fleet of twenty ships, all good but give the charge of their fleet to his Col- failers, and good ships, have the advantage, league, Duilius. Duilius, considering that the on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships Roman vessels were heavy and slow, the and of slower sailing. For if the fleet of an African Gallies having the speed of them, de- hundred sail keep themselves near together, viled a certain Engine in the prow of his in a gross squadron; the twenty ships, chargCHAP 1

give ground, and to fall back upon their own whereby they hoped, not only to get sid. next fellows: of which to many as intangle, but all the other Ifles between Haly and are made unserviceable or lott. Force them africk, beginning with sardina, whither they may cafily, because the twenty ships, soon after they sent a sleet for that purpose. they may carry, because the first have On the contrary fide, Amilear, the Carthagi which give themselves scope, after they have given one broad tide of Artillery, by clap- nian, lying in Panormus, carefully waited ping into the wind, and flaying, they may for all occasions, that might help to recomgive them the other : and fo the twenty flips pence the late misfortune: and being ad. batter them in pieces with a perpetual volly; vertifed, that some quarrel was grown be. whereas those that fight in a troop, have no tween the Roman Souldiers, and their Auxi. room to turn, and can alwayes use but one liaries, being such as caused them to incamp and the same beaten side. If the seet of an apart, he sent forth Hanno to set upon them; hundred fail give themselves any distance, who taking them unawares, buried four then that the letter fleet prevail, either against thousand of them in the place. Now during those that are arear and hindmost, or against the continuance of the Land-war in sial, those, that by advantage of over-failing Hannibal, who had lately been beaten by their fellows keep the wind: and if upon a Sea, but escaped unto Carthage, meaning Lee-thore, the thips next the wind be con- to make amends for his former errour, obftrained to fall back into their own fquadron, tained the trust of a new fleet, wherewithhe then it is all to nothing the whole feet must arrived at Sardinia: the conquest of which fuffer thipwrack, or render it felf. That fuch illand, the Romans had entertained for their advantage may be taken upon a fleet of un-next enterprife. Now it fo fell out, that the equal fpeed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time; as by the Oration of Her- in the Port where Hannibal with his new mocrates, in Thueyelides, which he made to fleet anchored. They fet upon him unawars, the Syranfians, when the Athenians invaded and took the better part of the fleet which them, it may easily be observed.

a Treatife, for the Lord Henry, Prince of escaped from the Romans. His good friends and a treatife, Wales; a subject, to my knowledge, never the Carthaginians, were so ill pleased with ites, and handled by any man, ancient or modern : but this his fecond unfortunate voyage, that Ferrita Prince; of which like an Eclipse of the Sun, peccare; In War it is too much to offend twice thing we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words and forrows: I will there-portance was done by the Confuls, till * Par merch fore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. Cura leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.

But it is now time to return to the beaten

ing them upon any angle, shall force them to ragement, to proceed in their Wars by Sea. he conducted; himself hardly escaping the It to Of the Art of War by Sea, I had written danger. But it little availed him to have myst

God hath spared me the labour of finishing they hanged him up for his diligence for as winer. it, by his loss, by the loss of that brave it hath been faid of old) Non of bit in bello und lit

After this, it was long ere any thing of im-sal.

is one of the first Cities that hath been built in all Emptwhereas Thueydides feems to make it a Colony of the Physician I z mus, in libello de Panormo, lib 6. affirms that it was fift and long bers Carthaginians; who by lofing their advan-the time which Thursdades fet down founded by the distant, all sales and selections and the sales and tage of fivift boats, and boarding the Romans, have loft fifty fail of their Gallies: as on the other fide, their enemies by commanding the Seas, have gotten liberty to fail about the Seas, have gotten liberty to fail about the life of the blocks or grante in Idumes, alone in oult Danillons, 1979.

Welf part of sicil; where they raifed the life line line resistance in the long of Marella with former manus, quibus adjustif just useful blocks are similarly like proposed and the life works with the life and with low amountains of the line of the life and the life words is love if dains been present assume that are found thele words is love if dains been present assume that the life words in love if dains been present assume that the life words in love if dains been present assume that the life words in love if dains been present assume that the life words in love if dains been present assume that the life words in love if dains been present assume that the life words in love in the life words in th and won the Town of Macella, with some pages prate enden Deum, & C. Hijst Turis Perfett away town other places. nomen ef Bayeh; fed Tarri buic proxime nomen ef Bhayeh; fed dutainle tion (lath Fazellus) was found intire in the Calledaphia the partifi-Now whether thele inferiptions were truly as ancient, as the length live who were I leave a second and the length live who were I leave a second as the length live who were I leave a second as the length live were I leave a second as the length live were I leave a second as the length live were I leave a second as the length live were I leave a second as the length live were I leave a second as the length live were I leave a second as the length live were lengt lieve they were, I leave every man to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in an annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in an annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in an annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in an annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in an annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in an annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in an annual to his own faith, Buthat the Colling of angel singer in an annual to his own faith, Buthat the colling of angel singer in an annual to his own faith and the colling of an annual to his own faith and the colling of angel singer in an annual to his own faith and the colling of an annual to his own faith and the colling of an annual to his own faith and the colling of an annual to his own faith and the colling of an annual to his own faith and the colling of the colli Divers Enterfeats of War, between the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable success. and Carthaginians, with variable fuces.

The Romans prepare to invade Africk: and obtain a great Vidory at Sea.

fift into sixil, that then the Thankie was 3 to wife, in the interpolation was 5 to wife, in the interpolation was 5 to wife, in and 5 constant of the Romans prepare to invade Africk: and obtain a great Vidory at Sea.

first into sixil, that then the Thankie was 3 to wife to exhibit the interpolation was 1 to wife the paint was 1 to wife and it is it is to she wife the source of the source for the source of the source for the sou

CHAP. I. and Atessana.

The year following, C. Atilius the Conful who commanded the Roman fleet, discoverey Out and Quinqueremes.

draw it: the Quadriremes had four to an Oar: and the Trivemes hisbeen fo, they must then have had five decks each over other: which whileldome been feen in thips of a thousand tuns; neither could the id fourth, and fifth ranks, have reached unto the water with the Oars.

> fleet was divided into four parts, of which thaginians on that part also to running. the three first made the form of a Wedge or squadron, together with the corner of the parts that were oppress. So as in conclusion,

norms was befreged; where, when the Ro- first and second. The order of the Carthanorms was being in vain to draw the Carman had fought in vain the Carman had fough mani man of the field; being unable to but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, thogrammas, and City, because of the strong I conjecture, that the front of their Fleet force that great City, because of the strong I conjecture, that the front of their Fleet Garrifortherein bestowed: they then de- wasthin, and stretched in a great length, Garmon derice, and took certain In-parted from thence, and took certain Inpartee months, as Mycistratum, Enna, Cameri-Combat en haye, a long front of horse, and na, lippana, and others, between Panormus thin: which form, fince the Pistol prevailed over the Lance, they have changed. Behind this first out-stretched front, their Battalions were more folid: for Amilear, Admiral of ed a company of the Carthaginian Gallies, the Carthaginians had thus ordered them of ranging the coaft: and, not staying for his purpose, (his Gallies having the speed of the wholenumber, purfued them with ten of Romans) that, when the first Fleet of the his. Buthe was well beaten for the hafte he Romans hafted to break through the first made, and lost all, fave the Gally which Gallies, they should all turn tail, and the Rotransported him: wherein himself escaped mans pursuing them (as after a victory)diswith great labour. But ere all was done, the order themselves, and, for eagerness of tareft of Atilius his fleet was gotten up: who king the Run-awayes, leave their own three renewing the fight, recovered from the Car- squadrons far behind them. For so it must thaginians a double number of theirs; by needs fall out; feeing that the third fquawhich the Victory remaining doubtful, both dron towed their horse-boats and victualchallenge it. Now to try at once, which of lers; and the fourth had the Rearward of thee two Nations should command the all. According to Amilears direction it suc-Seas, they both prepare all they can. The ceeded. For when the Romans had charged, Romans make a fleet of three hundred and and broken the thin front of the Carthagithirty Gallies; the Carthaginians, of three nian first Fleet, which ran away, they forthhundred and fifty, * Triremes, Quadriremes, with gave after them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behind them for the second squadron. Hereby the Romans were drawn near unto the body of the Cara Sunchave thought, that the Quinquerement had five ranks of were drawn near unto the body of the Car-s, one over another; and the other Gallies (cateably) fewer. But thaginian Fleet, led by Amilcar, and by him (at the first) received a great loss, until their fecond fquadron came up, which forced Amilear to betake him to his Oars. Hanno The Romans refolve to transport the also who commanded the right wing of the War into Africk; the Carthaginians, to ar Carthaginian Fleet, invaded the Roman refithem on the coast of sicil. The num- Rearward, and prevailed against them. But bers, with which each of them filled their | Amilear being beaten off, Marcus Atilius fell fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that ever back to their succour, and put the Carthagifought on the waters. By Polybius his cfti- nians to their heels; as not able to fustain mation, there were in the Roman Gallies an both squadrons. The Rear being relieved, hundred and forty thousand men; and in the Consuls came to the aid of their third those of Carthage, an hundred and fifty thou- Battalion, which towed the victuallers, land: reckoning one hundred and twenty which were also in great danger of being Souldiers, and three hundred Rowers to beaten by the Africans: but the Confuls, every Gally, one with the other. The Roman joyning their squadrons to it, put the Car-

This victory fell unto the Romans, part-Triangle; the two first squadrons making ly by the hardiness of their Souldiers; the Flanks, and the third fquadron, the but principally, for that Amilear, being first Base: the point thereof (wherein were the beaten, could never after joyn himself unto two Confulsas Admirals) looking toward any of his other fquadrons, that remained, the enemy, and the middle space lying as yet, in a fair likelihood of prevailing, so empty. Their Vessels of carriage were long as they fought upon equal terms, and towed by the third fquadron. After but fquadron to fquadron. But Amilear all came up the fourth, in form of a Crefcent; for laking the fight, thereby left a full fourth very well manned, but exceeding thin: fo part of the Romane fleet uningaged, and that the horns of it inclosed all the third ready to give succour to any of the other

for they loft but four and twenty of theirs; about fifty English mile from it. There tor they fold out four and twenty that were they dif-embarked and prepared to befiege whereas the Africans lost thirty that were they dif-embarked and prepared to befiege whereas the apression and three that were Chypea; which, to cale them of labour, was

than the Romans, had also divided his Fleet all invasions are foolish. By this time were into four fquadrons, (besides those that he the Africans also arrived at their own Carranged in the front to draw on the enemies, thage, fearing that the Roman Fleet and Arranged in the from and that, whilft he him-my had directed themselves thither; but beand to magge them, and to be perfel fought with one foundron that charged in gadvertifed that they had taken Chpea, him, all the rest of the enemies Fleet had they made provisions of all forts, both by Sea been at the same time entertained, he had and Land, for their defence. The Romans prevailed: but the fecond fquadron, being fend to Rome for directions, and in the mean free, came to the refere of the first, by which while waste all round about them. The or-Amilear was oppress: and Amilear, being op-der given from the Senate, was, That one of preft and feattered, the Confuls had good the Confuls should remain with the Army, leifure to relieve both the third and the and that the other should return with the fourth foundron, and got the victory.

advited him concerning War against the fand African Captains, with all the Roman Turks, tells him, that in all battels be Fleet and Army; except forty thips, fifteen tween them and the Christians, he should shouland foot, and five hundred horse, that never fail to charge the Janifars in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at With these forces, Regulus easily wan once with the reft. For (laith he) the Jani- fome Towns and places that were unwalled, fars, who are alwayes referved intire in the and laid siege to others. But he performed Rear of the battel, and in whom the Turk no great matter before he came to Adir. reposeth his greatest confidence; come up Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that near in a gross body, when all the troops on both unto the River of Bagrada, he encountred fides are disbanded and in confusions where with a Serpent of one hundred and twenty by they carry the Victory before them with foot long, which he flew, not without loss out reliftance. By the same order of fight, of many Souldiers, being driven to use and refervation, did the Romans also pre- against it such engines of War, as served provail against other Nations. For they kept perly for the assaulting of Towns. At Adia their Triarii in store (who were the choice he met with the Carthaginian Army, where of their Army) for the up-shot and last of the Captains were Hanno and Bostar, toblow. A great and victorious advantage gether with Amilear, who had brought over it hath ever been found, to keep some out of Sieil five thousand foot, and five hunor two good troops to look on, when all dred horse to succour his Country. These else are disbanded and ingaged.

ø. VIII.

utterly beaten and made prisoner.

former refolution, after they had re- ftrongly(as they think) on the top of an hill: paired and re-victualled their Fleet, fet fail but thereby they lofe the fervices both of for Africa, and arrived at the Promontory their Elephants, and of their horsemen. This of Hercules, a great Head land, fomewhat disadvantage of theirs, Regulus discovers, and to the East of the Port of Carthage, and makes use of it. He allails them in their fome forty leagues from Heraclea in Sicil, strength, which they defend a while, but in where Amilear himself as yet staid. Eron finethe Romans prevail, and force them from this Head-land (leaving the entrance into the place, taking the spoil of their Camp Fol-Carthage) they coasted the East-side of the lowing this their good fortune at the heels,

the Romans got the honour of the day: Promontory, till they came to Clypea, a Town vielded unto them. Now had they a Port Now, if Amilear, who had more Gallies of their own on Africa fide; without which Fleet into Italy. According to this direction. Charls the fifth, among other his Pre- Manlius the Conful is fent home to Rome; cepts to Philip the second his Son, where he whither he carried with him twenty thou-

(belike) had an intent, rather to weary him out of Africa, by wary protraction of time, than to undergo the hazard of a main fight. They were careful to hold them-The Romans prevail in Africk. Atilius the felves free from necessity of coming to Canful , propoundeth intolerable condi- blows: yet had they a great defire to fave tions of Peace to the Carthaginians. He is the Town of Adis out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their general purpose, and yet to disturb him in the siege OW the Romans, according to their of Adis, they incamp near unto him, and and take.

gain the year 1536, and was one of the three Keyes, which he gain the year 1536, and was one of the three Keyes, which he sandsuffer of Philip the fecond his fon to keep fafe; to wit, this industry of disast Full prays, the Key of the Netherlands: and the two for the Netherlands: the Key of Afrika: Fingining, the Key of the Netberlands: and the Key of \$2400. But two of these Philip so lost, that he never the key of Sam. Dut two or incue rouse to the construction of the

By the loss of this battail at Adis, and of their enemies might grow: but confimore especially by the loss of Tunis, the dent they were, that it should soon be Carthaginians were greatly difmayed. The abated. Their chiefcare was, how to refift Numidians, their next Neighbours towards the violence of the Elephants. Against the West, insult upon their missortunes; them they placed the Velites, or light-armed invade, and spoil their Territory, and force Souldiers, as a forlorn hope; that these those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their might either with darts and other castingvillages and fields, and to hide themselves weapons, drive back the beafts upon the within the wals of Carthage. By reason here- enemies, or at least break their violence, and of a great famine at hand threatens the Ci- hinder them from rushing freely upon the tizens. Aillius finds his own advantage, and Legions. To the same end, they made assures himself that the City could not long their battails deeper in file, than they had hold out : yet he feared left it might defend | been accustomed to do. By which means, it self, until his time of Office, that was near as they were the less subject unto the imexpired, should be quite run out, whereby pression of the Elephants; so were they the new Confuls were like to reap the ho- lo much the more exposed unto the vionour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, lence of the horse, wherein the enemy did that hath no respect but to it felf, per-fixedeshim to treat of peace with the Car-shaginians. But he propounded unto them fourworthy and base conditions, as there- sonable distance: his horsemen, and some

The Grand that the proceed to * Tunis a City within fix- fand were it not commonly found that they miles of Garthage, which they affault they which use the service of mercenary own doors.

Xantippus, taking the field with this Army, marched directly towards the Romans; and wondred much, whence this new courage by their hearts, formerly possessed with fear, light-armed foot, of the Carthaginians Auxibecame now fo couragious and disdainful, liaries, were in the wings. The first onset that they resolved, either to defend their was given by the Elephants, against which liberty, or die to the last man. To strengthen the Velites were so unable to make resithis their resolution, there arrived at the stance, that they brake into the battalions fametime a great troop of *Greeks*, whom following, and put them into some disorthey had formerly sent to entertain. Among der. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* these was a very expert Souldier, named battail was helpfull. For when the beasts Xuntippus, a Spartan: who being informed had fpent their force, in piercing through a of what had passed, and of the overthrow few of the first ranks; the squadrons neverwhich the Carthaginians received neer unto theless persisted in their order, without Adis, gave it out publickly; that the same opening. But the Carthaginian horse, havewas occasioned by default of the Comman- ing at the first encounter, by reason of their ders, and not of the Nation. This bruit, ran advantage in number, driven those of Atitill it came to the Senate; Xantippus is sent lius out of the field, began to charge the for; gives the reason of his opinion; and in Roman battalions in flank, and put them conclusion, being made General of the in great distress; who being forced to turn African forces, he puts himself into the field. face every way, could neither pass forward The Army which he led, confilted of no nor yet retire; but had very much ado to were than twelve thousand foot, and four make good the ground whereon they stood. thousand horse, with an hundred Ele- In the mean while, such of the Romans, Phants. No greater were the forces where- as had escaped the fury of the Elephants, with the Carthaginians fought for all that and left them at their backs, fell upon the they had, Liberties, Lives, Goods, Wives, Carthaginian Army, that met them in veand Children: which might well make it ry good array. It was no even match. The suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before one were a disordered Company, wearied fpoken of, were mif-numbred; the one con- with labour and hurt; the other, fresh, fifting of an hundred and forty thousand, and well prepared, to have dealt with and the other of an hundred and fifty thou- the enemy upon equal ferms. Here was therefore the Romans halfily receiled to the body of others, by yielding to fuch an office of humatheir Army, which being furrounded with nity, as is common in all wars (not groundthe enemy, and pent with travail, fell all ed upon deadly hatred) only in regard of to rout, upon the defeat of these troops, some small advantage. Whatsover the to rout, upon the decate of the earth of the chat open the way to a general overthrow. Carthaginians thought of him; fure it is, that open the way to a general solution of that his faithful observance of his word defroying the whole Roman Army, fave given, cannot be too much commended. But two thouland, and taking five hundred pritwo thousand, and taking the Conful. nate, againft the exchange of priloners, ap-Of their own they loft no more than eight pears, in all reason, to have proceeded from hundred Mercenaries, which were flain a vain-glorious forwardness, rather than when the fight began, by two thouland of from any necessity of State. For the Extended the Romans: that wheeling about to avoid change was made soon after his death; the Elephants, bare down all before them 3 wherein the Romans had the worse bargain, and made way even to the Carthaginian by fo much as Regulus himfelf was worth. As trenches. These were the two thousand for the authority of all Historians, that that cleaped, when the whole Army behind magnifie him in this point; we are to conthem was routed. All the reft were either fider, that they lived under the Roman Emtaken or flair. Hereby fortune made the pire: Philimis, the Carthaginian, perhaps did Romans know, that they were no lefs her cenfure it otherwife. Yet the death which valials, than were the Carthaginians: how in- he fuffered with extrem torments, could not folent foever they had been in their propofition of peace, as if they had purchased from nourable to Carthage. Neither do I think her the inheritance of their prosperity which the never gave nor fold to any mortal man. With what joy these newes were tion: saying that the Romans deserved to be welcommed, when they came to Carthage, we may easily conjecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to pass in the world, there are many rantable, but rather more odious, by being examples to prove, no less than this of Xantippus: all of them confirming that sentence of Eurypedes, Mensuna fapiens, plurium vincit the Captains of their enemies whom they manus; Many mens bands equal not one wife

After this great service done to the Carwhether for that he was more envyed than | folency in others, as if it were lawfull only honoured, or for what other cause, it is un- in themselves.

The death of Atilius Regulus the Conful, was very memorable. He was fent from Carthage to Rome, about the exchange and ransome of prisoners on both sides: giving his faith to return if the business were not effected. When he came to Rome, and plainly faw that his Country thould lofe by the bargain: fo far was he from urging the Senate unto compafficu of his own milery, that he it impertinent, to add unto one, more teffiearneftly perswaded to have the prisoners in Africk left to their ill destinies. This done, pains taken, he was rewarded with an hor- fast upon the Venetians, as they not only rible death. For this his conftancy and drave their Gallies out of the Sea, but they faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the brought their own fleet within two miles of Carthaginians feem to have judged him an Venice it felf. This bred fuch an amazement obstinate and malicious enemy, that neither in the Citie of Venice, that they offered unto in his prosperity would hearken to reather the Genomaies (their state reserved) whatsomer the Genomaies (their state reserved) where the Genomaies (their state reserved) whe the Genomaies (their state reserved) where the Genomaies (their fen, nor yet in his calamity would have ever they would demand. But Peter Dorid,

therefore a great flaughter with little fight; the natural care, to preferve himfelf and that the Carthaginians could excuse themfelves herein; otherwise than by recriminano better intreated, for as much as it is their ordinary practice to use others in the like fort. Cruelty doth not become more warcustomary. It was the Roman fashion, to whip almost to death, and then to behead, took, yea although they were such as had alwayes made fair wars with them. Wherefore it feems not meet, in reason, that they thaginians, Xantippus, returned into Greece; | should cry out against the like tyrannical in-

The confideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of Atilius his intolerable demands; and of the fudden valour, whereinto the Carthaginians fear was changed by meer desperation; calls to remembrance, the like infolency of others in prosperity, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath been denyed. In fuch cases I never hold monies; approving the true rules, from which our passions carry us away.

In the year 1378. the Genowaies won fo

CHAP. I. hearken to no composition; save the yield- an hundred and fourteen of their fleet, and near and state to his difference drew them after them to Chipea; where ing or men to by the Venetians, being filled with they staid no longer, than to take in their didain, thruft out to Sea with all their remaining power, and affail Doria with fuch done, they made amain toward Sicil, in deperate fury, that they break his fleet, kill hope to recover all that the Carthaginians desperate run state of the stat priloners, recover chiozza, and all the plathem to find harbour in time, for that the es taken from them; and following their feafon threatned fome violent forms, which victory, enter the Port of Genoa, enforcing ever hapned between the rifing of Grion, and of Infolency.

ø. IX.

How the affairs of Carthage prospered after mans, having loft their fleet by tempeft, refolve to forfake the Seas: The great advantages of a good fleet in war, between Nations divided by the Sea.

DY the reputation of this late victory, Dall places that had been loft in Africk, return to the obedience of Carthage. Only clypea stands out ; before which the Carthaginians sit down, and affail it, but in vain: For the Romans, hearing of the commanded by M. Æmilius, and Ser. Fultheir coming, encounter them: but greatly surround it by Land and Water: after a

blown up with many former victories, would to their cost. For the Romans took by force the Genowaies basely to beg peace, to their of the *Dog-flarr. Now although the Pi-'There is extream dishonour and diadvantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might beaten; which, being victorious, they might beaten; which, being victorious, they might beaten which being victorious, they might be with the state of t ocates, which have commanded, to their greatest honour field them withall, that the South coast of which hash and advantage. The like happed to the sieil had no good Ports, wherein to fave certain Earl of Flanders, in the year 1380, when themselves upon such an accident: yet this times of having taken a notable, and withal victorious Nation was perfeaded, that the outragious anover-cruel revenge upon the Gantois, he wind and seas feared them no less, than did beside an over-cruci revenge upon the samon, in all humi-refused mercy to the rest, who in all humi-lity, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their City, goods, and effacts, to to fray within some Port, as they were ad-have upon be disposed at his pleasure. This when he vised, they would needs put out to Sea 3 a Medical and made undivised to refused and was resolved thinking a matter much believe their had unadvifedly refused, and was refolved thinking a matter much helping their mas flaw nad unadvincedly retined, and was to extinguish them utterly; they islike our reputation, after this victory against the shar self-dome or Carthaginian sleet, to take a few worth-never sales. and armed with a desperate resolution, they less Towns upon the coast. The merciles in the and armed with a desperate resolution, they less 10wns upon the coath. The merches in the charge the Earl, break his Army, enter winds in the mean while overtake them, desinthe Bruges (pell-mell) with his vanquished fol- and near unto Camerina, overturn and thrust moneths lowers; and enforce him to hide himself headlong on the rocks, all but fourscore of Augst under an heap of straw, in a poor cottage; of three hundred and forty ships, to as their tember, out of which with great difficulty he elea- former great victory was devoured by the thole most out or writen writen great admitted by the excellent ped, and faved himfelf. Such are the fruits Seas, before the fame thereof recovered winds, Rome

call the Nortes, or North winds, are very featfal: and therefore they that navigate in those parts, take harber till those moneths take end. Charles the int being as ill advited, in passing the Seas towards Algors, in the Winter quanter contrary to the console of A. Doria, as he was in like unseefinable times to continue his steps before. Mex; in Larratius lost an hundred and form thins be remedite, and fifteren Gallies, with all is. the vidgory against Actilius: How the Roan hundred and fryn this by templets, and fifteen Gallies, with all in
fifth in them, of men, yiduallers, horfes, and municion: a lois no lefs
fifth in them, of men, yiduallers, horfes, and municion: a lois no lefs great, than his retreat, both from before the one and the other, was extreme difhonourable.

The Carthaginians, hearing what had hapned, repair all their warlike vessels hoping once again to command the Seas: they are also as consident of their land-forces fince the overthrow of Attilus. They fend Afdrubal into Sicil with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and forcy Elephants imbarked in two hundred Gallies. With this Army and fleet he arrives at Lilybaum; where and withall, that Clypea was befigged, make he begins to vex the Partifans of Rome. But ready a gross Army, and transport it in a adversity doth not discourage the Romans: fleet of three hundred and fifty Gallies, They build in 3. moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty ships; with vius, their Consuls. At the Promontory of which, and the remainder of their late ship-Mercing, two hundred Carthaginian Gal-wrack, they row to Panormus, or Palerna, lies, fet out of purpole, upon the bruit of the chief City of the Africans in Sicil, and Hhhhh 2

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while they take it, and leaving a Garrison vail against London, suddenly imbarqued: therein, return to Rome.

ing in Africk: to which purpose they imploi- There sinding ill entertainment, he again ing in Africk: to which put por the state of this men, and entred the Severn, making od C. Servilius, and C. Sempronius, their Con-thipt his men, and entred the Severn, making fuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some Edmond to march after him, to the succour spoil they made upon the coasts of Africk: of Worcester-shire, by him greatly spoiled. but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their return, they were first back again to London: by means whereof, fet upon the fands, and like to have perished, neer unto the lesser syrtes, where they where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. were fain to heave all over-boord, that fo And this was not the least help, which the they might get off: then, having with much Netherlands have had against the Spaniards. ade doubled the Cape of Lilybaum, in their in the defence of their liberty, that being paliage from Panormus towards Haly, they Masters of the Sea, they could pass their loft an hundred and fifty of their thips by Army from place to place, unwearied, and foul weather. A greater discouragement entire, with all the Munition and Artillery never Nation had; the god of the wars fa- belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the voured them no more, than the god of the time, wherein their enemies have been able waters affilied them. Of all that Mars to do it. Of this an instance or two. The enricht them with upon the Land, Neptune Count Maurice of Nassau, now living, one of robbed them upon the Seas. For they had the greatest Captains, and of the worthiest now loft, besides what they lost in fight, Princes, that either the present or preceding four hundred and fix Ships and Gallies, with Ages have brought forth, in the year 1590. all the munition and Souldiers transported carryed his Army by Sea, with forty Canons in them.

tion, and their fight by Sea, and to fend diers, and victuals. But as foon as the wind only a Land-army into Sicil, under L. Cecili- ferved, he fudenly fet fail, arriving in the us, and F. Furius, their Confuls. These they mouth of the Menze, turned up the Rhine, transport in some threescore ordinary pai- and thence to Isell, and sate down before fage boats, by the straights of Meffana, that Zutphen. So before the Spaniards could are not above a mile and a half broad from march over land round about Holland. land to land. In like fort, the overthrow which Atilius received in Africa, occasioned Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, chiefly by the Elephants, made them less Zutphen wastaken. Again, when the Spanish cholerick against the Carthaginians, than be- Army had overcome this wearisome march, fore; so that for two years after, they kept and were now far from home, Prince the high and woody grounds, not daring to fight in the fair and champion Countries.

Maurice, making countenance to fail up the Rhine, changed his course in the night; and But this late resolution of for saking the Seas sailing down the stream, he was set lasted not long. For it was impossible for down before Hulst in Brabant, ere the them to fuccour those places which they spaniards had knowledge what was become held in Sicil, without a Navy, much less of him. So this Town he also took, before to maintain the War in Africa. For, where- the Spanish Army could return. Lastly, the as the Romans were to fend forces from spanish Army was no sooner arrived in Bra-Messanato Egesta, to Lilybaum, and to other bant, than the Prince Maurice, well attendplaces in the extreme West parts of sicil, ed by his good fleet, having fortified Hull, making sometime a march of above an hun- let fail again, and presented himself before dred and forty English mile by land, which Nymegen in Gelders, a City of notable imcould not be performed without an Army, portance, and maftered it. and the provisions that follow it, in less than And to say the truth; it is impossible for

advantage of transporting Armies by water, of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that spain between Canutus, and Edmund Ironfide. For than England should be an example. Let it Camtus, when he had entred the Thames therefore be supposed, that King Philip the with his Navy and Army, and could not pre- fecond had fully refolved to hinder Sir John

and failing to the West, landed in Dorset-shire, Very desirous the Romans were to be do- so drawing Edmund and his Army thither. to Breda: making countenance either to The exceeding damage hereby received, befiege Boifledue, or Gertreviden Berg; which perswaded them to give over their Naviga- the enemy (in prevention) filled with Soul-

14. dayes; the Carthaginians would pass it any maritime Country, not having the with their Gallies, in eight and forty hours. An old example we have, of that great against a powerful enemy, that is master Don Antonio, King of Portugale, before the tive. This he holds only upon supposition: oates of Lysborne; and that he would have in absence of our shipping: and comparativekept off the English, by power of his land- | ly, as that it is a more safe and easie course. forces; as being too weak at Sea, through to defend all the coast of England, than to the great overthrow of his mighty Armado, fuffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to by the fleet of Queen Elizabeth, in the year light with him. Surely I hold with him. foregoing. Surely, it had not been hard for that it is the best way, to keep our enemies him, to prepare an Army, that should be from treading upon our ground; wherein, able to refift our eleven thousand. But if we fail, then must we seek to make him where should this his Army have been be- wish, that he had stayed at his own home. flowed? If about Lisborne; then would it In such a case, if it should happen, our have been easie unto the English, to take, judgements are to weigh many particular ransack, and burn the Town of Croin, and circumstances, that belongs not unto this to waste the Country round about it. For discourse. But making the question general, the great and threatning preparations of and positive, Whether England, without the the Earle of Altemira, the Marquels of Se- help of her fleet, be able to debarr an enemy ralba, and others did not hinder them from from landing; I hold that it is unable fo to performing all this. Neither did the hasty do: and therefore I think it most dangelevy of eight thousand under the Earle of rous to make the adventure. For the in-Affociates: confidering that the English the invaded, may draw after it a most pericharged these, at Puente de Burges, and paf- lous consequence. fing the great Bridge, behind which they lay, that was flanked with fliot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, by his wanting forces, wherewith to have took their camp; took their General standard with the Kings Arms, and pursued them | Protestant Religion, after the battail of Monover all the Country, which they fired. If a | contour, entred that Country, and gathered Royal Army, and not (as this was) a Company of private adventurers, had thus begun King (faith he) would have given me but the war in Galicia; I think it would have reasonable means, j'ensse bien garde à Monmade the Spaniards to quit the guard of fieur l'Admiral de fair boire ses Chevaux en Portugale, and make hafte to the defence of la Garonne; I would have kept the Admiral their St. Jago, whose Temple was not far from watering his horses in the River of Gafrom the danger. But, had they held their ronne. Monfeur de Langey, on the contrary first resolution, as knowing, that Sir John side, prefers the not fighting upon a fron-Norris his main intent was, to bring Don An- tier with an invading enemy, and commends tenio, with an Army into his Kingdom, whi- the delay; which course the Constable of ther coming strong, he expected to be rea- France held against the Emperour Charles, dily and joyfully welcomed: could they have hindred his landing in Portugale? Did | I know there is, and a diverse consideration not he land at Penicha, and march over to be had, between such a country as France the Country to Lisborn, fix dayes journey? is, strengthened with many fortified places; Did not he (when all Don Antonio his pro- and this of ours, where our Rampars are miles failed) pass along by the River of but of the bodies of men. And it was of in-Lysborne to Cascaliz, and there, having won vasions upon firm land, that these great the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and de- | Captains spake: whose entrances cannot be part? But these, though no more than an uncertain. But our question is of an Army handful, yet were they Englishmen. Let us to be transported over Sea, and to be landconfider of the matter it felf; what another ed again in an enemies countrey, and the Nation might do, even against England, in place lest to the choice of the invader. landing an Army, by advantage of a fleet, if Hereunto I fay, That fuch an Army cannot we had none. This question, Whether an be resisted on the coast of England, without imunding Army may be relifted at their land- | a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of ing upon the coaft of England, were there no France, or any other Countrey : except evefleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it; is alrea- ry Creek, Port, or fandy Bay, had a powdy handled by a learned Gentleman of our erful Army, in each of them, to make op-

Norris in the year 1589, from prefenting | Commentaries, that maintains the affirma-Andrada, ferve to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir John Norris, and his

It is true, that the Marshal Monluc, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complain, that kept the frontier of Guyenne, they of the great strength and relief thence; for if the when he invaded Provence. Great difference Nation, in his observations upon Cesars position. For let his whole supposition be

fand be layed in the three best landing will at length sit down in the mid-way; and places within that Country, to wit, three leave all at adventure. But fay it were thousand at Margat, three thousand at the otherwise; that the invading enemy will Nesse, and 6000 at Foulkston, that is some-offer to land in some such place, where there what equally diffant from them both; as also shall be an Army of ours ready to receive that two of these troops (unless some other him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that order be thought more fit) be directed to when the choice of all our Trained Bands, \ frengthen the third, when they shall fee and the choice of our Commanders and the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I fay, Captains, shall be drawn together (as they that notwithstanding this provision, if the were at Tilbury in the year 1588.) to attend enemy, fetting fail from the Ille of Wight, the person of the Prince, and for the dein the first watch of the night, and towing fence of the City of London: they that retheir long boats at their fterns, shall arrive by dawn of day at the Nesse, and thrust force, as to encounter an Army like unto that their Army on fhorethere; it will be hard wherewith it was intended that the Prince for those three thousand that are at Margat, of Parma should have landed in England. (twenty and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their perience, what to think in fuch a cafe. There fellows at the Nofe. Nay, how shall they are not many Islands in the world, better at Foulkstone be able to do it, who are nearer by more than half the way? feeing that the enemy, at his first arrival, will either no good harbour wherein to shelter a Navy make his entrance by force, with three or of friends, and upon every cove or watering four hundred shot of great Artillery, and place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the Nesse, to run; or else give them so much to do, that they shall be glad to fend for help to Foulkston and perhaps to Margat: whereby those places will be left bare. Now let us suppole, that all the twelve thouland Kentilb Souldiers arrive at the Nesse, ere the enemy can be ready to dif-embarque his Army, fo face of fo many, prepared to withfrand ficur de Chatter, running thither in vain, him; yet must we believe, that he will play could come to hinder him. The example of that he will find it unfafe, to land in the the best of his own game; (having liberty to go which way he lift) under covert all regard of his worth, and of threehunof the night, fet fail towards the East, dred, French prisoners murdered in cold where what shall hinder him to take blood; had instructed de Chattes, and his ground, either at Margat, the Downes, or followers, what they might expect at that elsewhere, before they at the Nesse can be Marquess his hands: Therefore it is not like, well aware of his departure? Certainly, that they were flow in carrying in relief to there is nothing more easie than to do it. Fort des Moles. Whether our English would be Yea, the like may be faid of Waymouth, Pur- persuaded to make such diligent haste, from beck, Foole, and of all landing places on the Margat to the Nesse, and back again, it may South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greaters that coast them. Les armees ne volent the one half when they found themselvsprepoint emposite; Armies neither size, nor run vented by the more nimble Ships of spain. post saith a Marshal of France. And I know be feen at Sun-fet, and after it, at the Li-horfe is able to follow, cannot be denyed to fard; yet by the next morning they may re- land where it lift, in England, France, or elfecover Fortland, whereas an Army of foot where, unless it be hindred, encountred, and shall not be able to march it in fix dayes. Inuffled together, by a fleet of equal or an-Again, when those troops lodged on the swerable strength,

granted; That Kent is able to furnish twelve Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place thousand foot, and that those twelve thou- to place in vain, after a fleet of ships; they

The Isle of Tercera hath taught us by exbeing every where hard of access; having Sylva, and Monsieur de Chattes, that held it to the use of Don Antonio, with five or fix thousand men, thought to have kept the Marquess of Santa Cruz, from setting foot on ground therein; the Marquels having shewed himself in the Road of Angra, did fet sail, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the Port des Moles, far distant from thence; where he wan a Fort, and landed ere Monthat thips, without putting themselves out er march than all the length of Tercera; of breath, will easily out-run the Souldi- whereof the French-men had not measured

This may suffice to prove, that a strong Army, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor CHAP. I. our Prince and Nation, that a few Islanders and betake themselves to an hasty trot. should not think any advantage great enough, against a Fleet set forth by Q. Eliafew other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment up-I could not refuse; as, Sir William Brook, Sir on the shore. William Harvey, Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir John Skot, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Sir Henry Tinnes. Sir Charls Morgan, Sir Walter Chute, Marcellus Throckmorton, Captain Laurence Kemis, Captain William Morgan, and others fuch as well understood themselves and the enemy: by whose help, with Gods favour, I made good the enterprize I undertook. As for the working of the Sea, the steepness of the cliffs, and other troubles that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or

The difficult landing of our English, at fix companies of the enemies, that fought to Figd, in the year 1597, is alledged against impeach our landing, abandon the wall, this: which example moves me no way to whereon their Mulketiers lay on the Rest think, that a large Coast may be defended for us, and won the place of them without against a strong Fleet. I landed those English any great loss. This I could have done with in Fajal my felf, and therefore ought to take less danger, so that it should not have served notice of this infrance. For whereas I find for example of a Rule, that failed even in an Adion of mine cited, with omiffion of this example: but the reasons before alan autou of man, by a civil interpretation, ledged, (together with other reasons well think, that there was no purpose to defraud known to some of the Gentlemen aboveme of any honour; but rather an opinion, named, though more private than to be here that the enterprize was fuch, or foill man-laid down) made me rather follow the way aged, as that no honour could be due unto of bravery, and take the shorter course; hait, There were indeed some which were in ving it still in mine own power to fall off that voyage, who advised me not to under- when I should think it meet. It is easily said, takeit: and I hearkened unto them fome- that the Enemy was more than a Coward; what longer than was requisite, especially, (which yet was more than we knew) neither whilft they defired me to referve the title of will I magnifie fuch a small piece of service. fuch an exploit (though it were not great) by feeking to prove him better: whom had for a greater person. But when they began I thought equal to mine own followers, I rotell me of difficulty; I gave them to un- would otherwise have dealt with. But for so derstand, the same which I now maintain, much as concerns the proposition in hand; that it was more difficult to defend a coast, he that beheld this, may well remember that thanto invade it. The truth is, that I could the same enemy troubled us more in our have landed my men with more ease than I march towards Fayal, than in our taking the did; yea without finding any refistance, if shore; that he sought how to stop us in I would have rowed to another place; yea place of his advantage, that many of our even there where I landed, if I would have men were slain or hurt by him, among whom taken more company to help me. But, with Sir Arthur Gorges was shot in that march; out fearing any imputation of rashness, I and that such, as (thinking all danger to be may say, that I had more regard of reputa- past, when he had won good footing) would tion in that business, than of fafety. For I needs follow us to the Town, were driven thought it to belong unto the honour of by him, to forfake the pace of a man of war,

For end of this Digression, I hope that this question shall never come to tryal; his zabeth: and further, I was unwilling, that Majesties many movable Forts will forbid fome Low-Country Captains, and others, not the experience. And although the English of mine own squadron, whose affistance I had will no less disdain, than any Nation under refused, should please themselves with a Heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own iweet conceit (though it would have been ground, or elsewhere by a forein enemy; yet fhort, when I had landed in some other to entertain those that shall assail us, with place) That for want of their help I was driven their own Beef in their bellies, and before is turn tail. Therefore I took with me none, they eat of our Kentish Capons, I take it to but men affured, Commanders of mine own be the wifest way. To do which, his Majesty, fquadron, with some of their followers, and after God, will imploy his good ships on the

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ø. X.

How the Romans attempt again to get the Mathe Roman Conful at Panormus : The fiege of Lilybæum. How a Rhodian Gally enared Lilybæum at pleasure, in despisht of to Rome; the whole State filled with coutheir Consuls, abandon the Seas again.

Hen, without a strong Navy, the held in sicil; and all (indeed) save preparation of the p fible, either to keep what they had already down before it, and posses themselves of all gotten in Sicil, or to enlarge their Domi- the places of advantage near unto it, espenions in Africa, or elfewhere; they refolved cially of fuch as command the Haven, which once again, notwithstanding their late mish had a very difficult entrance. They also beat adventures, to frengthen their Fleet and to the ground fix Towers of defence; and Ships of war. So cauting fifty new Gallies by forcible engines weaken fo many other to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certain to despair. Yet Himileo, Commander of the Legions of Souldiers) to the new Confuls, place faileth not in all that belongs to a man C. Attilus, and L. Manlius. On the other of War. All that is broken he repaireth side, Asdrubal perceiving that the Romans, partly by reason of the shipwrack which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of all the affronts that possibly could be made. the overthrow which they received by Xantippus in Africa, were less daring than they ten thousand Souldiers; among which there had been in the beginning of the war: and withall, that one of the Confuls was returned into Italy, with the one half of the Army, the Town. But the matter is revealed by an and that Cacilius, with only the other half, remained at Fanormus; he removed with danger of the like treason, saved Agrigorum. the Carthaginian forces from Lilybaum towards it, hoping to provoke Cacilius to fight. the hired Souldiers, and imploys Hannibal to But the Consul was better advised. For when appeale the troops of the Gaules, which did Afdrubal had made his approaches fomewhat near the Town, Cacilius caused a deep my. All, promise constancy and truth; so trench to be cut, a good diffance without that the Traitors, being unable to perform the ditch of the City: between which and what they had undertaken, are fain to live histrench he left ground sufficient, to em- in the Roman Camp as sugitives, that had battel a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gave order that they should advance them-felves, and pass over the new trench, till such their own foot-men, and utterly difordered great flaughter on both fides. But the Rothern Cariffring Communication of the state of the them. Cacilius effying his advantage, fallied mans, being more in number, and having

with all the force he had; and charging the other troops, that stood embattailed, he utterly brake them, and put them to their flery of the Seas. The Victory of Carcilius heels; making a great flaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this Victory being brought the Roman Fleet. That it is a matter of rage, prepared a new Fleet of two hundred great difficulty to flop the puffage of good fail, which they fent into sicil, to give end flips. The Romans, byreafon of grievous to that war, that had now lasted fourteen loffes received under Claudius and Junius years. With this Fleet and Army the Romans resolve to attempt Lilybaum, the only place of importance which the Carthaginians parts of the City, as the defendants begin with admirable diligence; he makethmany furious fallies, and giveth to the Romans He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) are certain Lieutenants, and other petty officers, that conspire to render and betray Achean, called Alexon, who had formerly in Himilco useth the help of Alexon, to affure waver, and had fent their agents to the enewrought no good whereby to deserve their time as the African Elephants were thrust their relief, having Hannibal the Son of Amilear for their Conductor: who, indeed them to retire by flow degrees till they spight of all resistance, entred the Port and City, to the incredible joy of the belieged. the new trench, which they could by no The old Souldiers, together with the new means pass. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were forward and beater. Let be they were forward and beater. they were so gawled and beaten, both by upon the Romans in their trenches, and elthose Souldiers that were on the inside of ther force them to abandon the segge, or at the trench, and by those that lay in the least) to take from them, or set on fire their trench it felf, that being inraged by their malengines of battery. The attempt is prefently ny wounds, they brake back furioully upon made, and purfued to the uttermost, with CHAP. I.

their engines. They of Carthage defire greatly to underknow not how to fend into the Town. A and finding no possibility to master it, other-Gally to Egusa, a little Island near Lilyba-

either fide. vert of the dark night, nor dreading to be Dukes Cannon, in despight of it; when a his return, he set fail, and shipped his Oars favoured them; as also with a contrary the Sca, in despight of all the pursuit made the River, to his marvellous trouble and after him. Then, finding himselfout of danger | charge. of being encompassed by many, he turned again towards the mouth of the Haven, the year 1596 when we entred the Port of challenging any one, if any one durft come Caliz, neither did the Fort at Puntal, when

In the beginning of our late Queens time, our East-land Flect, bound for Leif-land, was He arrives in fafety at Carthage, and makes Part of the Fort of Elfenour; which at that ment, ran her felf aground thereon, and

the advantage of the ground, hold still their time was not so well rampard, as now perthe auvanian and with extreme difficulty defend haps it is: and the Fleet of Merchants that wound received. Neither was it long, fince fland the state of things at Lilybaum; but that the Duke of Parma, besieging Antwerp, Know not now to distance the fervice; and wife than by famine, laid his Cannon on the certain acceived his dispatch, fails with one bank of the River, so well to purpose, and um. Thence, taking his time he steered di-thought it impossible for the least boat to really with the Port; and having a passing pass by. Yet the Hollanders and Zelanders, fwift Gally, he past through the best of the not blown up by any wind of glory, but Channel, and recovered the water-gate ere coming to find a good market for their Butany of those which the Romans had to guard ter and Cheese, even the poor men, attendanyounce could thrust from the shores on ing their profit when all things were extreme dear in Antwerp passed in boats of The next day, neither attending the co-ten or twelve Tun, by the mouth of the boorded by the Roman Gallies, who waited strong Westerly wind, and a Tide of flood (his Gally being exceeding quick of freer- wind, and an ebbing water, they turned age, and himself expert in all parts of the back again: so as he was forced, in the Channel) recovered the Havens mouth, and end, to build his Stockado overthwart

The Fort Saint Philip terrified not us in forth, to undertake him. This enterprife, and we were entred, beat us from our anchoring the well performing of it, was very remark- by it; though it plaid upon us with four able, and much wondred at in those dayes: demi-cannons within point-blank, from fix and yet, where there was no great Artillery, in the morning till twelve at noon. The fiege nor any other weapons of fire, to kill afarr of Oftend, and of many other places, may be off, the adventure which this Rhodian made given for proof, how hard a matter it is to was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, stop the passage of a good ship, without anoa valiant and judicious man of war will not ther as good to encounter it. Yet this is fear to pass by the best appointed Fort of true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of Europe, with the help of a good Tide, and Angra in Tercera, that there is no passage a leading gale of wind: no, though forty along beside it, or that the ships are driven pieces of great Artillery open their mouths to turn upon a bow-line towards it, wanting against him, and threaten to tear him in all help of wind and tide; there, and in such wife not.

But to return to our adventrous Rhodian: forbidien by the King of Denmark to trade them know the estate of Lilybeum. Others with the subjects of his enemies, and he also, after this, take upon them to do the threatned to fink their ships if they came like, and perform it with the same sucthrough the straights of Elfenour. Not with- ccss. The Romans therefore labour to choak standing this, our Merchants (having a ship the Channel; and, for that purpose, fill maof her Majesties, called the Minion to de- ny Merchants ships with great stones, and fend them) made the adventure, and fu- fink them therein. The force of the Tides staining some Vollies of shot, kept on their clears it again in part: but they grounded course. The King made all the provision so many of those great bellied-boats in the he could to stop them, or fink them at their best of the entrance, as at last it made a return. But the Minion, commanded (as I manifest rising and heap, like a ragged Island take it) by William Burrough, leading the in the passage. Hereby it came to pass, that way, did not only pass out with little loss, a Carthaginian Gally, taking her course by but did beat down, with Artillery, a great night, and not suspecting any such impedi-

was taken. Now comes that brave Rho- and for want of Sea-room, fo ftraightned dian, thinking to enter, as he had done be- as he could not turn himlelf any way from fore: but this Carthaginian Gally, a little his enemies, nor range himself in any order. before taken, gave him chase, and gathered Therefore when he found no hope of reupon him: he finds what she is, both by her form, and by her swittness; and being not he thrust out of the Bay with thirty Galable to run from her, resolved to fight with lies, besides his own, and so fled away: all her. But she is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

the Souldiers being worn with labour and greatly honoured at Carthage; and Clauwatching. But in this despair there rose so diss, for his indiscretion and flight, as much violent a tempest, as some of the Romans disgraced at Rome. Wooden-Towers, by which they over-topt the walls of Lilybeum; were over-turned. loss, arm threescore Gallies, with which A Greek Souldier undertakes to fire those they fend away L. Junius, their Conful, to that were fallen, and performs it: for the take charge of their business in Sicil. Junius fire was no fooner kindled, but being blown arrives at Messana, where he meets with the unto by the bellows of a tempest, it increa- whole remainder of the Roman Fleet, those fed to fast, as it became refittless, and in the excepted which rode in the Port of Liliend burned all to ashes, and melted the beum. One hundred and twenty Gallies he brazen heads of the battering Ramus, had; and besides these, he had gotten to-Hereupon, despair and weariness hinder the gether almost eight hundred ships of bur-Romans from repairing their Engines: fo then, which were laden with all necessary

the defendants.

of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from wait for some that were too slow of salto Rome, under M. Claudius, the Conful. He keep company with him along from Mofarrives at Messana, and marcheth over Sana. In the mean time he dispatchethaway Land to Lilybeum: where having re-infor- towards Lilybeum his Questors or Treaced the Army, and supplied the Gallies with surers; to whom he commits the one half of new Rowers, he propounds the furprife of his victuallers, with some Gallies for their Drepanum, a City on the other fide of the Convov. Bay of Lilybaum. This service the Captains and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the victory: but studied how to use it to the best Conful embarques his troops, and arrives on advantage. The ships and prisoners that he the fudden in the mouth of the Port. Ad- had taken, he fent to Carthage. Of his own herbal is Governour of the Town, a vali Gallies he delivered thirty to Carthalb, who ant and prudent man of war, who being had threefcore and ten more under his own ignorant of the new supply arrived at Lily- charge; and sent him to try what good might beum, was at first amazed at their sudden ap- | be done against the Roman Fleet in the Haproach; but having recovered his spirits, ven of Lilybeum. According to his direction, he perswades the Souldiers rather to fight | Carthalo suddenly enters the mouth of that abroad, than to be enclosed. Herewithall he Haven, where he finds the Romans more atpromifeth great rewards to fuch, as by tentive to the keeping in of the belieged Cartheir valour shall deserve them; offering to thaginians, than to the desence of their own lead them himself, and to fight in the head against another Flect. So he chargeth them, of his Fleet. Having fufficiently encouraged | boords, and takes some, and fires the rest. his men, he thrust into the Sea towards the The Roman Camp takes alarm, and hastens Romans. The Conful, deceived of his ex- to the refeue. But Himileo, Governour of the pectation, calls back the foremost Gallies, the Town, is not behind hand, who fallies out that he might now marshall them for de- at the same time, and putting the Romani to fence. Hereupon some row backward some great distress, gives Carthalo good lessure to forward, in great confusion. Adherbal finds go through with his enterprise. and follows his advantage, and forceth the Conful into a Bay at hand, wherein he the South coast of sicil, devising how to rangeth himself, having the Land on his work mischief to the enemy; wherein forback: hoping thereby to keep himlelf from tune prefented him with a fair occasion, being incompassed. But he was thereby, which he wisely managed. He was adver-

fistance, keeping the shore on his left hand. the rest of his Fleet, to the number of nine. ty and four fhips, were taken or funk by the Lilyboum, after this, is greatly diffressed, Carthaginians. Adherbal for this service is

The Romans, notwithstanding this great that they refolve, by a long fiege, to starve provisions for the Army. With this great the defendants. Upon relation of what had past, a supply a while; partly to take in Corn, partly to

Adherbal was not careless after his late

After this exploit, Carthalo ran all along

manner of Vessels. These were the victual ons upon firm ground. But such a resolution manuel of the Conful Junius, more hastily cannot long hold. Either they must be then providently, had fent before him to- ftrong at Sea, or elfe they mult not make wards Ligheum. Carthalo was glad to hear war in an Island, against those that have a of their coming: for he and his men were mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excused, of the full of courage, by reason of their late victo in regard of the many great calamities ries. Accompting therefore the great mul- which they had fuffered through their want titude of Roman Hulks, approaching, to be of ikill. Here I cannot forbear to comrather a prey than a ficet likely to make mend the patient vertue of the spaniards. from opposition, he hastens to encounter We seldom or never find, that any Nation them. It fell out according to his expectati- hath endured fo many misadventures and on. The Romans had no mind to fight: but miferier, as the Spaniards have done, in their were glad to feek thelter in an open Road, Indian Discoveries. Yet perfitting in their full of Rocks under a covert of a poor enterprifes with an invincible conflancy, Town, belonging to their party; that could they have annexed to their Kingdom fo helptofave them only from the prefent dan- many goodly Provinces, as bury the rememger, by lending them engines and other aid, brance of all dangers paft. Tempefts and wherewith to beat off the Carthaginians that hipwracks, famine, overthrows, mutinies, affailed them. Carthalo therefore, having heat and cold, peftilence, and all manner of taken a few of them, lay waiting for the diseases both old and new, together with Roman fleets; where he watcheth, to fee hinder not the like vertue in others, which which of them would first stir, with a refo- (perhaps) will not be found. lution to affault that, which should first dare to put it felf into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of sicil, between the Promontory of Pachinus and The City of Eryx is surprised by the Romans, Lilybeum; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the wind ftormed at South. The Carthaginians, who knew the times of tempest, and their figns, finding (belike) some iwelling billow (for fo we do in the West of England, before a Southernly ftorm) hafted to double the Cape of Pachinus, thereby to cover themselves from the rage at hand. But the Romans, who knew better how to fight than how to Navigate, and never found any against the rocks, and utterly wrackt.

tifed by his Scouts, that they had discryed, that they resolved again to forsake the Seas, near at band, a great fleet, confifting of all and trust only to the service of their Legireft, that could not long ride under those extream poverty, and want of all things Rocks, but would be forced by any great needful, have been the enemies wherewith change of wind, either to put out into the every one of their most noble discoverers, deep, or to fave their men, how they could, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many by taking land, with the loss of all their years have passed over some of their heads in flipping. Whilft he was bufied in this care, the Conful Janius drew near, and was discovered. Against him Carthalo makes out, and their wealth, and their lives, in search of a characteristic or the conful Janius drew near, and was discovered. Against him Carthalo makes out, and finds him altogether unprepared to fight as golden Kingdom, without getting further being wholly ignorant of that which had notice of it, than what they had at their first hapned. The Conful had neither means to fetting forth. All which notwithstanding, fly, nor ability to fight. Therefore he like the third, fourth, and fifth undertakers, wife ran into a very dangerous Creek 3 have not been disheartned. Surely, they are thinking no danger to great as that of the worthily rewarded with those Treasuries enemy. The Carthaginian seeing this, be- and Paradises which they enjoy; and well takes himfelf to a Station between the two they deferve to hold them quietly, if they

ø. XI.

and recovered by Amilcar, who stoutly holds war with them five years. The Romans, having emptied their common treasury, build a new fleet at the charges of private men. The great victory at Sea of Luctatius the Consul; whereby the Carthaginians are forced to crave peace. The conditions of the peace between Rome and Carthage.

THE Romans were careful to supply with all industry, by land, the want their Sooth-layers being all land-Prophets, of strength at Sea. Therefore they conwere fuddenly overtaken with a boifterous tinue the fiege of Lilybeum, and feek to South-wind, and all the Gallies forced make fure to themselves all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring relief. This calamity to difcouraged the Romans, The Conful Junius, to cure the wound of

thought him what enterprifes to undertake. about two years more; hoping still to wea-In the end he resolved to attempt the ry out those that lay over his head, as they Mountain and City of Eryx, with the Tem- on the contrary did their best, to thrush him ple of Venus Ergeina: which was the fairest out of those quarters. and richeft of all the Island; and of these, At this time, all the care, both of the Raby cunning or treason, he got possession. mans and of the Carthaginians, was bent unto Errx was commodioully feated between the profecuting of this business at Errx. Drepanum and Panormus; fo that it feemed Wherein it feems true (as Hannibal, in Livie, a fit place for a Garrison, that should re- spake unto scipio) that the affairs of carfrain the Carthaginians from making roads thage never frood in better terms, fince the into the Country. Wherefore Junius for- beginning of the war, than now they did. tified both the top of the Mountain, and the For whereas the Romans had utterly forfafirst entrance of the passage from the bottom, (both of which places, were very delosses, partly upon confidence of their landfensible) with a good strength of men. But forces, which they held resistles; Amilear, thortly after, in the eighteenth year of this with a fmall Army, had fo well acquitted war the Carthaginians let forth Amilear, fur- himself, to the honour of his Country, that named Barcas, Father of the great Hannibal, by the tryal of five years war, the Carthagiwith a Fleet and Army, who failing to the nian Souldier was judged equal, if not funewith a rice and rimy, who laming to the coafts of Haly, did throughly repay the fools which the Romans made in Africa. From the first of all wasted and destroyed the the dislogding of this obstinate Warriour: Territories of the Locrians, and of the Bru- no way feemed better to the Senate of Rome, tians, that were dependants of Rome. Then than once again to build a fleet; whereby, entred he into sicil, and finding there no if the maftery of the Sea could once be gotwalled City in the Carthaginians power, that ten, it was likely that Amilear, for lack of ferved fitly to infest the Romans, he occu- supply, should not long be able to hold out, pied a piece of ground of great advantage, But in performing this, extream difficulty and lodged his Army thereon; to confront was found. The common treasury was exas well the Romans, that were in Panormus, haufted: and the coft was not little, that was as those that kept about Ergx, putting him- requisite unto such an enterprise. Wherefore felf between both Armies with admirable there was none other way left, thantolay refolution.

was not only very strong by situation, but (each at his own charges) one Quinquehad the command of a Port: whereby it reme, which example wrought fo well, that gave him opportunity to fcour all the coast they, whose ability would not serve to do of Italy with his Fleet, wasting all along as the like, joyned with some others, and layfar as to Cuma. In the Ille of sicil he held ing their mony together, concurred two or the Romans to hard work, lying near unto three of them, in building of another; with Panormus: where, in three years abode, he condition to be repayed, when the war was did many notable acts, though not of much | finished. By this voluntary contribution, confequence, for that the enemy could ne- they made and finished two hundred new ver be drawn to hazard the main chance. Quinqueremes: taking for their pattern, that Having wearied himself and the Romans excellent swift rowing Gally which they had long enough about Panormus, he undertook gotten from the Rhodian, in the Port of Lia ftrange piece of work at Eryx. The Roman Jobens, as was flewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to C. Luddains were very strongly lodged. Nevertheless the Spring following, and entred the Porton of the Mountain, were very strongly lodged. Nevertheless the Spring following, and entred the Porton of the Spring following, and entred the Porton of the Spring following. Amilear found a way, lying towards the Drepanum; indeavouring by all means to Sea-fide, by which he conveighed his men have forced the City. But being advertised into the City of Eryx, that was about the that the Carthaginian fleet was at hand, and midst of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of being mindful of the late losies which his it. By this it came to pass, that the Romans Predecessors had received; he was carewhich kept the top of the mountain, were ful to put himself in order, against their arstraightly held (as it were) befieged. And rival. no less was Amilear himself restrained, by Hanno was Admiral of the Carthaginian both of these Garrisons, and such as came to sleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wife

dishonour, which he had received, be relieve them. There he found them passime

the burden upon private purses. Divers of The place that Amilear had seized upon, the principal Citizens undertook to build

in the art of feeming reverend. How his re- was a good course, if it could have been perputation was first bred, I do not find; but formed. But Catulus used all possible diliit was upheld by a factious contradiction, of gence, to prevent the execution of this dethings undertaken by men more worthy fign:not because he was informed of the enethan himself. This quality procured unto mies purpose, but that he knew it to be the him (as it hath done to many others) both best for them, and for that he feared no dangood liking among the ancient fort, whose ger fo greatly, as to encounter with Amilear. cold comper is adverle from new enterprifes, Wherefore although the weather was very and therewithall an opinion of great fore- rough, and the Seas went high, when the Carfight, confirmed by every lofs received. thaginian fleet was descried; yet he rather He had ere this been imployed against the he had lightned his Gallies of all unnecessary when, having shewed himself an unworthy Captain, he betook himself to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in Roman Histomended.

with all needful provisions for the Souldiers ing all conclusions to his election and sole at Fryx (for dexterity in making prepara- counsel. tion was the best of his qualities): but he car himself, by whose help he doubted not, otherwise, than if the Senate and People of but that he should be able to make his ene-

in picture, exceedingly formal, and skilful my repent of his new adventure to Sea. This More particularly, he was gracious among chofe to fight with the enemy, that had the the people, for that he was one of the most wind of him, than to suffer his convoy to pass grievous oppressors of their subject Provin- along to Eryx, upon unlikely hope of better ces; whereby he procured unto the Cartha- opportunity in the future. All that Hanno ginians much wealth, but therewithall fuch should have done, Catulus had performed. He hatred, as turned it all to their great loss, had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; Numidians and wild Africans, that were burthens; & he had taken aboord the choise more like to Rovers than to Souldiers, in men of the Roman Land-Souldiers. The making War. Of those fugitive Nations he Carthaginians therefore, at the first encounlearned to neglect more manly enemies, to ter were utterly broken and defeated, hahis own great dishonour, and to the great ving sifty of their Gallies stemmed and sunk, hurt of Carthage; which loft not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counfel,

The state of Carthage, utterly discouries, as a temperate man, and one that stu-raged by this change of fortune, knew not died how to preserve the League between whereon to resolve. Means to repair their Carthage and Rome. In which regard, how fleet in any time, there were none left; well he deserved of his own Country, it will their best men of war by Sea were conappear hereafter: how beneficial he was to fumed; and Amilear, upon whose valour the Romans, it will appear, both hereafter, and judgment the honour and lafety of the and in his present voyage; wherein he re-|Common-weal rested, was now surrounded duced the Carthaginians to a miserable ne- by his enemies in sicil, where he could ceffity of accepting, upon hard conditions, not be relieved. In this extremity, they that peace which he thence-forth com- make dispatch unto Amilear himself, and authorized him to take what course should Hanno had very well furnished his Navy, seem best unto his excellent wisdom, leav-

Amilear, whom no adverfity, accompahad neither been careful in training his nied with the least hope or possibility of re-Marriners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor covery, had ever vanquished, looking over in manning his Gallies with front fellows. He every promise, true or false, that the present thought, that the fame of a Carthaginian time could make him, (for to attend any fleet was enough, to make the unexpert Ro- thing from the future he was not able) remans give way: forgetting, that rather the folved to make trial, whether his necessity refiltles force of tempelts, than any other might be compounded upon any reasonable flrength of opposition, had made them to terms. He therefore sent to Lust atime the forfake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had ei- Conful an overture of peace: who confiderther conceived aright, or else was sent forth ing it well, gathered so many arguments well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all from the present poverty of the Roman to fail to Errx, and there to discharge his State, wasted beyond expectation in the this of their lading : and having thus light | former war, that he formerly hearkned unto ned himself, he meant to take aboord some it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but Part of the Land-army, together with Amil- with provision, That it should hold none

CHAP. HI.

Carthaginians (bould clearly abandon the ment. Further also they took order, that The of sicil. Secondy, that they should the Carthaginians should not only depart never undertake upon Hieron King of Syra- out of Sicil it felf, but should also withdraw never undertance openate of his Territories, their Companies out of all other Islands benor the Territories of any of his Friends tween it and Italy, renouncing their whole and Allies. Thirdly, that they should fet at interest therein. liberty, and iend back into Haly, all the Ro- Such was the end of the first Punick War, mans, whom they held prisoners, without that had lasted about twenty four years ransome. Lastly, that they should pay unto without intermission; in which time the the Romans two thousand and two hundred Romans had loft, by fight or shipwrack, talents; which make, as the French reckon about feven hundred Quinqueremei; and the talent, thirteen hundred and twenty the Carthaginians about five hundred the thousand crowns: the same to be delivered greatness of which losses, doth serve to prove within twenty years next following.

Commissioners were sent into sicil, to make in general, did shew themselves the braver perfect the agreement. These Commission Nation; and Amilear, the most worthy ners added a thouland talents to the former Captain.

The conditions were: First, that the fum; and required a shorter time of pay.

the greatness both of these two Cities, and These Articles were sent to Rome, where of the War it self; wherein I hold good the they were not throughly approved : but ten judgement of Polybins, That the Romans,

CHAP. II.

()f dirvers actions passing between the first and second Punick Warrs.

6. I.

of the cruel War begun between the Carthaginians and their own Mercenaries.

Islands thereunto adjacent, speech of a manly and free man; for who could gave them rather means and leisure to help believe, that any people, or indeed any one man, themselves in a following war, than cause to would continue longer in an over-burdened hold themselves contented with the present estate, than meer necessity did ensorce? Now, peace. It is an ancient and true rule, Quod if the Romans themselves could make this leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis; judgement of those Nations, who had little That laws are given by the Conquerors, and else besides their manly resolution, to dereceived of the conquered. But the Romans fend their liberty; furely, they grolly flathad either forgotten the answer that was tered themselves, in prefuming that the Carmade unto them, by one of the Privernates; thaginians, who neither in power nor in or else had forgotten to follow it in this pride, were any way inferiour unto them weighty business. For when one of Priver- selves, would fit down any longer by the num, after a rebellion, defending in the Se-loss and dishonour received, than until nate the cause of his City, was demanded by a Senator, What peace the Romans might hope ftrength which had a while failed them, to for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their take revenge. But occasion, by which (while present advantage over them; he answered well entertained) not only private men, in these words, Si bonam dederitis, & sidam but Kings and publick States, have more & perpetuam; simalam, hand dinturnam; If prevailed, than by any proper prowes or the peace be good and faiteful that you give us, vertue, with-held the tempest from the Roit will be perpetual; if it be ill, then of little mans for a time, and turned it most fearfulcontinuance. To this answer the Senate, at ly upon Africa, and the Carthaginians themthat time gave such approbation, that it was felves.

HE Romans having partly by faid, Viri & liberi vocem auditam; Ancredi force, and partly by composi- posset, ullum populum, aut hominem denia; in tion, thrust the Carthaginians ea conditione, cujus eum pæniteat, diulius out of Sicil, and all the little quam necesse fit mansurum? That it was the polition, as the present emptiness of the com- tion by some unordinary largess. mon Treasury did require : so that the his charges in the mean while.

all, when they came back for their pay. But them. the Carthaginians have no fancy to their returning into the Town; and therefore com-

For after the first Punick war was ended, for news of their fellows arrival, and their Amilear, leaving Eryx, went to Lilyboum, own pay. Business they had none to do, and from whence most conveniently the Army therefore might easily be drawn to mutinv: might be transported into Africk: the care the whole argument of their discourse inof which business he committed unto Gesco, clining them to nothing esse. Their daily to whom, as to a man of approved sufficien- talk was, how rich they should be when all cy, he delivered over his charge. Gefco had their mony came in how much would fall to an effectial confideration of the great furnins, every fingle fliare, and for how long time the wherein Carthage was indebted unto these City was behind hand with them in reckon-Mercenaries; and withall, of the great dif- ing. They were all grown Arithmeticians: ability to make payment. Therefore he and he was thought a man of worth, that thought it the wifest way, to send them over | could find most reason to increase their de-(asitwere) by handfuls a few at a time; mands, to the very higheft, even beyond that so the first might have their dispatch , their due. No part of their long service was and begone, ere the fecond or third Com- forgotten; but the comfortable words and panies arrived. Herein he dealt providently. promifes of their Captains, leading them For it had not been hard to perswade any forth to any dangerous fight, were called to fmall number, lodged within to great a City | mind, and fo many obligations, not to be as Carthage, unto some such reasonable com- cancelled without satisfying their expecta-

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Thus the time patieth away, until the first might have been friendly discharged, whole Army being arrived, and lodged in and agood prefident left unto the fecond Sicca, Hanno comes thither to clear the acand third, whilst their dif junction had made compt. Now is the day come, wherein they them unable to recover their whole due by shall all be made rich; especially if they can force. But the Carthaginians were of a con- hold together, in maintaining floutly the trary opinion. They thought to find, in the common cause. So think they all; and afwhole Army, some that would be contented | semble themselves to hear what good news to gratifie the Publick State, by remitting this mellenger had brought: with a full rea great part of their own due: and hoped, by flouring to help his memory, in case he by such an example, to draw all the multi-school happen to forget any part of the matude to the like agreement and capitulation. | ny promifes made to them; all which were So they detained the first and second com- to be considered in their Donative. Hanno mers; telling them, that they would make | begins a very formal Oration; wherein he an even reckoning with all together. Thus bewails the poverty of Carthage, tells them every day the number increased, and many how great a summ of mony is to be paid disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) unto the Romans; reckons up the excessive were committed; which much disquieted charges whereat the Common-wealth had the City, not accustomed unto the like. In been in the late War; and finally desires this regard it was thought fit, to remove them to hold themselves contented with themall to some other place, where they part of their pay, and out of the love which might be less troublesome. This must be they bare unto the City, to remit the rest. done by some colourable words of perswa- Few of them understood his discourse: for sion: for their number was already to great, the Carthaginian Army was composed of sunthat it was not fafe to offend them too far. dry Nations, as Greeks, Africans, Gaules, Ligu-Wherefore it is devised, that they should all rians, spaniards, and others; all of different attend the coming of their fellows at Sicca: languages. Yet they stared upon him, and receiving every one a piece of gold, to bear were (as I think) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such as conceived the This motion is accepted, and the Soul- whole tenour of his speech, had informed diers began to dif-lodge; leaving behind the rest what cold comfort he brought; they them their wives, their children, and all their were all inraged, and fared like mad-men, baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away so that nothing would serve to appeale

Hanno would fain have affwaged their fury, but he knew not how: for he less underpel them to trus up their fardels, that they stood their dissonant loud noises, than they might have none occasion left to make any did his Oration. An Army collected out of errands thither. So to Sicca they removed, so many Countries, that have no one lanwith all their goods; and there lay waiting guage common to all, or to the greater part

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ny, nor eafily pacified, when once it is bro- of their Senatours into the Camp; who hy, not carry particles, that Hanno can promife to fatisfie all demands, as far forth do, is to use the help of Interpreters and as it should be possible. And thus by shifting Mellengers. But these Interpreters mistake from one extreme to another, they make his meaning; fome for want of skill; others the Souldiers understand into what fear the of fet purpose; and such as deliver his er- City was driven; which cannot chuse but rands in the worst sense, are best believed. add much insolency to the passions already Finally, they think themselves much abused stirred up. by the Carthaginians, and resolve to demand their own in peremptory terms, at a nearer true cause of it, is quickly found by the Ardistance. In this mood they leave Sicca, and march as far as Tunis, that is within a very little of Carthage, and there they encamp. own errour. It is a good Rule,

Curandum inprimis ne magna injuria fiat Fortibus & miseris.

Have special care, that valiant poverty Be not opprest with too great injury.

But this proud City, having neglected the fecure her felf against the inconvenience fetch it? But this would not ferve. They Rule, hath also been careless in providing to that might follow. She had fuffered the faid that they had been sometimes driven to whole multitude, whereunto fhe was like buy; and that (fince they could not rememto give cause of discontent, to joyn it self into one body, when the feveral troops might eafily have been dispersed: she hath turned ring the whole time, and according to the out of her gates the wives, children, and goods of these poor men, which, had she retained in flew of kindness, the might have of these Mutiners; who might easily have and by imploying a milerable penny-father, more honour, by receiving their due at the in her negotiation with men of War, she hath weakned the reputation of her bravest Captains, that might best have served to free her from the threatning danger. Yet to be used as an instrument in defrauding his all regard of shame. Since therefore no good likely it is, that Amilear had no desire own Souldiers of their wages: especially confidering, that as he best could bear witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant, that means to content them were not wantunto. Hereunto may be added a probable ferences. Hereunto the Army condescend conjecture, that Hanno, with his complices, ed, and made choice of Gefco: partly out of who at this very time was a bitter enemy to good liking to him, who had shewed himself Amilear, had the boldness to impose the at all times, afriendly man to them, and care Timit; for the Souldiers; whom they fuffer barren eloquence had done to the negotian to buy what they lift, and at what price | parren eloquence had done to the negrotation of Hanno. He calls unto him fift of all

of them, is neither easily stirred up to mutilithey list. They send ever and anon some

This fudden change of weather, and the my, which thereupon grows wife, and finding the feason fit, labours to make a great harvest. Mony must be had, and without Now begin the Carthaginians to find their any abatement. This is granted. Many have lost their horses in publick service of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had lived some years by making hard fhift, without receiving their allowance of victuals from Carthage. If they had lived. they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the Carthaginians? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in provision, or their Captains direct them where to they would be paid for their provision dudearest price that Wheat had born, whilst the War lasted. Such are now the demands been satisfied with far less charges, and far ving. For whilst the Carthaginians are perplexed about this Corn-mony; the Souldiers have devised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater fumm of mony, without end could be found of these controversies which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the Carthaginians, which had commanded in sicil, should be chosen by the Souldiers to reconcile all difblame of his own wretched counfel upon ful of their good, efpecially when they were the liberal promises made by the Captains. to be transported into Africk: partly out Amilear therefore did wifely, in fuffering of a dillike which they had conceived of those that maligned him, to have the managing of their own plot, and to deal the in all this buffe time. So Gofco comes among cards which themselves had shuffled. This them; and to please them the better, comes they continue to do as foolifhly as they had not without mony: which might give better the foolignment of th at first begun. They furnish a market at ter countenance to his proceedings, than

not flood against it.

CHAP. If.

flurdy fellow, and audacious, but a flave; The best Army that ever served them, whereof menthe Africans; telling them, that they own liberty. were in tar worse condition, than either By such persuasions Matho wins the Afrievery danger of war, as any other men, me (though perhaps to the same purpose) can fooded now frand quaking like flaves, and not be heard fave only Throw, Throw.

the Captains, and then the several Nations dare to open our months, when others take liapatt, rebulking them gently for that which berty to require their due. This notwithstandapait, lad passed; advising them temperately con- ing ye may assure jour selves, that we are like had paned; and exhorting them to to be taught better manners, as foon as our felcontinue their love unto the State, which lows are gone: in regard of whom they are had long entertained them, and would content to shadow their indignation with a needs alwaies be mindful of their good fer- good, but a forced countenance. Let us therevices. After this he began to put hand to his fore be wife, and confider that they hate and pure, offering to give them their whole pay fear us: their batred will few it felf when in hand; and then after to confider of other their fear is once past: unless we now take our reckonings at a more convenient time. This time, and whilst we are the stronger, ensemble had been well accepted, and might have them fo greatly, that their hatred shall not be ferved to bring all to a quiet pals, if two le able to do un rerong. All their strength confiftditious Ring-leaders of the multitude had eth in mony wheremithall they have bired others against us, and us against others. At There was in the Camp one spendius, a the present they have neither mony nor friends. that in the late war had fled from a Roman, we are no small part, lyes at their gates, ready whom he served, and therefore stood in to help w if we be men. A better opportunity fear, lest he should be delivered back to his cannot be expected; for were our swords once Mafter; at whose hands he could expect no drawn, all Africk would rife on our side. As les, than to be whipt and crucified. This for the Carthaginians, Whither can they fend wretch could find no better way to prolong for help? The case it self is plain. But we must his own life, than by raifing such troubles as quickly resolve. Either we must prevent the dimight serve to withdraw men from care of ligence of Gesco, by incensing these Gaules and private matters, and make his own relittu Spaniards, and procuring them to draw blood; tion impossible, were his Master never so or else it behoveth us to please our good Maimportunte. With Spendius there affociated | fters, by joyning with them against our fellows, himselfone Matho, an hot-headed man, yea by offering to forgive unto them all our that had been to forward in ftirring up the mages, if so (peradventure) they may be won tumult, as he could not chuse but sear, lest to forgive us, or not over-cruelly to punish our his own death should be made an example, faults committed. He is most worthily a to deterrothers from the like feditious be- nretched flave, that neither hath care to win haviour. This Matho deals with his Country- his Masters love, nor the courage to attempt his

the Gaules, the Greeks, the Spaniards, or any can Souldiers to his own purpose. They forein Mercenaries. For (faith he) These our are not now so greedy of mony, as of quarcompanions have no more to do, than to rerel, which he that feeketh will not mis to
ceive their wages, and fo get them gone: but find. When Gefeo therefore offered to pay wethit are to flay behind in Africa , flall be them their whole stipend presently, but recalled to another manner of accompt, when we ferred their other demands, for horses and are left alone; so that me shall have cause to victuals, to some other more convenient wish that we had returned home beggars, ratime; they brake into great outrage, and ther than loaden with the mony, which (little fay, that they will have all, even all at once, though it be) Shall brake our backs. Te are and that out of hand. In this tumult, the not ignorant, how tyrannically those our haugh whole Army flock together about Matho ty Masters of Carthage do reign over us. They and Spendius; whose diligence is not wantthink it reasonable, that our lives and goods ing to add more fuel to the fire already Sould be at their diffosition; which they have blazing. Matho and spendius are the only at other times been accustomed to take from men to whom the Souldiers will hearken: us even without apparent cause, as it were to if any other stand up to make a speech, a declaretheir soveraignty: What will they now showre of stones, slying about his cars, puts do , seing that we have demeaned our selver him to filence, that he shall never afterwards as free-men, and been bold to fet a good face speak word more. Neither stay they to conon the matter, demanding our own, as others fider what it is that any man would fay: have done? Te all do know, that it were a chough hath been faid already by those verysbame for us, if having been as forward in good spokes men; so that no other word

Now the rebellion begins to take form. | Carthaginians themselves have forgotten: Matho and Spendius are chosen Captains; but the people, that have suffered so much who, followed by a desperate crue of Ruf- retain all in perfect memory. Wherefore not fians, will fuffer no man to make his own only fuch as can bear arms, are ready todo peace, but puriue their own ends, under fair fervice in this great commotion; but the vepretence of the common cause. All which ry women bring forth their Jewels, and pretence or the common cause. An indication of the protection of the common cause. An indication cause are caused an indication of the common cause. An indication of the common cause. An indication cause are caused an indication cause. An indication cause are caused an indication cause are caused an indication cause. An indication cause are caused an indication cause are caused an indication caused and indication caused an indication caused an in felf upon their fury. One while he deals great forwardness, and liberal contribution. with the Captains, and other principal men; Matho and Spendius are supplied with a taking them by the hand, and giving gentle ftrong aid of threefcore and ten thousand words: another while, he works with the Africans: and are moreover furnished with feveral Nations; putting them all in hope of mony, not only to fatisfie the present appetheir own hearts desire, if any reason would tite of their men; but sufficient to continue content them. None of them are so sullen as the war begun, though it should be of long the Africans: indeed none of them had so endurance. good cause. They require him peremptorily to give them their own, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not so covetous as they seem: but will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more than Gesco knows: he fees not that Matho hath any more than bare words to bestew upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconfiderate heat. he tells them, That they may do well, if they stand in want of mony, to feek it of their Captain Matho. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treasure that he had brought; yea upon him also, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. Matho and Spendius are glad of this. It had little pleased cenary forces: it is common that Mercenathem to fee their fellows begin to grow ries should be false: and it is common that calm, by his fair language: wherefore they all war made against Tyrants, should be excast into bonds both him, and all the Carthaginians that they can find; that so the Army may be freed from danger of good ad- is procured or fought by those that were monition, which they call Treason. After hired to maintain the power of it: and selthis follows open war. Matho folicites all dome or never do we read of any war that Affick, and his Embaffadors are every where hath been profecuted with fuch inexpiable well entertained. Neither is it needful to hatred, as this that is now in hand, use perswasion: the very same of this rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole Country into A violent form of Government, not respecting it. Now must the Carthaginians be plagued the good of the subject, but only the pleasure of for those oppressions, with which they have the Commander. I purposely forbear to say plagued others. It is true that advertity hath that it is, the unjust rule of one over many: never been untold of her errours: and as for very truly doth Cleon in Thuesdides tell the is ever affured to hear her own, fo com- the Athenians, that their dominion over monly with her own she undergoes those of their subjects, was none other, than a meer other men. The Africans finding the Carthaginians hang under the wheel, tell them felves were a great City, and a popular efface. boldly, that their Impositions were merciless; that they took from them the one half that I should call this form of commandof their Corn; that they doubled their triling, violent: fince it may well and eafily be butes in all things elfe; and that they inflicted upon their vallals the greatest punishment for the leaft offences. Thefe cruelties the welfare; unless himself be either a mad

ø. II.

Divers Observations upon this War with the Mercenaries.

†. I.

Of Tyranny, and how Tyrants are fain to use the help of Mercenaries.

TEre let us rest a while, as in a convenient place, whence we may take a prospect of the subject, over which we travel. Behold a tyrannical City, persecuted by her own Mercenaries with a deadly war. It is a common thing, as being almost necessary, that a tyranny should be upheld by Merceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we feldome hear, that ever the ruine of a tyranny

That which we properly call Tyranny, is, tyranny, though it were fo, that they them-Neither is it peradventure greatly needful, conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardless of his life and CHAP. II. man, or the form of love rob, to ravish, to murder, and to satisfie their selfed with some extreme passion of love. The practice of tyranny is not alwayes of a own appetites, in most outragious manner, like extremity: for fome Lords are more being thought to much the more affured to gentle than others, to their very flaves; and their Mafter, by how much the more he fees he that is most cruel to some is mild enough them grow hateful to all men else. Considerne man to the target of the state of the sta advantage. Nevertheless, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it felf unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of several men, it is commonly seen, discourse to be but little better. This is to that the tafte of fweetness drawn out of op- shew, both how tyranny grows to stand in preflion, hath fo good a rellith, as continual need of mercenary Souldiers, and how those ly inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will mercenaries are, by mutual obligation, firmnot fuffer it to be restrained with any limits ly assured unto the Tyrant. of respect. Why should he seek out bounds to prescribe unto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put himin remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten by extorting from some few : by sparing none, he should have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: but every one could have spared more. He hath wrung all their purfes, and now he hath enough: but (as Covetousness is never fatif | jects; it may appear some wayes to be more fied) hethinks that all this is too little for a moderate, than that of one man; but in maftock, though it were indeed a good yearly ny things it is more intolerable. A City is jea-Income. Therefore he devifeth new tricks of lous of her Dominion; but not (as is one robbery, and is not better pleased with the man) fearful of her life: the less need bath gains, than with the Art of getting. He is ha- she therefore to secure her self by cruelty. ted for this, and he knows it well: but he A City is not luxurious in confuming her thinks by cruelty to change hatred into treasures, and therefore needs the less to fear. So he makes it his exercise, to torment pluck from her Subjects. If War, or any and murder all whom he suspecteth: in which other great occasion drive her to necessity course, if he suspect none unjustly, he may be of taking from her Subjects more than orfaid to deal craftily; but if Innocency be not dinary fumms of mony; the fame necessity ny lusty Souldiers as shall be thought suffia desperate rabble of strangers, the most un-

man, or (which is little better) wholly pol shall all be permitted to do as he doth; to write; I must be fain to say, that these are not dreams: though some English-man perhaps that were unacquainted with History, lighting upon this leaf, might suppose this

t. II.

That the Tyranny of a City over her Subjects is worse than the tyranny of one man: and that a tyrannical City must likewise use mercenary Souldiers.

70W concerning the tyranny wherewith a City or State oppresseth her subfafe, how can all this make any conspirator makes either the contribution easie, or the tofland in fear, unce the Traitor is no worfe taking exculable. Indeed, no wrongs are fo rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore grievous and hateful, as those that are insohe can think upon none other fecurity, than lent. Remember (faith Caligula the Emperor, to difarm all his Subjects; to fortifie him to his Grand-mother Antonia that I may do felf within some strong place; and, for defence of his Person and State, to hire as mano harm. And Juvenal reckons it, as the cient. These must not be of his own Country: complement of all torments, inslicted by a for if not every one, yet some one or other cruel Roman Dame upon her slaves, that may chance to have a feeling of the publick whilft she was whipping them, she painted milery. This confidered, he allures unto him her face, talked with her Goffips, and used all figns of neglecting what those wretches honest that can be found; such as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will ces wherewith a domineering State offentherefore be careful to support him, by deth her Subjects, are free from all sense of whole only favour they are maintained indignity; likely it is, that they will not ex-Now, lest any of these, either by detestation tremely hate her, although desire of liberty of his wickedness, or (which in wicked men make them weary of her Empire. In thele is mof likely) by promife of greater reward respects it is not needful that the should keep than he doth give, should be drawn to turn a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and mainhis fword against the Tyrant himself: they tain them in all villany, as a Dionysius or Kkkkk 2

able to terrifie and to hold perforce in obe- lading of wax and honey. Thele fly into all dience, all male-contents. These things, quarters, and are quickly acquainted with confidered alone by themselves, may serve to every mans wealth, or what sever else, in all prove, That a City is scarce able to deserve the Province, is worthy to be desired. They the name of a Tyranness, in the proper fig- know all a mans enemies, and all his fears: nification.

that the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant load into acquaintance with these masterful eth his people, are not so heavy, as the bur- guests, in hope to win their friendship, were dens imposed by a cruel City. Not with- an endless labour, (yet it must be underout some appearance of truth, it may be gone) and such as every one hath not means faid, that Luft, and many other private paf- to go about: but were this effected, what fions, are no way incident to a City or Cor- availethit? The love of our Governour is poration. But to make this good, we shall purchased with gifts: the Successiour of this have need to use the help of such distincti- man, he is more loving than could be wished ons as the Argument in hand doth not re- in respect of a fair Wife or Daughter, then quire. Was not Rome lascivious, when Cato comes the third, perhaps of the contrary fawas fain to rife and leave the Theater, to the ction at home, a bitter enemy to both his end, that the reverend regard of his gravity fore-goers, who feeks the ruine of all that might not hinder the people from calling for have been inward with them. So the milea flew of naked Courtifans, that were to be ries of this tyranny are not simple, but interbrought upon the open stage? By common laced (as it were) with the calamities of civil practice, and general approved cuftom, we War. The Romans had a Law De Repetundis, are to censure the quality of a whole State; | Gr., of Recovery, against extorting-Maginot by the private vertue or vice of any one strates: yet we find, that it served not wholman, ner by metaphyfical abstraction of lyto restrain their Provincial Governours; the univerfal from the fingular; or of the who prefuming on the favour of their own Corporation, from those of whom it is compounded: I fav therefore (as I have faid elfewhere) That it were better to live under one work all these enormities rehearsed; though pernicious Tyrant, than under many thoufands. The reasons proving this, are too many judgment. If the Subjects of Rome grouned to fet down, but a few may suffice. The de- under such oppressions, what must we think fires of one man, how inordinate foever, if of those that were Vassals unto Carthage? they cannot be latisfied, yet they may be The Romans imposed no burthensome triwearied; he is not able to fearch all cor- butes; they loved not to hear, that their ners; his humour may be found, and footh- | Empire was grievous; they condemned maed; age or good advice, yea, or fome unex- ny noble Citizens for having been ill Gopected accident may reform him: all which vernours. At Carthage all went quite confailing; yet is there hope, that his fuccef trary: the rapines newly devised by one four may prove better.

worthy Kings: and many have ill used their like, when it should fall to his turn; and he ill-gotten Dominion, which, becoming here- was held a notable States-man, whole robditary to their posterity, hath grown into beries had been such, as might afford a good the most excellent form of Government, share to the common treasure. Particular even a lawful Monarchy. But they that live examples of this Carthaginian practice are under a tyrannical City, have no such hope: not extant: the Government of Verres the their Miltress is immortal, and will not Romanin Sicil, that it is lively set out by flacken the reins, until they be pulled out Tully, may ferve to inform us, what was the of her hands, and her own mouth receive demeanor of these Punick Rulers, who stood the bridle of a more mightier Chariotter. in fear of no fuch condemnation, as Fores This is woful: yet their prefent fufferings underwent. By profecuting this difcourfe, make them less mindful of the future. New I might inferr a more general proposition; flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the fame That a City cannot govern her fubject Profore, out of which others had already sucked vinces so mildly as a King: but it is enough their fill. A new Governour comes yearly to have shewed, That the tyranny of a City among them, attended by all his poor kin- is far more intolerable, than that of any dred and friends, who mean not to return one most wicked man.

Agathocles must do: her own Citizens are home empty to their hives, without a good becoming themselves, within a little space. All this notwithstanding, it shall appear, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Provinces, to somewhat the more sparingly, for fear of Magistrate, served as presidents to instruct Many Tyrants have been changed into another; every man resolved to do the Suitable

the harred of their fubjects: and again, fu- into the hands of the King of Aragon. jealousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, first of that race, Duke of Millan, who being that, in wars abroad, the Carthaginians durft entertained by the Millanois, forced them to use the service of African souldiers in Africk become his slaves, even with the very same it felf they had rather be beholding to army which themselves had levied for their others, that were farther fetcht. For the own defence. But Lodowick Sforza, the fon of same purpose did Hannibal, in the second this Francis by the just judgement of God, Punick war, shift his Mercenaries out of their was made a memorable example unto posteown countries; Ut Afri in Hispania, Hispa- rity, in losing his whole estate by the treani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus chery of fuch faithless Mercenaries, as his were obliged by mutual pledges. It is diffruta- the Castle of Loches unto his dying day. ble, Iconfess, whether these African and The like inconvenience is found, in using Spanift hirelings, could properly be termed the help of forrain Auxiliaries. We fee, ter than Mercenaries.

t. III.

Souldiers, and forrain Auxiliaries.

places and Countries, whereinto they are two kingdoms. drawn; as being held by no other bond, they have often, and in time of greatest exof Napler, abandoned her service on the maintained the War; and therefore could

Sutable to the cruelty of such Lords, is sudden, and forced her to put her self table to the hatred of the subjects, is the Like unto his father was Francis Sforza, the ulera; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati own Father had been For having waged an sipendia facerent; that the Africans might army of Smitzers, and committed his Dutchy, fore in Spain, the Spaniards in Africk, being together with his person, into their hands, he each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, was by them delivered up unto his enemy the farther they were from home, as if they the French King, by whom he was inclosed in

Mercenaries: for they were subject unto that when the Emperour of Constantinople Carthage, and carried into the field, not on- had hired ten thousand Turks against his ly by reward, but by duty. Yet feeing their neighbour Princes; he could never, either duty was no better than enforced, and that by perswasion or force, set them again over it was not any love to the State, but meer the fea upon Afra fide; which gave bedefire of gain, that made them fight; I will ginning to the Christian servirude, that soon not nicely frand upon propriety of a word, after followed. Alexander the fon of Cafbut hold them, as Polybius also doth, no bet- Sander, sought aid of the great Demetrius: but Demetrius, being entred into his Kingdome, flue the same Alexander, who had invited him, and made himfelf King of Macedon. Syracon the Turk was called into Egypt by The dangers growing from the use of mercenary Sanar the Soldan, against his opposite: but this Turk did fettle himself so surely in Egypt, that Saladine his successor became Lord The extream danger, growing from the thereof; and of all the holy Land, foon afimployment of fuch Souldiers, is well ter. What need we look about for examobserved by Machiavel: who sheweth, that ples of this kind? Every Kingdom, in effect, they are more terrible to those whom they can furnish us. The Britains drew the Saxons ferve, than to those against whom they into this our Countrey; and Mac Murrough ferve. They are feditious, unfaithfull, dif-drew the English into Ireland, but the one obedient, devourers, and destroyers of all and the other soon became Lords of those

Against all this, may be alledged the than their own commodity. Yea, that which good fucces of the United Provinces of the is most fearful among such hirelings, is that Netherlands, using none other than such kind of Souldiers, in their late war. Indeed tremity, not only refused to fight, in their these Low-Countreys have many goodly and defence, who have entertained them, but re- | ftrong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are volted unto the contrary part; to the utter wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their ruine of those Princes and States that have kind. They are front Sea-men, and therein is trusted them. Those mercenaries (faith Ma-their excellency; neither are they bad at chiasel) which filled all Italy when Charls the the defence of a place well fortified : but in eighth of France did pass the Alpes, were open field they have seldome been able to the cause that the said French King won the stand against the Spaniard. Necessity there-Realmof Naples with his Buckler without a fore compelled them to feek help abroad: Sword, Notable was the example of oforsa, and the like necessity made them for bear to the Father of Francis Sforza, Duke of Milarm any great numbers of their own. For, lan, who being entertained by Queen Joane with money raifed by their Trade, they CHAP, II.

ill spare unto the Pike and Musket, those Soveraignty of their Country, which they hands, that were of more use in helping to offered, yet being provoked by the spafill the common purse. Yet what of this? niard their enemy, pursued him with contithey sped well. Surely they sped as ill as mual war; when the heir of England reigned might be, whilft they had none other than in Scotland, a King too just and wise (though mercenary Souldiers Many fruitless at not ingaged in any quarrel) either to make mercenary sounders. Drany Hunders at tempts, made by the Prince of Orenge, can profit of his neighbours miferies, or to help witness it : and that brave Commander those that had attempted the conquest of his Count Lodowick of Naffau, felt, to his grief, own inheritance: then might the Netherin his retrait from Græningham; when, in the very instant that required their service forces of these their Neighbour Countries. in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for The Souldiers that came unto them from money, and fo ran away. This was not the hence, were (to omit any other commendaonly time, when the hired Souldiers of the tions) not only regardful of the pay that States, have either fought to hide their co- they should receive, but well affected unto wardize under a flew of greedines; or at the cause that they took in hand: or, if any leaft, by meer covetousness, have ruined in were cold in his devotion, unto the side one hour the labour of many moneths. I whereon he fought, yet was he kept in orwill not stand to prove this by many examples: for they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of Monfieur the Duke of Anjou, brother to the French King; save that it is folly to conceal what all the world knows. He that would lay open the danger of forrain Auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly found, that fuch Aiders make themselves Lords over those, to whom they lend their fuccour: but where shall we meet with such at one time, shall agree so well, to maintain another as this Monsieur, who, for his protection promifed, being rewarded with the at the least so seeming) to them all, a Neigh-Lordship of the Country, made it his first bour-Country of the same religion, and to work, to thrust by violence a galling yoak which they all are lovingly affected: then upon the peoples neck? Well, he lived to may fuch a Country be fecure of her Auxilirepent it, with grief enough. Even whilft aries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other he was counterfeiting unto those about business, in hope of like success. But these cirhim, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginary forrow for the poor Burghers of Antmerpe, as verily believing the Town to be raign auxiliary forces are no less dangerous, than furprifed and won; the death of the Count the enemy against whom they are entertained. St. Aignan, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the City, discharged against his own troups, informed him better what had hapned; shewing, that they were his own That the moderate government of the Romans French who frood in need of pity. Then was his feigned passion changed into a very bitter anguish of mind, wherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, Helas, mon dieu, que veux tu faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou do with me ? So, the affairs of the Netherlands will not ferve to prove, that there is little danger in using Mercenary Souldiers, or the help of to use the service of other Souldiers in their forrain Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding, many great wars, but performed all by their they were obedient unto necessity, and own Citizens? for if it were their manner fought help of the English, Scott, and French: to arm their own subjects, how hapned it, wherein they did wifely, and prospered. that they feared no rebellion? if strangers, For when there was in France a King, partaker with them in the same danger; when ences above rehearsed? The answer is, that the Queen of England refused to accept the their Armies were compounded ulually of

der, by remembrance of his own home, where the English would have rewarded him with death, if that his faith had been corrupted by the spaniard. They were therefore trufted with the custody of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necelfity of the poorer fort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with lendings, and other helps, as well as the ability of the States could permit. When three fuch Princes, reigning against the power of a fourth, injurious (or cumstances meet so seldom, as it may well hold true in general: That mercenary and for-

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gave them assurance to use the service of their own subjects in their wars. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyranny, which hindreth the use and benefit of the like moderation.

Here it may be demanded, whether also the Romans were not compelled

equal number: to which they added, as oc- Such love purchased these mild Goverequal number of the companies of camnours, without impairing their Majefty
panes, Hetrurians, Sammites, or other of their
thereby. The fum of all is; they had, of panes, as were either interessed in the their own, a strong army; they doubled it intipetts, "support of the trusted. They had about these times, (though seldom they did they further increased it, as need required, imploy so many) ten Roman Legions; a good with other help of their own subjects: all, thrength, if all other help had been wanting; or the most of their followers, accounting which ferved to keep in good order their the prosperity of Rome to be the common fubjects, that were alwaies fewer in the army good. than themselves. As for the Latines, if contime it was granted unto many Cities, and those far off removed, even to Tarfus in Cilicia, where St. Paul was born, that all the

their own Citizens, and of the Latines in good, as having been faithful to the utmoft.

The moderate use of soveraign power befanouinity were not a sufficient obligation; ing so effectual, in assuring the people unto vet many priviledges and immunities, which their Lords, and confequently in the eftathey injoyed, made them assured unto the blishment or inlargement of Dominion : it State of Rome: under which they lived al- may feem strange, that the practice of Tymost at liberty, as being bound to little else, | ranny, whose effects are contrary, hath been thantoferveit in war. It is true, that a yoke fo common in all ages. The like, I know. howeasie soever, seems troublesome to the may be said of all Vice and Irregularity, neck that hath been accustomed to freedom. whatsoever. For it is less difficult, (who-Therefore many people of Italy have taken foever think otherwise) and more safe, to occasion of several advantages, to deliver keep the way of Justice and Honesty, than themselves from the Roman Subjection. But to turn aside from it ; yet commonly our fill they have been reclaimed by war, the passions do lead us into by-paths. But where Authors of rebellion have fharply been pul Luft, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection, nilhed, and the people by degrees have ob- feduceth our reason; the same unruly appetained such liberty, as made them esteem tite, either bringeth with it an excuse, or, at none otherwise of Rome, than as the com- least-wise, taketh away all cause of wonder. mon City of all Italy. Yea, in process of In tyranny it is not so: for as much as we can hardly descry the passion, that is of force to infinuate it felf into the whole tenour of a Government. It must be confessed, that Burgesles should be free of Rome it self. This lawless desires have bred many Tyrants: favour was conferred absolutely upon some; yet so that these desires have seldom been upon some, with restraint of giving voyce in hereditary, or long-lasting; but have ended election of Magistrates, or with other such commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes limitation as was thought fit. Hereunto | before his death; by which means the gomay be added, that it was their manner, af- vernment hath been reduced to a better ter a great conquest, to release unto their form. In such cases, the saying of Aristotle new subjects half of their tribute which they holds, That tyrannies are of a short continu- Aris. pol. had been wont to pay to their former ance. But this doth not fatisfie the question 1.5.6.22. Lords, which was a ready way to bring the in hand. Why did the Carthaginians exermultitude into good liking of their present cise tyranny? Why did the Atherians? condition, when the review of harder times | Why have many other Cities done the like? palt, should rather teach them to fear a re- If in respect of their general good; how lapse, than to hope for better in the future, | could they be ignorant, that this was an ill by feeking innovation. Neither would it be course for the safety of the Weal publick? forgotten, as a special note of the Romans If they were led hereunto by any affection; good Government, That when some, for what was that affection wherein so many their well-deferving, have had the offer to thousand Citizens, divided and subdivided List Die Libe made Citizens of Rome, they have refused within themselves by factions, did all conit, and held themselves better contented curr, notwithstanding the much diversity of with their own present estate. Wherefore temper, and the vehemency of private hait is no marvel, that Petellia, a City of the tred among them? Doubtless, we must be Brutians in Italy, chose rather to endure all fain to say, That Tyranny is, by it felf, a extremity of war, than, upon any condition, vice diffinct from others. A Man, we know, to for ake the Romans; even when the Romans themselves had confessed, that they command or to obey; every one in his prowere unable to help these their subjects, and per degree. Other desires of Mankinde, therefore willed them to look to their own are common likewife unto brute beafts;

and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: cruelty doth help to shadow. Therefore but the desire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also name. Tyranny is more bold, and feareth answerable an aptness to yield obedience. not to be known, but would be reputed ho-Answerante au aputets to yieu do you nourable: for it is prosperum & fælix selus, nourable: for it is prosperum & fælix selus, ture not only to Man and Beast, but unto all a fortunate mischief, as long as it can subsilt. forts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of There is no reward or honour (faith Peter their life: as Fear, Anger, Lust, and other Charron) affigned unto these, that know how affections are likewise natural, in conveni- to increase, or preserve humane nature: all ent measure, both unto Mankind, and to all honours, greatness, riches, dignities, Empires. Creatures that have sense, for the shunning triumphs, trophees, are appointed for those shat or repelling of harm, and feeking after that know how to afflict, trouble, or deftroy it casar which is requifite: even so is this defire of and Alexander, have un-made and sain, ruling or obeying, ingraffed by Nature in each of them, more than a million of men: the race of Man, and in Man only as a rea- but they made none, nor left none behind fonable creature, for the ordering of his life, them. Such is the errour of Mans judgein a civil form of Justice. All these in-bred ment in valuing things according to the qualities are good and useful. Nevertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkenness, which, in reproach, are called beaftly, by an unproper term: fince they grow from appetites, found in less indeed all other vices, iffuing from the pasworthy creatures than beafts, and are yet not so common in beasts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions like horrible crimes, exceed in villany, the as descend no lower than unto brute beasts, faults of Gluttony and Drunkenness, that are held less vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are the more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse by sharper Laws, as being in general more horrible, and of Mankinde, are not better examples, than punished more grievously, that of that Phalaris, Dionysius, and Agathocles, whose which is best; there is not any passion, that mischievous heads were affisted by the nourisheth a vice more hurtful unto Mankind, than that which issuerh from the most | barbarous desire of Lordship, transported noble root, even the depraved Affection of those old examples of Feritie, and these lat-Ruling. Hence arise those two great mis- ter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reachiefs, of which hath been an old question fon : neither of them knew the use of Rule, in dispute, whether be the worse; That all nor the difference between Freemen and things, or that nothing should be lawful. Of slaves. these, a dull spirit and overloaden by fortune with power, whereof it is not capable, and of Parents over their children, is natuoccasioneth the one; the other proceedeth | ral, and appointed by God himself; so that from a contrary diftemper, whose vehemen- it is alwayes, and simply, allowable and cy the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Un- good. The former of these, is as the doder the extremity of either, no Country is minion of Reason over Appetite; the latter able to subsist, yet the defective dulness, that is the whole authority, which one Freeman permitteth any thing, will also permit the can have over another. The rule of a King execution of Law, to which meer necessity is no more, nor none other, than of a comdoth enforce the ordinary Magistrate; mon Father over his whole Country : which whereas Tyranny is more active, and pleaf he that knows what the power of a Father eth it self in the excels, with a falle colour of is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. Justice. Examples of stupidity, and unapt- But there is a greater and more Masterly fuch natures are every where to be found : faid; Have dominion over the fifth of the Sea, for this quality troubles not it self in seeking and over the fowl of the aire, and every living

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common opinion. But the true name of Tyranny, when it grows to ripeness, is none other than Feritie: the same that Aristotle faith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth less, than Perjury, Murder, Treason, and the grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof Sciron , Procrustes , and Pityocamptes , that used their bodily force to the destruction hands of detestable Ruffians. The same

The rule of the husband over the wife, ness to rule, are not very frequent, though rule, which God gave unto Adam, when he Empire; or if by some errout of fortune, it thing that moveth upon the earth: which allo encounter therewithall, (as when Claudius, he continued unto Noah and his children, 00.19 hiding himself in a corner, found the Empire laying, The fear of you, and the dread of you, of Rome) some friend, or else a wise, is not hall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon wanting to supply the defect, which also every fowl of the aire, non all that moveth

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to oppress men with bondage: unless the wer, and of servile obedience, which is thereto oppose lawfulness thereof be sufficiently intimated, to correspondent. But it may be truly faid, where it is faid. That a man shall not be puthat fome Countries have substitted long nified for the death of a fervant; whom he without the use of any servility; as also it is hathflain by correction, if the fervant live a true, that fome Countries have not the use of day or two, because he is his mone; or else any tame Cattel Indeed the affections which in by the captivity of the Midiantiffh girls, uphold civil rule, are (though more noble). 16. by the capturary which were made bond-flaves, and the San not fo fimply needful, unto the fuftentation 40 duary had a part of them for the Lords tri- either of our kind, as are Luft, and the like; Gagas, ancient: for Noah laid this curfe upon Cana- which not with standing are the lowest in de-Fig. 10 coived that think fo. Saint Paul defired the should increase, by access of those, that are librity of One simus, whom he had won unto weary of their own more painful condition. 10ar, giveth unto servants: Let every man abide in logether with the pleasure which most men 10,11-the same calling wherein he was called: art take in flatterers, that are the basest of

thou called, being a fervant? care not for it, but flaves. if thou maiss he made free, use it rather. It is This being so, we find no cause to marvel, true, that Christian Religion bath procured how Tyranny hath been so rife in all ages, liberty unto many; not only in regard of and practifed, not only in the fingle rule of piety, but for that the Christian Masters some vicious Prince, but ever by consent of flood in fear of being discovered by their whole Cities and Estates: since other vices flaves, unto the perfecutors of Religion. Ma- have likewife gotten head, and born a generhomet likewife, by giving liberty to his fol- al fway, notwithstanding that the way of lowers, drew many unto his impiety: but vertue be more honourable, and commodiwhether he forbade it, as unlawful, unto his ous. Few there are that have used well the fectators, to hold one another of them in inferiour Passions : how then can we expect,

But whether this kinde of dominion be upon the earth, and are they delivered, lawful, or not; Ariffole hath well proved, He who gave this dominion unto Man, that it is natural. And certainly, we finde He was also an aptitude to use it. The not such a latitude of difference in any creadid give also an aptitude to use it. give and this power hath fince ex- ture, as in the nature of man; wherein (to execution tended it felf, over a very great part omit the infinite diffance in effate of the of Mankinde. There are indeed no small elect and Reprobate) the wifest excel the or mainters of men, whole disability to go-most foolish, by far greater degree, than the numous, proves them, according most foolish of men doth surpass the wisest to Ariffolles doctrine, to be naturally of beafts. Therefore when Commiferation hath given way to reason, we shall find, that Yet find I not in Scripture any warrant nature is the ground even of Mafterly pobute. Doubtless the custom hath been very or of every one, as are Hunger and thirst; an, that he should be a fervant of fervants; and Abraham had of Pharaoh, among other and Abraham had of Pharaoh, among other gifts, men-fervants and maid-fervants, which ging in the freets, there may we more justly were none other than flaves. Christian wonder, how the dangerous toil of Sea-far-Religion is faid to have abrogated this old ing men can find enough to undertake them, kinde of fervility: but furely they are de than how the fwarm of idle vagabonds Christ: yet wrote for this unto rhilemon by This may suffice to prove, that in Mankind way of request, craving it as a benefit, not there is found, ingraffed even by Nature, a urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is defire of absolute dominion whereunto the the direction, which the same Saint Faul general custom of Nations doth subscribe;

bondage, I cannot tell; fave that by the that the most noble affections should not be practice of the Turks and Moors, it feemshe difordered? in the government of wife and did not. In England we had many bond children, fome are utterly careless, and corfervants, untill the time of our last civil rupt all by their dull connivency: others, by wars 3 and I think that the Laws concern-mafterly rigour, hold their own blood uning Villenage are still in force, of which der condition of flavery. To be a good Gothe latest are the sharpest. And now, since vernour is a rare commendation; and to preflaves were made free, which were of fer the Weal publick above all respects great use and service, there are grown up whatsoever, is the Vertue justly termed Hea rabble of Rogues, Cutpurfes, and other roical. Of this Vertue many ages afford not the like trades; flaves in Nature, though not many examples. Heter is named by Ariffolic in L. as one of them; and deservedly, if this praise EIIII

be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, | fuch a King is nevertheless a man, must dve. used in desence of a mans own Country, and may err: yet wisdome and fame shall But if we consider, that a love of the general set him free, from error, and from death, good cannot be perfect, without reference unto the fountain of all goodness: we shall Onething I may not omit, as a singular befind that no moral vertue, how great foever, nefit (though there be many other befides can by it felf, deserve the commendation of redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his can by treet, deterve the commendation more than Vertue, as the Heroical doth, Wherefore we must fearch the Scriptures, for patterns hereof; such as David, Josaphat, Soveraign Lord, but free of courage; and and Tollas were. Of Christian Kings, if there no greater in muster of men, than of sout were many fuch, the world would foon be fighters, if need require: whereason the happy. It is not my purpole to wrong the contrary, he that ruleth as over flaves, shall worth of any, by denying the praise where it be attended in time of necessity, by llavish is due, or by prefering a less excellent. But minds, neither loving his person, nor rehe that can find a King religious, and garding his or their own honour. Cowards zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement, may be furious, and slaves outragious, for a either of adversity, or of some regard of time: but among spirits that have once State; a procurer of a general peace and yielded unto flavery, universally it is found State; a procurer of a general percental quiet; who not only ufeth his authority, but true, what Homer faith, God bereaveth a man quiet; who not only ufeth his authority, but adds the travel of his eloquence, in admo- of half his vertue, that day when he casteth him l. 17. nishing his Judges to do justice; by the vi- into bondage. gorous influence of whose Government, civility is infused, even into those places, that seasonably have spoken, in the general difhave been the dens of favage Robbers and course of Government: but where so lively Cut-throat 30ne that hath quite abolished a an example of the calamity following atyflavish Brehon Law, by which a whole Nati- rannical rule, and the use of Mercenaries, on of his subjects were held in bondage; and thereupon depending, did offer it self, as is one, whose higher vertue and wisdom doth this present business of the Carthaginians; I make the praise not only of Nobility and thought that the note would be more effeother ornaments, but of abstinence from the ctual, than being barely delivered, as out of blood, the wives, and the goods of those a common place. that are under his power, together with a world of chief commendations belonging unto some good Princes, to appear less regardable: he,I fay, that can find fuch a King, findeth an example, worthy to add unto How the war against the Mercenaries was divertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Under fuch a King, it is likely, by Gods blefling that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, i Countries before unknown: that Civility and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen Countries; and that the happiness of his subjects, shall cause the Nations far off remov- gressed, I cannot readily find, by what ed, to wish him their Soveraign. I need not name henceforth I should call them. They add hereunto, that all the actions of fuch a are no longer in pay with the Carthagini-King, even his bodily exercises, do partake ans; neither care they to pretend, that of vertue; fince all things tending to the they feek their wages already due; fo that preservation of his life and health, or to the they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiners. mollifying of his cares, (who fixing his con- | Had they all been subjects unto Carthage, templation upon God, seeketh how to imi- then might they justly have been termed tate the unspeakable goodness, rather than Rebels: but Spendius, and others, that the inacceffible majefty, with both of which were the principal part of them, ought none himself is indued, as far as humane nature is allegiance to that State, which they endeacapable) do also belong to the furtherance voured to subvert. Wherefore I will bor of that common good, which he procureth. row the name of their late occupation, and Lest any man should think me transported still call them Mercenaries, as Polyhim also with admiration, or other affection, beyond | doth. the bounds of reason; I add hereunto, that | These, using the advantage of their present

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Of these things, I might perhaps more

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versty managed by Hanno and Amilcar, with variable success. The bloody counsels of the Mercenaries ; and their final destru-

CHAP. II. Circs of great importance, as being feated fall their shete-anchor; sending to the field whom they be a neck of land; Hippagreta furnished withten thousand foot of supply, in to It is divided by the state of the stat Transmission of further out upon the Sea. Neither was chough to do, before he should be able to re in all parts at once.

and by the African themfelves, Geral Mella. Were faith, that an it fell is mined, and the place whereon it flood, now called an it fell is mined, and the place whereon it flood, now called are it was very ancient, and built before Carthage faith Siliun. As re, it was very ancient, and built before carriage, statin stitution, hid before carbiage was feet up, fo did it after Carbiage was few the other family and family and the other family and Famous it was by the death of growing the partial family and family and family before the partial family and is the younger, who here it against ear are vision that worthy Divine, a share thereof in the time of Graferich the Arrian, who lived all the goldat Tyran, and hath written the flory of his crackites.

How the Carthaginians were amazed with this unexpected peril, any man may conceive. But the business it self awakes them halfily. They are hardly prest on all sides; and therefore travelled their brains the uttermost, how to shake off these furious dogs from their thoulders, who fometimes by night, fometimes by day, came unto the very wals of their City. In this exigent, Hanno was made their General: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatfocver was needful, as well to relieve a Town besieged, as to batter and assail any place defended against him. With these provisions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to Vtica, fo fuddenly, that the enemies as men furprifed, forfook their Trenches, and retired themselves unto a rising piece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his beasts. Hanno, thinking that he had to do with Numidians, whose custome was after any loss, to flie two or three whole days journey off; presently entred the Town; to shew himself after this his victory. But these good fellows, Amilear, to retire and to fight again, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as foon as they perceived, that he knew Carthage to the firm land.

in firength, befreged * Olica and Hippagreta, exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let upon the weltern Haven of Carthage, where their great Captain Amilear, whom they the Camp at Timis abandoned, which lay meet with the enemy upon equal ground. the Camp and the Carthagimans from paf. For befides other places of advantage that fing up into the countrey: for Alatho and the Mercenaries had occupied. Hanno had ingui mad the description and separation will be only bridge, by spendins wanted not men to follow the war fuffered them to win the only bridge, by which the River Macra, or Bagadras, was paffable unto these, that were to travel into the Continent. This River had not many foords, nor those easie for a single man to get over: but upon them all was kept such guard, as gave to Amilear little hope of prevailing in feeking way by force. As for the Bridge it felf, Matho and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a Town, wherein to lye commodioufly, intentive only to the cuftody thereof. But Amilear had observed, that the very mouth of Bagradas used to be sometimes cloyed with fand and gravel, that was driven in by certain cuftomary winds, and could not be driven out again, by force of that flow river, till the wind failing, or changing suffered the weight of the waters, to disburden their channel. Hercof he made use; and taking his opportunity passed the River, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his own Citizens.

There was no need to bid Spendius look about him, whence once it was heard, that Amilear was come over Bagradas: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the news; knowing that they were no longer to deal with the improvident gravity of Hanno, but with an able spirit, even with their own Master in the Art of War, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this fear was foon changed into prefumption; when more than fifteen thousand of their own society, were come from Otica, and other ten against whom he was to war, had learned of thousand from the guard of the Bridge Their Army was far greater, than that of Amilear; and they were in their own judgement, the better men; upon which connot how to use a victory; they affailed their | fidence, they resolved to charge him on all own camp, and with great flaughter, drave fides, and beat him down, in defpight of his the Carthaginians out of it, forcing them to worth and reputation. With this resolution hide themselves within Wica; and got pof they attend upon him, watching for some fession of all the store that Hanno had advantage, and still exhorting one another brought for the relief of the Town. This to play the men, and give the onfer. Especibad beginning Hanno followed with futable ally they that followed him in the Rear, had a great mind to begin the fight; whereunto fair opportunities, and fuffering the enemies their promptness was such, as took from the promptness was such, as took from the promptness was such, as took from the promptness was such as took from the promptness was such as the promptn to take policition of all the entrance from them their former circumspection. Amilcar held his way toward the Bridge, keeping The Carthaginians perceiving this, were himself on plain grounds; that were fit-LHIII 2

CHAP II

test for the service of his Elephants, which he much desired: and therefore cameunto he placed in front of his Army. Neither made Amilear fignifying his good affection to him. he shew of any desire to sight, but suffered with offer to do him all service. Amilear the rafiness of his enemies to encrease, till it joyfully entertained this friend, promised should break into some disorder. At length unto him his own daughter in marriage and perceiving, that with more boldness than so wan from the enemies 2000. horse, that good heed, they followed him so near, as following Naravasus turned unto the Carthawould be little for their good, if he should ginians side. With this help he gave battel turn unto them, he hasted his march, even unto Spendius: wherein the Numidian lato fuch a pace, as made a flew little diffe- boured to approve his own valour to his ring from plain flight. The Mercenaries new friend. So the victory was great; for presently fell upon his skirts; believing, that there were slain ten thousand of Spendius his for fear of them he was ready to run away. fellows, and four thouland taken priloners; But whilest they confusedly, as in sudden but Spendius himself, with Autarius the Gaul. opinion of victory, were driven at the heels escaped to do more mischief. Amilear dealt of those that had the Rear; Amilear wheel- very gently with his prisoners: pardoning ed about, and met them in the face, charg- all offences past, and dismissing as many as ing them hotly, but in very good order, fo were unwilling to become his followers: yet that amazed, with the apprehension of un- with condition, that they should never more expected danger, they fled without making | bear arms against the Carthaginians; threatany refiftance. In this overthrow there ning to take sharp revenge upon all that were fix thousand of the Mercenaries slain, should break this Covenant. and about two thousand taken, the rest fled, This humanity was vehemently suspected fome to the Camp at Otica, others to the by Matho, Spendius, and Autarius, as tend-Town at the Bridge; whither Amilear tol- ing to win from them the hearts of their lowed them fo fast, that he wan the place Souldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take eafily; the enemies being thence also fled such order, that no man among them should unto Tunis, as not having recollected their dare to trust in the good nature of Amilear, spirits to make it good.

the diligence of Amilear in pursuing it, caus- ted letters of advertisement, wherein was ed many Towns revolted, partly by fear, contained, that some of their company, repartly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not Matho wanting to himself in this dangerous time. He lent about Numidia and Africk, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or never, to it was needful to look well unto Gesco, and do their best, for the recovery of their free- his companions whom these traitors had a dom: he perswaded spendius, and Antarius, purpose to inlarge. Upon this Theme spenthat was a Captain of the Gaules, to wait dius makes an Oration to the Souldiers, exupon Amilear, and always to keep the high- horting them to fidelity; and shewing with er grounds, or at least, the foot of some hill, many words, that the seeming humanity of where they might be free from the Ele- Amilear, toward some, was none other than phants; and he himself continued to press | a bait, wherewith to intrap them all at once the Town of Hippagreta with an hard fiege. together; as alfotelling them what a dan-It was necessary for Amilear, in passing from gerous enemy Gesco would prove, if he might place to place, as his business required, to escape their hands. Whilest he is yet in the take fuch wayes as there were: for all the midst of his tale, were letters come to the Country lay not level. Therefore Spendius, Same purpose. Then steps forth Antarius, who still coasted him, had once gotten a and speaks his mind plainly: saying, that it notable advantage of ground; the Carthagi- were the best, yea, the only way, for the nians lying in a plain, furrounded with hils, common fafety, to cut off all hope of reconthat were occupied by the Mercenaries, with | ciliation with Carthage; that if some were their Numidian and African succours. In this deviling to make their own peace, it would difficulty, the fame of Amilcar his perfonal go hard with those that had a care of the worth did greatly benefit his Countrey. war 3 that it were better to make an end of For Naravassus, a young Gentleman com- Gesco his life, than to trouble themselves with this occasion, serving to get the acquain every one should be ingaged in the present tance and love of fo brave a man, which Action, as having none other hope left, than

nor to hope for any fafety whilest Carthage The fame of this victory, together with was able to do him hurt. They counterfeispective only of their private benefit, and careless of the general good, had a purpose to betray them all unto the Carthaginians, with whom they held intelligence; and that manding over the Numidians, was glad of looking to his custody; that by such a course invictory alone; finally, that fuch as would | ted Traitors. This Antarius was in great cre- remedies. In neither of which Amilear failto alter his intended cruelty; but they were them unto wild beafts to be devoured. forthwith froned to death, as a Document that the subjects or friends of Carthage,

terwards.

the hands of all that are with thee be strong. of Otica and Hippagreta, that had stood alding to the degree of their feveral crimes. were) bind the others hands A coward thinks all provision too little for

Against these inconveniences, Mercy and freak here-against, were worthy to be repu- Severity, used with due respect are the best dit with the Souldiers, and could speak sun- ed. For as long as these his old souldiers dry languages, in such fort, that he was un- were any way likely to be reclaimed by genderstood by all. According to his motion the courses, his humanity was ready to intherefore it was agreed, that Gesco, and all vite them. But when they were transported the other prisoners, should forthwith be put with beaftly outrage, beyond all regard of to horrible death, by torments Nevertheles | honesty and shame, he rewarded their vilthere were some, that for love of Gesco sought lany with answerable vengeance, casting

Until this time Hanno, with the Army unto others; and so the Decree was put in under his command, had kept himself apart execution. Neither were they therewith- from Amilear, and done little as may feem, all contented, but further ordained, that for that nothing is remembred of him fince all Carthaginian prisoners which they his late losses. Neither was Amilear forry to took, should be served in like fort: and want his help; as being able to do better without him. But when the war grew to should lose their hands, and so be sent such extremity, as threatned utter ruine to home which rule they observed ever af- the one or the other side: then was Hanno fent for, and came to Amilear, with whom he Of this cruelty I need fay no more, than | joyned his forces. By this accels of strength that it was most execrable ferity. As for Amilcar was not enabled to do more than in the counsel of using it, it was like unto the former times; rather he could now perform counsel of Achitophel; All Ifrael shall hear, nothing: such was the hatred between him that thou art abborred of thy father; then shall and his unworthy Colleague. The Towns Such are the fruits of desperation. He that wayes firm to the Carthaginian party, did is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his now revolt unto the enemy, murdering all own fellows, if they be more innocent; the Souldiers that they had in Garrison, and and to avoid the punishment of less offen- calting their bodies forth, without suffering ces, committeth greater. The cowardize them to be buried. The provisions brought of offenders, and the revengeful spirits of by sea, for maintenance of the Army, were those that have been wronged, are breeders lost in foul weather; and Carthage it self of this desperation: to which may be ad- stood in danger of being besieged, about dediome deficiency of Laws, in diffinguish- | which Matho and Spendius consulted, whilest ing the punishments of malefactors, accor- one of the Carthaginian Generals did (as it

It hath in all Ages been used as the safest his own fecurity. If Phocas be a comard | course, to send forth, in great Expeditions, (faid the Emperour Mauritius) then is he two generals of one Army. This was the murderous. To be stedfast and sure, in common practice of those two mighty Citaking revenge, is thought a point of ho- ties Athens and Rome, which other States nour, and a defensative against new inju- and Princes have often imitated; perswading ries. But wrongfully: for it is opposite to themselves, that great Armies are not so well the rule of Christianity; and such a quality | conducted by one, as by two: who out of discovered, makes them deadly enemies, who emulation to excell each other, will use the otherwise would have repented, and sought greater diligence. They have also joyned to make amends, for the wrong done in pai- two chief Commanders in equal commiffision. This was it which wrought somuch on, upon this further consideration; the bet-Woe to the Carthaginians; teaching Matho, ter to restrain the ambition of any one, that and his Africans, to suspect even their should be trusted with so great a strength. gentleness, as the introduction to extream For hereof all Common-weals have been jearigour. Like unto the errors of Princes and lous, having been taught by their examples Governours, are the errours of Laws. Where that have made themselves Tyrants over one and the same punishment is awarded un- those Cities and States that have imployed to the less offence, and unto the greater, them. In this point the Venetians having been he that hath adventured to rob a man, is so circumspect, as they have, for the most eafily tempted to kill him, for his own fe- pair, trusted strangers, and not their own in all the wars which they have made. It is true,

that the equal authority of two command- occasions are as often overflipt, as at other ing in chief, ferveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the taken. I remember it well, that when the Prince or State that hath given them truft: Prince of Conde was flain after the Battel of but in managing the war it felf, it is com- Jarnac, (which Prince, together with the monly the cause of ill success. In wars made admiral Chastillan, had the conduct of the near unto Rome it felf, when two good Protestant Army) the Protestants did greatly friends were Confuls, or such two at least, as bewail the loss of the said Prince, in respect concurred in one delive of Triumph, which of his Religion, person, and birth 5 yet comhonour the greatest of any that Rome could forting themselves, they thought it rather an give) was to be obtained by that one years advancement, than an hinderance to their fervice; it is no marvel, though each of the affairs. For fo much did the valour of the Confuls did his best, and referred all his one out-reach the advisedness of the other. thoughts unto none other end than victory, as what soever the Admiral intended to win Yet mall dangerous cases, when the Consuls by attending the advantage, the Prince adproceeded otherwise than was defired, one ventured to lose, by being over-confident in Dictator was appointed, whose power was his own courage. neither hindred by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the the Carthaginians in this present busines: manner, to fend forth both the Confuls to who, though they were still fick of their illone war; but each went whither his lot cal- grounded love to Hanno, and were unwilled him, to his own Province; unless one ling to diffrace him; yet seeing that all ran bufiness feemed to require them both, and towards ruine, through the discord of the they also seemed fit to be joyned in the ad- | Generals, committed the decision of their ministration. Now although it was so, That | Controversies, unto the Army that served the Romans did many times prevail with under them. The judgment of the Army their joynt-Generals: yet was this never fo was, that Hanno should depart the Camp: feldom, without as much concord, as any which hedid, and Hannibal was fent in his other vertue of the Commanders. For their stead, one that would be directed by Amilmodesty hath often been such, that the less car, and that was enough. able Captain, though of equal authority. hath willingly submitted himself to the to prosper somewhat better. Matho and other, and obeyed his directions. This not- spendius had brought their Army near unto withstanding, they have many times by or- | the City; and lay before it, as in a siege, daining two Commanders of one Army, re- They might well be bold to hope and adceived great and most dangerous over- venture much, having in their Camp above throws; wherefore in the second Punick lifty thousand, besides those that lay abroad War we shall find examples. On the contra- in Garrisons. Nevertheles, the City was too ry fide, in their wars most remote, that were strong for them to win by assault: and the alwayes managed by one, they feldom fail- entrance of victuals they could not hinder, ed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter if any should be sent in by friends from thall appear. Now of those ten Generals, abroad. which ferved the Athenians at the battel of Marathon, it may be truly faid, that had not the wars in Sicil he affifted the Romans, and their temper been better than the judgment still continued in their alliance, yet now of the people that fent them forth, and had fent succours to the Carthaginians: fearing not they submitted themselves to the con- their fall, and consequently his own; beduction of Militades; their affairs had found cause if no other State gave the Romans the same success which they found at other somewhat to trouble their digestion, the times, when they coupled Nicias and Alci- Principality of Syracuse would soon be debiades together in sicil: the one being fo voured by them. The Romans also gave over-wary, and the other fo hasty, as all them some slender affishance, and, for the came to nought that they undertook: present, resused good offers made unto whereas Cimon alone, as also Ariftides, and them by the Mercenaries. This they did others, having sole charge of all, did their to shew a noble kind of disposition; which Country and Common-weal most remark- was indeed but counterfeit, as the sequel able service. For it is hard to find two great manifestly proved. Captains of equal discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judg fily prefling the City, Amilear was as diliment, and so the contrary, by which the best gent in waiting at their backs, and cutting

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But we need no better example, than of

After this, the affairs of Carthage began

Hieron King of Syracuse, though during

Whilft Matho and his followers were bu-

in plain battel: until at length he got them more, in number. into a straight, whence ere they should This was a famous exploit : and the news get out, he meant to take of them a good thereof exceeding welcome to Carthage; and account. Their judgment was enough to terrible to the revolted Cities of Africk. perceive their own disadvantage; and there- Henceforward Amilear, with his Naravasus, fore they had the lefs fromach to fight; and Hamibal, carried the war from Town but awaiting for help from Tunis. Amilear to Town, and found all places ready to prudently forefeeing, that necessity might yield: Utica & Hippagreta only standing out, teach them to dare impossibilities, used the upon fear of deserved vengeance; and Tunis, benefit of their present fear, and shut them being held by Matho, with the remainder of close up with Trench and Rampart. There his Army. It was thought fit to begin with they waited milerably, for fuccour that Tunis, wherein lay the chief strength of the came not: and having spent all their vi- enemy. Coming before this Town, they ctuals, were so pinched with hunger, that brought forth spending, with his fellows, in they fed upon the bodies of their prisoners. view of the defendants, and crucified them This they fuffered patiently, as knowing that under the walls; to terrifie those of his old they had not deferved any favour from Car- companions, that were still in Arms. With thage; and hoping that their friends at Tu- this rigour the fiege began; as if speedy vinis would not be unmindful of them. But ctory had been affured. Hannibal quartered when they were driven to such extremity, on that part of Tunis, which lay toward that they were fain to devour their own Carthage. Amilcar on the opposite side: too companions, and yet faw none appearance or far afunder to help one another in fudden

off all that come to their supply: so that these three come forth to talk with Amilean finding themselves more straightly besieged in person. What they could say unto him. by him, than Carthage was by them, they it is hard to conjecture: yet by the condipurposed to desist from their vain attempt, tions which Amilear granted, it seems that and try some other course. Hereupon they they took the blame upon themselves, and issue into the field: when Spendins, and one craved pardon for the multitude. The con-Zarcas an African Captain affifting the re- ditions were, that the Carthaginians should bellion, take upon them to find Amilear chuse, out of the whole number of these work; leaving Matho in Tunis, to negotiate enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to rewith their friends, and take a general care of main at their discretion; and that the rest the business. The Elephants of Carthage, and should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or horse of Naravasus, made Spendius fearful in one single coat. When the peace was thus to descend into the Plains. Wherefore concluded, Amilear told these Ring-leaders, he betook himself to his former method that he chose them presently, as part of the of war, keeping the mountains, and rough ten, and fo commanded to lay hands on grounds, or occupying the straightest pas- them: the rest he forthwith went to fetch tages, wherein the desperate courage of his with his whole Army in order. The Rebels, men might shew it felf, with little disadvan- who knew not that peace was concluded tage. But Amilear had more skill in this upon so gentle Articles, thought themselves Art, than could be matched by the labour betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to of spendius. He drew the enemy to ma- Arms. But they wanted Captains to order ny skirmishes; in all which the success was them: and the same astonishment that made fuch, as added courage to his own men, them break the Covenants of Peace, whereand abated the strength and spirit of the of they were ignorant, gave unto Amilear Rebels. Thus he continued, provoking them both colour of Justice, in accomplishing renight and day: ftill intrapping some of them, venge and ease in doing the execution. They and sometimes giving them the overthrow were all flain: being forty thousand, or

likelihood of relief: their obstinacy was accidents; and therefore it behoved each to broken, and they threatned their Captains be the more circumspect.

with what they deserved, unless they would Matho from the walls beheld his own dego forthto Amilear, and feek fuch peace as stiny, in the misery of his companion, and might be gotten. So spendius, Zarxas, and knew not how to avoid it otherwise than by Autarins, fell to consultation, wherein it a cast at dice with fortune. So he brake out was resolved to obey the multitude, and upon that part of the Carthaginian Army, yield themselves, if it were so required, unto that lay secure, as if all danger were past, unthe death, rather than perish by the hands der the command of Hannibal: and with so of their own companions. Hereupon they great and unexpected fury he fallied, that af fend to crave parlie, which is granted; and ter an exceeding flaughter, he took Hannibal

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fently revenged the death of spendius by to prefume, fave their daring fpirits, which the same torture. Of this, Amilcar knew no- had been well cooled by the many late skirthing, till it was too late; neither had he mishes, wherein they had learned how to frength enough remaining, after this great run away. The Carthaginians had reason to los, to continue the siege; but was fain to dare, as having been often victorious: and break it up, and remove unto the mouth of in all points else they had the better of their the River Bagradas, where he incamped.

the joy of the late great victory. All that ther was it likely that the defire of liberty ould bear arms, were fent into the field, under Hanno; whom, it seems, they thought servitude; as the honour of their State the most able of their Captains surviving would, in Citizens, whose survive and present the late accidents of War. If there were good lay all at once ingaged in that advenany Law among them forbidding the imployment of one fole General near unto ctory, wherein most of the Africans their their City (for they are known to have trulenemies were flain; the reft fled into a fred one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hasty exigent, to devise about refen by the Senate, to bring Hanno to Amilears victory, all the Africans that had rebelled, Camp, and by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one ea only, and Hippagreta stood out, as knowday. It nearly touched Amilear in his honour, that the carelefness of Hannibal seemed to be imputed unto him, by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Nevertheless after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; Amilear and Hanno were made friends; and thenceforth, whilft this war lafted, Hanno took warning by Hannibals calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the mean feafon Matho was come abroad, as meaning to use the reputation of his late success, whilst it gave some life unto his business. He had reason to do as he did: but he wanted skill to deal with Amilear. The skirmishes, and light exercises of war, wherein Amilear trained his Carthaginians, did fo far abate the strength, and withall diminish the credit of Matho; that he refolved to try the fortune of one battel: wherein either his own defire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the Carthaginians were no less prone, than Matho: as being weary of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their own men, which had approved it felf in many tryals; and well affured of Amilcar his great worth, pole. According to his determination, each these, one Hanno was sent with a small Army viting their friends to help; and drawing confifting likewife of Mercenaries; levied. part was diligent in making provision: in-

prisoner, on whom, and thirty the most foretold, without help of witchcraft. Maprincine; oil whom; and thirty the noble of the Carthaginian prisoners, he pre-The terrour was no less within Carthage, rest) they had such a Commander, as was upon the fame of this lofs, than had been not eafily to be matched in that Age. Neitherefore they all yielded; and Matho himfelf was taken alive. Immediately upon this they were foon forced to take what conditions best pleased the victours. Matho and his fellows were led to Carthage in triumph; where they fuffered all torments that could be devised, in recompence of the mischies which they had wrought in this war. The war had lasted three years, and about four months, when it came to this good end: which the Carthaginians, whose subjects did not love them, should with less expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

o. IV.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled : and were afterwards driven ont by the Ilanders. The faithless dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the peace.

7 Hilst Matho and Spendius were ma-V king terrible combustion in Africks other Mercenaries of the Carthaginians had kindled the like fire in Sardinia: where murdering Boftar the Governour, and other Carthaginians, they were in hope to get, and hold that Island to their own use. Against forth into the field, all that lay in Garrison. On the sudden. But these companies that The iffue of this battel might have been followed Hanno, finding it more for their diffrust, they resolved to hang up their sused, upon reasons that follow. Commander Hanno, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all Ages, tho and spendius with Corn: of whom the with those that have undertaken the quar. | Carthaginians took almost five hundred, and relof an unjust war, to enjoyn the perfor- held them in prison. Hereof was made á mance of some notorious and villainous act, great complaint: so that the Romans sent to those that come in to them as seconds, Embassadours to Carthage, requiring satisf with offer to partake, and to affift the im- faction. It was no time for the Carthaginians

grateful Mantineans murder a Garrison of meddle with Sardinia, or to accept the City Achaians, sent unto them for their defence of Utiea, offering it felf unto their subjectiagainst the Lacedamonians, by Aratus; who, on. This might have served as a notable exwhen he had formerly pollest himself of ample of the Roman Faith, to all posterity: their City, by right of war, did not only had not the iffue proved, that it was meer spare the fack and spoil thereof, but gave regard of greater profit, which kept them so Cities united. These revolts are also com- thriving better thereby, than they should

fafety, and present profit, to joyn themselves there was none other valuable reward, than with those that were already revolted, than possession and rule of the Country; the matto endanger themselves by battel, for the ter was not easily taken up. So they fell to good of that Common-weal; of which blows; which how they were dealt, I know they had no care; began to enter into not; but finally the Mercenaries were driven practice with the Sardinian Rebels, offer- out, and compelled to fave themselves in ing to run one course of fortune with them Italy. Before their departure out of Sardiin their enterprise. This their offer was nia, they had invited the Romans into it; kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. with as good right, as the Mamertines had Wherefore to take away all jealouse and called them into sicil. Yet this offer was re-

Some Italian Merchants had relieved Mapious purposes which they have in hand. It to dispute: they quietly yielded to release is indeed the best pawn, that desperate men them all. This was so kindly taken that they candeliver to each other, to perform some sorbad all their Merchants to trade thencefuch actions, as are equally unpardonable forth with the Rebels; admonifhing them to carry all provisions to Carthage. And up-By such a kind of cruelty did the un- on the same reason did they forbear to them equal freedom, with the rest of the temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of mon in our Court-wars; where, in the have done by open breach of Faith. The Conquests of new fortunes, and making of whole estate of Carthage depended at that new parties, and factions, without the de-time, upon the vertue of Amilear: who had pression or destruction of old friends, we he been overthrown by spendius or Matho, cannot be received and trusted by old ene- in one main battel, that mighty City must mies. Cesont les coups de vieille escrime. These either have fallen into the barbarous hands (faythe French) be the blows of the old Art of mercite's villains, or have humbled her felf under protection of the Romans, with These Mercenaries in Sardinia were no whom she had lately striven for superiowhit less violent in their purpose, than were rity. That extreme necessity, whereinto Spendius, and his affociates: only they want- Matho reduced the City, by the fortune ed a Matho among them, to negotiate with of one fally made out of Tunis, is enough the inhabitants of the Province. The Ilan- to prove, that Carthage was not far from ders were no less glad, than the souldiers, such a miserable choice. Wherefore it that the Carthaginians were expelled the was not unwifely done of the Romans, to Country: but they could not agree about make such demonstration of kindness, and the profit of the victory. The Sardinians honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, thought that it was enough, if they reward- but finking thip, to run her felf aground ed the fouldiers for their pains taken. Con-upon their shore. But when all was well trariwife, the fouldiers were of opinion, that ended in Africk, and the Carthaginians bethe title of the Carthaginians to that Isle, was gan to prepare for the recovery of Sardinia; devolved unto themselves, by right of Conthen did Ambition put off her goodly vizor. quest. The same quarrel would (in likeli- The Romans perceiving that Carthage, hood) have risen between spendius with his beyond their hope, had recovered her feet Mercenaries, and their African friends; if the again; began to strike at her head. They common defire of both had once taken ef- entertained the proffer of those Mercenafect: unless the riches of Carthage had served ries, that were fled out of Sardinia; and they to content them all. But in Sardinia, where denounced war against this enseebled and impoverished Mmmmm

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tence, that the preparations made for Sardinia, were made indeed against Rome it self. licity of Carthage did confist. By such die The Carthaginians knew themselves unable courses, harsh to the ears of good Citizens. to refift, and therefore yielded to the Romans demand; renouncing unto them all Common-weal, they got none other reputatheir right in Sardinia. But this was not tion, than of fingularity: which the ignoenough. They would have twelve hundred rant fort suspected to be wisdom. talents, in recompence belike (for I fee not what reason they could alledge) of the great fear which they had endured, of an vices that he did, to the fingular benefit of invasion from Carthage. It is indeed plain, his Country. He passed the straights of Herthat they impudently fought occasion of cules, (now called the straights of Gibralter) war. But necessity taught the Carthaginians patience; and the mony was payed, in which Country, during nine years that he how hardly soever it was raised. From this lived there, he subjected unto the State of time forward, let not Rome complain of the Carthage the better part of all those Provin-Punick faith, in breach of Covenants: she her felf hath broken the peace already, which Amilear purposeth to make her dear- tones, (defending himself a long time with ly repent; but what Amilear lives not to an admirable resolution) he was invironed perform, shall be accomplished by Hannibal his renowned Son.

ø. V.

expressing their desire to pick a quarrel; ferved to instruct the Carthaginians in thage: adding so many subjects and confea necessary lesion; That either they must derates thereunto, that the Romans began make themselves the stronger, or else re- to grow jealous again of this hasty increase. folve to be obedient unto those that were He built a goodly City upon a commodious more mighty. In a City long accustomed to Haven, in the Kingdom of Granado, oprule, the braver determination easily took posite to that of Oran in Africa, and gave it place: and the best means were thought up- the name of New Carthage, which to this on, for the increase of Puissance and Empire. day it nearly retaineth, being called now ruine.

worthy of command in all the City: only little help of force, that knoweth himselfto they commended peace and quietness; ad- be feared: it is enough if he request, since his

impoverished City, under a shameless pre- vising men to beware of provoking the Romans, in whose amity they said, that the fewho had feeling of the wrong done to their

But the glory of Amilear was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable ferand landed on the Western coasts of spain: ces. But finally in a battel that he fought with a Nation in Portugal, called the Vetand flain: carrying with him to the grave the fame great honour and fame, by which in many fignal victories, he had acquired the name of a second Mars.

After the death of Amilcar, Afdrubalhis How the Affairs of Carthage went, between the | Son-in-law was made General of the Car-African Rebellion, and the second Punick thagenian forces in Spain. This was a good man of war; but far better in practice and cunning than in deeds of arms. By his HE injurious dealings of the Romans, notable dexterity in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of Car-The strength, and the jealousie of the Romans, forbad all attempts upon the Mediterthaginians in Spain, the Romans were not force bill ranean Seas; but the riches of spain, that lay a little troubled; but began to accuse their a City of upon the Ocean, were unknown to Rome. wherefore that Province might serve both merly taken so much pains to beat them out the wife wherefore that Province might here both men y taken of much pains to exercise the Carthaginians in war, and to of the Isle of sicil, as suspecting their neight which is repair their decayed forces, with all needful fupplies. Of the Spanis Expedition, the charge and foveraign trust was committed tance, (whereof I shall speak anon) given the year unto Amilear: upon whom his Country did them leifure without interruption, to re-1512 wholly repose it self; in hope to recover upon their own Continent, a Domi- fact by ftrength by his means, that had faved it from nion by far exceeding, both in the bodies of in the men, and in revenue, that which the Ro-yerith Hanno, with some other envious men that mans had taken from them. But how to were of his faction, took little pleasure in the help this, at the present they know not; general love and honour, which daily in- for they daily expected to be invaded by the created towards Amilear and his friends. Ganles, their ancient enemies, and nearest Yet could they not deny him to be the most neighbours to the West. But he needth

CHAP. II.

all good colour, that might help them to in thought) fellow-fervants with Carthage. all good colors. The Spaniards were But the Carthaginians will Cartnage termeddle in Spain. The Spaniards were But the Carthaginians will shortly teach termedicate the unacquainted with Rome, whereof (in them another lefton. The saguntines, a peoprobability) they scarce had heard the ple on the South-side of Iberus, entred into probability for the there were no Mamertines, confederacy with the Romans, and were name to the nor other fuch Rebels, to call in Roman fuc-gladly accepted. Surely it was lawful unto cours; but in the enterprise of Sardinia, the the Komans, to admit the Saguntines, or any Romans had learned an impudent pretence, other people (neither subject, nor open enemy that might also serve their turn in Spain. For in war to the Carthaginians) into their societhough it were apparent, that the spanish afty: and unlawful it was unto the Carthaginifairs had no relation to the peace between ans, to use violence towards any that should the two Cities; and though it were no thus once become confederate with Rome. thing likely, that Adrubal had any purpose Nevertheles, if we consider the late agreeto extend his victories unto the gates of ment made with Afdrubal, we shall find that Rome, or to any of the Roman frontiers: yet the Romans could have none other honest (as if some such matter had been suspected) colour of requiring it, than an implicit covethey fent unto him, requiring that he should and of making the River Iberts a bound, wayes contented, and fought no further.

composition made by Asiarubal; yet should it slave, whose Master he had put to death) and not have stood bound in honour, to observe the Great Hannibal, Son of the Great Amilthe same carefully, unless an oath had also car, was chosen General in his fread. been extorted to make all fure. But fince all passed quietly, under the bare authority of Asarubal, this Capitulation was none other ineffect than a fecond breach of peace; The estate of Greece from the death of whereof the Romans might be accused more jultly, than they could accuse the Carthaginians of perjury, (as they after did) for refuling to stand to it.

request shall have the vertue of a com- blows from a stouter Dame; there were soon Yet were the Romans utterly destitute of the protection of Rome, became (as they forbear to proceed any further, than to the over which they themselves would not pass, River of Iberus. In addressing their messen in any Discovery or Conquest by them ingers, rather to Afdrubal, than to the City of tended to be made upon spain: in which re-Carlage; they feem to have hoped, that gard, they might have some honest pretence howsoever the generality of the Carthagi- to require the like of the Carthaginians; nians had sweetly swallowed many bitter though Rome, as yet, had no foot on the one pills, to avoid all occasion of war with Rome, side of Iberus, whereas Carthage, on the other yet the bravery of one man might prove fide of that River, held almost all the Counmore faltidious, and refenting the injury, return fuch answer, as would intangle his focasily digested as former injuries had been whole Country in the quarrel, that they fo | For it was a matter of ill consequence, that much defired; and might embrace at lei- the Nations which had heard of no greater fure, when once they had found apparent power than the Carthaginian, should behold caule. But Adrubal finely deluded their ex- Saguntum refling securely among them, upon pedation. He pretended no manner of dif- confidence of help from a more mighty Cilike at all: and whereas they would have ty. Wherefore either in this respect, or for this infolent covenant inferted into the Ar- that the sense is most feeling of the latest ticles of peace; he took upon him to do it of injuries; or rather for that now the Carthahis own power, with fuch appearance of con- ginians were of power to do themselves formity to their will, that they went their right : war against saguntum was generally thought upon , let the Romans take it how If it had been to, that the State of Car- they lift. In fuch terms were the Carthaginithage, thereunto pressed by the Romans, for ans, when Astrubal died, after he had comfear of present war, had ratified this new manded in spain eight year. (being slain by a

ø. VI.

Pyrrhus, to the reign of Philip the Son of Demetrius in Macedon.

IN the long term of the first Punick war, and the vacation following, between it wan some reputation in Spain. For when and the second; the estate of Greece, after it was once conceived by the Spaniards, that the death of Pyrrhus, was grown somewhat the City which would needs be Mistress like unto that, wherein Philip of Macedon over them, stood in sear her self of receiving had found it; though far weaker, as the

after-foring. The whole Country had re- poisoned by this Antigonus, who deceived covered by degrees, a form of liberty: in his wife Nicea thereof, and got it from her petty tyrannies (bred of those inferiour by a trick. The device was this: Antigonus perty tyrannies (Dieta of general com-Captains, which in the times of general com-bultion, had feifed each upon fuch towns as ling him to court Nicea, and feek her marrihe could get) were, by force or accident, ex- age. The foolish old widow perceived nor tirpated, and reformed; and fome States how unfit a match fhe was for the young were rifen to such greatness, as not only ser- Prince, but entertained the fancy of marriwed to defend themselves, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the dy to consent, as was his son to desire, and better, proceeded from the like diffensions came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereand tumults in Macedon, as had been in upon all Corinth was filled with facrifices. Greece, when Philip first began to encroach feasts, plaies, and all forts of games: in the upon it. For after many quarrels and great midst of which, Antigonus watched histime. wars, about the Kingdom of Macedon, be- and got into the Caltle, beguiling the poor tween Antigonus the elder, Cassander, Deme- Lady, whose jealousie had been exceeding trius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, Pyrrhus, and the diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he Gaules: Antigonus the son of Demetrius, fin- was so glad, that he could not contain himally got and held it, reigning fix and thirty felf within the gravity befeeming his old years; yet so, that he was divers times age. But as he had stollen it; so was it thence expelled, not only by the Gaules, and again stollen from him: neither lived he to by Pyrrhus, as hath been already shewed, but revenge the loss of it, being already shent by Alexander the Son of Pyrrhus the Epirot, with age. from whose father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him, by the revolt of ceeding unto his Father, reigned ten years. his Souldiers, even at fuch time, as having He made greater proof of his vertue before overthrown with great flaughter an Army he was King, than after. The Dardanians, of the Gaules, he was converting his forces | Atolians, and Acheans, held him continualagainst the Athenians, whom he compelled ly busied in war; wherein his fortune was to receive his Garrisons. But his young son variable, and for the more part ill. About Demetrius railed an Army, wherewith he these times the power of the Macedonians chased Alexander, not only out of Macedon, began to decay: and the Gracians to cast but out of his own Epirus, and restored his off their yoke. Father to the Kingdom.

By the help of this young Prince Deme- young child when his Father died; and trius (though in another kind) Antigonus therefore Antigonus, his Uncle, had the got into his possession the Citadel of Corinth; charge of the Kingdom, during the minoriwhich was justly termed the fetter of Greece, ty of the Prince; but he assumed the name This Citadel called Acrocorinthus, stood up- and power of a King, though he respected on a steep rocky hill on the North side of the Philip as his own son, to whom he left the Town, and was by nature and art fo ftrong, Crown at his death; This Antigonus, was that it seemed impregnable. It commanded called the Tutor, in regard of his Protestorthe Town; which was of much importance, ship; and was also called Doson, that is as as occupying the whole breadth of the much as, Will-give, because he was flow in Isthmus, that running between the Egean his liberality. He repressed the Dardaniand Ionique Seas, joyneth Feloponnesus to the ans and Thessalians, which molested his Main of Greece. Wherefore he that held Kingdom, in the beginning of his reignpossession of this Castle was able to cut off Upon considence of this good service, he all passage by land, from one half of Greece took state upon him, as one that rather unto the other; besides the commodity of were King in his own right, than only a the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich Protector. Hereupon the people fell to and goodly City had commodious havens. mutiny; but were foon appealed by fair Alexander, the fon of Polysperchon; and after words, and a seeming unwillingness of his his death, Cratespolis his wife, had gotten to meddle any more with the Government. Corinth in the great shuffling of Provinces The Achaians took from him the City of and Towns, that was made between Alex- Athens, soon after Demetrius his death; and anders Princes. Afterwards it passed from likely they were to have wrought himout hand to hand, untill it came, I know not of all, or most that he held in Greece, if their how, to one Alexander; of whom I find no- own estate had not been endangered by a thing elfe, than that he was thought to be nearer enemy. But civil diffention, which

Demetrius, the fon of this Antigonus, fuc-

Philip, the only fon of Demetrius, was a

frength after a long fickness; and gave to this Antigonus no less authority therein, than philip the Father of Alexander, got by the like advantage.

These Achaians from small beginnings. had increased in short time to great frength and fame: fo that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the Greeks. By the equality of their Laws, and by their were a long time held under by the Macedonians and Spartans) they did not only draw all others by their love and al- the fecond. liance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of Peloponnesus, to be governed by one Law, and to use one and the same fort of weights, measure, and

trenses and the Dimai, united themselves, wherein the workmen of siegon excelled. and laid the foundation of the general ac-Kings; they began to fasten themseives in a the place, had practised to rob Antigomus

had overthrown the power of Greece, when | strong league of amity, partly, in the Olymhad overthed most, overthrew it easily piad before spoken of, and partly, at such time as Pyrrhus made his first voyage into Italy. Now after the uniting of the Patrenses and Dimei to whom also the Cities of Titrea, and Phara, joyned themselves; Ægira chased out her Garrisons: and the Burians, killing their Kings, entred with the Ceraunians into the fame Confederacy. These Cities, for twenty and five years, used the same form of Government with the Achaiaus; who by a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all clemency (notwithstanding that they things in their Common-weal; and soon after by one Prætor, or Commander: of which Marcus Carynensis was the first, and Aratus

This Aratus was a noble young Gentleman of Sicyon, who, living at Argos in exile, whilst his Country was oppressed by Tyrants, found means, through the help of other banished men, to enter their own City Aratus, the Sicyonian, was the first that by night, with ladders; whence they chaunited them again; and gave them courage, | fed the Tyrant, and restored the people to after that they had been by the Macedonian liberty. This was in the time of Antigonus Captains divided into many Principalities. In Gonatas King of Macedon, a Prince more elder times they were governed by Kings, as | busie in watching what to get among the most of the great Cities of Greece were; to Greeks, than wife in looking to his own. For which kind of rule they first subjected them- fear of Antigonus, the Sicyonians enter into selves, after the descent of the Heraclida, the Achaian league: which though at that when Tifamenus the fon of Orestes posses the | time it received more increase by their acces-Territory of Achaia. In this estate they sion than it added strength to them; yet the continued to the time of Gyges; after whom, benefit of this conjunction ferved well when his fons fought to change the Legal enough against Antigonus, whose subtlety Government of their Predecessors into Ty- was somewhat greater than his valour. As ranny, they expelled them, and made their the industry and counsel of Aratus delivered State popular; as seeming most equal. This his Country from bondage, and fortified it form of Common-weal had continuance, by the Achaian league; fo further, by his with some small changes according to the great liberality, with the exceeding great diversity of times, till the reign of Philip and cost of 150, talents, he pacified the inexpli-Alexander Kings of Macedon: who tempest- cable controversies, between the banished like overturned all things in that part of the | sicyonians, which returned with him, and the world. For those twelve Cities, called the other Citizens that had poslession of these Cities of alliance (whereof, Helice, and Bura or mens Lands; as also with the same money he Olenus, the Sea had eaten up a little before drew many others to affift him in those enthe Battail of Lenteres) were, by diftur- terprifes following, that redounded to the bance of the Macedonians, divided from fingular good of all Achaia. The mony he obeach other, and trained into a war, no less tained of Ptolemy Euergetes King of Egypt; foolish than cruel, among themselves. But in who partly had a desire to hold some strong the one hundred and four and twentieth and fure friendship in Greece, partly was de-Olympiad (in which, or near it, Ptolemy the lighted with the conversation of Aratus himfon of Lagus, Lysimachus, Selencus, and Ptole- felf, that made a dangerous voyage to him my Ceraunus, left the world) two of ten re- into Egypt, and fed his pleasure in goodly pimaining Cities and people, namely, the Pa- ctures, with the gift of many curious pieces,

The first of Aratus his great attempts, was cord, and re-union, which after followed. the surprize of the Acrocorinthus or Citadel For having been, some of them Partisans of Corinth; which he wan by night, being with fundry Macedonian Captains, and thereinto guided by some theeves that he others having been governed by petry had hired for the purpole, who living in Kings the state of the purpole, who living in had hired for the purpole, who living in fight for it, ere he could get it: though in- but all fufficed not: until at length Ariftodeed Antigonus his Souldiers were rather machus the Tyrant was fo terrified, perfwaovercome by their own fear, than by any ded, and hired by Aratus, that he confented force of the affailants; as miltrufting left to refign his Estate. The like did Xenon the the Achaians were more in number, than in Tyrant of Hermione, and Cleonymus, that had truth they were, and having loft the advan- opprefied the Phiafans. tages of the place already, upon which they had prefumed, before they were aware of on foot, Lystadas the Tyrant of Megalopolis,

very cunning, adventurous, and valiant: in whereby he got fuch credit, that he was open field, and plain battail, he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize yearly Office, and might not be held two and courage, he ministred argument of difputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might look pale and tremble, when he began battail; and Whether the vertue of Fortitude were diversified, by the fundry natures of men, and in a manner confined unto several sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said. that all vertue is perfected in men by exercife, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a natural inclination standeth in of Egypt was become Patron of their Allineed of little practice; whereas the defect ance, and (in title of honour) General of hereof must be supplyed with much instru- their forces by Sea and Land; made open ction, use, good success, and other help, yet War upon Demetrius the son of Antigonus hardly shall grow absolute in general. Such Gonatas, for the liberty of Athens. It is was Aratus in matter of War. In fincere affe- strange and worthy of noting, That when Ction to his Country he was unreprovable, Arains in this quarrel had loft a battail, the

ons will truly testifie. Megarians revolted foon after from Antigonus, and entred into the same Corporation. the multitude, Aut humiliter servit, aut su-So did the Trazenians, and the Epidaurians: perbe dominatur; It is either base in service, whereby this new crected State grew so po- or insolent in command. Nevertheless when werful, that it adventured to take Athens, from the Macedonians, and Argos and Mega- by money, which he could not by force; lopolis, from tyrants that held them. The eneffect. For though Aratus wasted the Isle of Athenians, who thenceforth held good cor-Salamis, to shew his strength, and sent home respondence with the Acheans, loving the Athenian prisoners, without ransome, to them, and speaking well of them, which as being now grown honest slaves to the belike, in regard of their own out-worn Macedonians. Upon Argos the adventure glory. was carried more ftrongly. The Achaians came fometimes to the gates of the City, but own freedom; fundry times, and with diverse events, they fought with the Tyrants, without help of any other vertue. They had

his treasury, passing in and out by a secret (who rose up one after another in Argos) in path among the rocks. Yet was he fain to open field, and flew one of them in battail;

Whilst this business with the Argives was In these kinds of night-services, ambush- out compulsion, he gave liberty to his Gry, ments, furpriles, and practices, Aratus was and annexed it to the Council of Achaia: chosen General of their forces (which was a year, for a certain while, he and dratus fucceeded one another by turns. Butthofe late Tyrants, and new Citizens, Lyladas and Aristomachus, were carried with private passion from care of the general good; in which courses they opposed Aratus, to the great hurt of Achaia, as shall appear induc

The Acheans having obtained fo much puissance and reputation, that Ptolemy King and so reknowledged: as his following acti- Athenians wore Garlands, in sign of joy, to flatter their good Lords the Macedonians, When Acrocorinthus was taken, and joyn-that had won the victory. Such were now ed unto the Common-wealth of Achaia, the the Athenians become ; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in general of Demetrius was dead, Aratus performed that and corrupting the Captain of the Macedonian Garrison, purchased liberty to the allure the City by shew of love; yet the Athe- was all that they could do: but into their mans stirred neither against him, nor for him, Corporation they entred not, scorning it

Now as the Common-wealth of Achaia daily increased within Peloponnesus, by jufrice and honesty 5 fo did the Etolians, in ponnesus it self, wax very powerful, by sturCHAP. II. in Peloponnesus: so that they were hardned ready become Achean. with perpetual travail; feldom putting off felves.

not on what fide) and fo get no fmall fhare, both in booty and Territory. Neither did that in fine, Leonidas was brought home, they forbear to communicate this their de- and restored to his Kingdom, and the two

froutly defended themselves against Anti- vice unto Antigonus; offering to make him pater and Craterus; partly by daring to do partaker of their gain, whom they knew to and fuffer much, partly by the natural be offended with the many loffes, that this and unter index, fracting their Country; but Kingdom hath fultained by the Acheans. Of efectally by the benefit of the time, which this plot Aratus was aware: who therefore called away these famous Captains to other determined to suffer many indignities, rabulines, as hath been related. They had ther than to give the Lacademonians cause molested Cassander, in favour of Antigonus, to take Arms. But this resolution was taken and were themselves as much plagued by somewhat too late: and not altogether in his him, and by the Acarnanians, a little, but a own power to hold. He had been meddling front Nation, that took his part. Afterwards with the Arcadians, that were dependents they had to do with Demetrins, the fon of of Lacedemon: and thereby had provoked the first Antigonus, and more or less with all the Lacedamonians to look about them; the Kings of Macedon fucceeding him. They | feeing that all Peloponnesus, excepting themlikewife held often war with the Acarnani- felves, the Eleans, and a few Arcadians their ans, Athamanians, Epirots, and many Cities friends (who also were attempted) was al-

The City of sparta was in ill case about their Armour. But their hardines ill de- these times; and subject to the injuries of ferved the name of valour, feeing they had any stronger neighbour. Pyrrhus had greatly no regard of honesty or friendship, measur- | weakned it; The Etolians entring Laconia ing all things by their own infolent wills, with an Army, had carried away fifty thouand thinking all people base-minded, that sand flaves; and, which was worse, their disciwere not as fierce and outragious as them- pline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury reigned among them, the poor was oppressed These Ætolians had lately made great by the rich, and the generosity of spirit, that fpoils in Peloponnesus, and occupied a good | had sometime been their general vertue, was part of the Country. They had invaded hardly now to be found among the best of the friends of the Acheans; taken and fack- them. There were left in Sparta no more than ed Pallene; where although they were leven hundred natural Citizens; of whom foundly beaten by Aratus, yet their defire of | not above one hundred had Lands: all the gain made them make a new voyage thi- rest were needy people, and desirous of inther, as to a Country wherein somewhat was novation. Hereupon followed intestine sedito be gotten. But they were forced to look tion, which endangered the City most of allanother way, by Demetrius the fon of Anti- Agis a good King, who fought to reform the gonus Gonatas: who pressed them so hardly, disorders of the State, exhorted the people that they were driven to feek help of the to a strict observation of Lycurgus his laws. Acheans; which they obtained. The war To which purpose he caused them to pass which the Acheans made upon Demetrius, an Act, for the aboliffing of all debts, and without Peloponnesus, in Attica, though it equal division of Lands. All the younger, tended to expelling the Macedons out of and poorer fort were glad of this: but the Greece, yet the benefit thereof redounded rich men opposed it. These had recourse chiefly unto the #tolians, at whose instance unto Leonidas the other King, (for in Sparta it was set on foot: for thereby were the Ma- | were two Kings) who took their part: becedonian forces diverted from them. Nei- ing himself a dissolute man, as one trained up ther was this good turn unacknowledged, in the Court of Syria, whence also he had though very basely the Ætolians, giving his wife. In this contention Leonidas was exthanks in words, devised how to require the pelled the City, and a new King chosen in his benefit with some great milchief. They faw stead But Agir his triends and Counsellors in that the Acheans were defirous to bring all this enterprife, abused his good meaning to Pelaponness into their Alliance and Corpother their own private commodity. They were ration: of which intent, the Lacademonians hafty to take away all debts, and cancel all were very jealous. Where fore the le #tolians bonds, for they themselves were deeply laboured earnestly, to set the Lacademonians indebted: but the division of Lands they and Acheans together by the ears: hoping afterwards hindred, because their own posthat if this might come to pass, they them fessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in felves should be called in to help (it skilled sparta, which these men increased by their

of which, Cleombrotus, the late-made King, vered his enmity to Sparta; of which Cleomwas dismissed into exile : but Agis was ness was nothing forry. By these degrees the trained forth, drawn into prison, and there war began. In the entrance whereto draine by his enemies condemned and strangled, had discovered the Ætolian practice, and together with his Mother, and his old therefore would have frayed the quarrel Grand-mother. The like to this was never from proceeding too farr. But Lyffadas known in Sparta: and (which is the and Aristomachus would needs fight, and more odious) this cruelty proceeded from he could do none other than be ruled the Ephori, Magistrates that should have gibby them; especially seeing Cleomene was ven Patronage to the Laws, using their power so urgent. Aristomachus was at that time er and more power than to them belonged, General of the Acheans, (He and Lysadas against a King, that had proceeded orderly being of great account, since they had abanin reforming the City as the Law requi-doned their tyranny) who fent unto Ara-

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by all good Citizens; and ferved to establish conia. No dissiwasions of Aratus would serve. the impotent rule of a few tyrannical op- therefore he came in person, and took part pressors. In which case Aratus might well of a business, little pleasing him in the prehope to adjoin Lacedamon to the Achaans sent, and less in the future. When he met Common-wealth: though it were great in- with Cleomenes, he durst not fight; but opjustice to take such advantages, and attempt posed himself against Aristomachus, who by force, that which would have redounded defired to give battel. Yet had the Acheans to the general good of Peloponnesus, and to twenty thousand foot, and one thousand the benefit of Sparta it self, if it could have horse, in their Army: whereas Cleomenes been wrought by perfwafion.

orders of Sparta, and revenged the death of raifed an ill report upon Aratus; which Li-Agis, did also requite the unjust attempts of fladas helped to make worse, by accusing his the Acheans, even in their own kind: ob- cowardize. Nevertheless the Acheans would truding upon them by force an union of all not fall out with Aratus their Benefactor, Peloponnejus, though little to their good li- but chose him their General the year solking, for that the Lacedamonians and their lowing against Lysiadas his accuse that sued King, should have been the principal; not for the place. Being General himself, it bethey and their Prator. Leonidas having thus boved him to confute with deeds, the flancaused Agis to be slain, took his wife that derous words of Lysiadas. Therefore he was very rich and beautiful, and gave her purposed to set upon the Eleans: but was in marriage (perforce) to his own fon Cleo- met with al on the way, near unto the Mount menes. This young Prince fell greatly ina- Lzcens, by Cleomenes, who vanquished him moured on his wife, and fought to win her in a great battel, and drave him to hidehimaffection, as well as he had her person. He self all night for fear, so that he was discoursed much with her about the purpose thought to have been slain. This misadvenof her former husband Agis, & by pitying his ture Aratus recompenced by a trick of his missortune, began to entertain a desire of own more natural occupation: performing accomplishing that, wherein Agis had failed, with his broken Army, that which could So coming himself to be King, whilest he hardly have been expected, had he been viwas very young, he gladly embraced all ctorious. For whilest there was no sufficion occasions of War: for that he hoped by of any great matter that he could underftrong hand to effect that, which Agis by take; he suddenly wrought with some of proceeding formally in so corrupt an estate the Mantineans, who did let him into their of the City, had attempted to his own ru- City. These Mantineans, (whom he had thus ine. Therefore when the Ephori gave him in brought to his purpose) had once before charge, to take and fortifie Athenaum, a Tem- joyned themselves with the Achaians; but ple on the marches of Laconia, to which shortly upon fear, or some other passion, both they and the Megalopolitans pretended they gave themselves to the Ætolians; and title, he readily performed it. Hereof Ara- from the Atolians, presently after this victotus made no complaint, but fought to take ry, to Cleomenes, from whom immediately by surprize Tegea and Orchomenus, Cities they were thus won. For this their levity, then Confederate with the Lacedemonians: they were not punished but freely admitted wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the now again into the Achean Society, Asthis

adverse Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out labour of a painful night travel, and discotus, lying then in Athens, and required his The death of Agis was much lamented affistance in a journey to be made into Lahad no more than five thousand in all. This But the same man who redressed the dif- gave reputation to the Lacedamonian, and good faccess repaired the credit of Aratus; other places, even of Achaia. These news fo another battel almost ruined it. Cleomenes displeased them not a little: but they must and he encountred near unto Megalopolis; patiently endure to hear worse. For where the Achaans had somewhat the bet- when Cleomenes had shaken off the power ter at the first, but their General durst not of the Ephori, that curbed his authority, he follow his advantage. Thereupon Lystadas, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat better obeyed, and by better men. His Laimpatient with anger ; and taking with him | cedamonians refumed their ancient courages all the horse, brake upon the Lacedamonians and he himself had the heart to demand the whom he routed at the beginning, but pur- Principality of Greece. He did not therefore fing them too far into places of hard paf- henceforth contend about the polleffion of fage, he was flain by them, and his follow- a few Towns: but adventured to win or ers driven back upon their own Compani- lose all. The Ætolians, in favour of his ata great loss and incensed the Achaans against other places; to which they had some title. further, than that they refused to make any unto him. longer contribution, towards the pay of tance was done; the Achaans being weary, and the Spartan King intentive to another bufine fs.

Cleomenes having led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painful journeys, forfook the Achean war on a fudden, and came unings, and forthwith began to make equal di-Ætolians, Illyrians, and fuch other enemies. Spartans well fatisfied, and Cleomenes him-

overall Arcadia at his pleasure; and was Acheans. admitted into Mantinea; and ready to take

proceeded more roundly in his work, being ons; in such fort, that finally all the Army tempt, declared themselves on his side and was disordered and put to flight. This was whereas he had gotten Mantinea, Tegea, and Aratus: yet their indignation proceeded no they willingly renounced all their interest

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his those Mercenaries which he had waged. Countrey, and faw that Antigonus, with the This Aratus took patiently, and followed Etolians, or perhaps without them, would the war nevertheles; wherein though Cle- | shortly make an end of that, which cleoomenes wan forme Towns, and Aratus got the menes had thus begun. Therefore he adbetter in one small fight, yet little of impor- vised how to provide against the worst, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to fave all from utter ruine. The office of General, when it was next put upon him, he reful difearing to be fo far prest, as to hazard in one battel all the force of his Countrey, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance courage, fo was his manner of expected home to sparta, where he flew the warfare otherwife. For he commonly at-Ephori, and restored by force the ancient tempted by surprise, and defended upon the discipline of Lycurgus. Then he gave an ac- advantage of place, after the manner of the count of his doings; and shewing by what | Irish, and of all other Nations, overcharged degrees the Ephori had incroched upon the with numbers of men. Yet did he not forpower of Kings, and many disorders had sake the care of the Weal-publick, though grown in the City; he justified his proceed- in aiming at the general good, it feems that private passion drew him into an ill course. vilion of the Lands, reducing all to the first He faw, that Megalopolis could not be defeninstitution. He also supplied the defect of ded without making a dangerous hazard of Cuizens, by choosing new, out of such as battel; that Maniinea had not only opewere friends to the State, and valiant men: ned her gates unto Cleomenes, but slain the ned her gates unto Cleomenes, but flain the so that henceforth his Countrey might not Achean Garrison that lay therein; that altogether stand in need of Mercenary help, other Towns had yielded unto him, without as it lately had done, to fave it felf from the compulsion; and that Aristomachus, once Tyrant of Argos, and fince General of the All this was dispatched in great haste; the Achaans, was now revolted unto the enemy following the fortune of Cleomenes. Ptolemy felf ready in the field, ere his enemies could was too far off to help; and the nearness of take any advantage of these his domestical Antigonus was very dangerous; yet might be useful, if this King would (as Polybius The Acheans hearing of this great alte- faith) like others, be friend or enemy, as ration in sparta, thought that it would be should best agree with his own profit. long ere Cleomenes durst issue forth of the To make trial hereof, Aratus practifed City, for fear of some rebellion. But it was with some of Megalopolis, whom he found not long ere they heard, that he had wasted apt unto his purpose; and instructed them all the Countrey of Megalopolis; had ranged how to deal with Antigonus, and the

The City of Megalopolis had been well affected

time of Philip the Father of Alexander, who had obliged it unto him by some special benesits. At this time it lay nearest unto the danger; was very faithful, and therefore deferved fuccour; yet could not well be relieved by the Achaans, with their own proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadours should be sent unto the General Council of Achaia, requesting leave and good allowance, to try the favour of Antigonus in their necessity. This was granted, for lack of what elfe to answer: and the same Embassadours dispatched away to Antigonus. They did their own er- freed his Country from all further trouble; rand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their City had of long time born unto him and his Predecessors; of their present need; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more general matter, wherein Aratus had given them inftruction; shewing how the ambition of time, and success of many actions, can illen-Cleomenes, and violence of the Atolians, dure the hafty growth of any others reputamight redound to his own great loss or tion, wherewith it fees it felf likely to be danger, if the one and the other were not overtopped. Other cause to despile the Lacein time prevented; how Aratus himself did damonians there was none, than that they ftand affected; and what good likelihood lately had been in dangerous case: neither there was of reducing the Achaans under could any reason be found, why Aratus should the Patronage of Macedon: then began prefer Antigonus before Cleomenes, than that Antigonus to lend a more attentive ear to he had flood in doubt of the one, when he their discourse. He embraced the motion: thought himself more mighty than the other. and to give it the more life, he wrote unto Wherefore he was justly plagued, when he the Megalopolitans, that his help should not faw his own honours reversed by the insolent be wanting, so far forth, as it might stand | Macedonians; and in stead of living as a comwith the Acheans good liking. Particularly panion with Cleomenes, that was descended he commended himself by these Messengers of a long race of Kings, the posterity of Herto Aratus; assuring them, that he thought cules, was fain to do sacrifice unto Antigonus, himself highly bound to this honourable as unto a god, and was finally poyloned by man, whole former actions he now percei- | Philip, whole Nobility was but of five deved, not to have been grounded upon any fcents, and whom perhaps he might have hatred to the Macedonians, but only upon a feen his fellows, if he had not made them his just and worthy love to his own Nation. With this answer they returned to Megalopolis: and are presently sent away to the with took part with Cleomenes, though he Council of Achaia; there to make some spee- did not supply him with such liberality, as dy conclusion, as the necessity of the time re- | he had used to the Acheans; being warned, quired. The Achaans were glad to hear, that as may feem, by their example, to be more Antigonus was so inclinable to their defire ; wary both in trufting and diffurfing. Cleoand therefore were ready to entertain his fa- menes himself, whilst this business with Anyour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto Aratus gave his consent; and praised the with an Army, and laboured by all means wisdom of his Countrimen, that so well disto draw the Achaens to battel. At the Cicerned the best and likeliest means of their ty of Dymes in Achaia were assembled all common fafety: adding nevertheless, that the remaining forces of the Nation; with it were not amis, first of all to try their own which it was concluded to make trial, whe

affected to the Macedonians, ever fince the himfelf of all others did most wish: to the end, that he might not afterward fullain the common reprehension, if anything fell out amis; fince it might appear, that he had not been Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leifurably, the general consent.

Nevertheless, in true estimation, this fine. ness of Aratus might have been used, with his greater commendation, in a contrary course. For it had been more honourable to make an end of the war, by yielding unto Cleomenes that power which they gave unto Antigonus: fince thereby he should both have and withall, should have restored unto the universal state of Greece, that honourable condition, whereof the Macedonians had bereft it. But it is commonly found, (which is great pity) that Vertue, having rifen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it felf, (as it were)in the feat of principality, by length of Lords. By this inclination to the Macedonians, the love of Ptolemy was lost : who forthtigonus was a-foot, passed through Arcadia ability, which if it failed, then should they ther perhaps they might amend their estate, do well to call in this gracious Prince, and without feeking help of the Macedonian. make him their Patron and Protector. Thus Thither went Cleamenes, and there fought he shewed himself moderate; in that which | with them; where he had so great a victory, that the enemy was no longer able to keep | fought to hinder his coming thither in perthe City of Lerna, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the War.

ever been fince the beginning of the Peloponnefian Wars, yea, or fince the Persian invasiof cold water, which ckomenes drank in chief of his prisoners, to shew that he meant deed which Aratus feared, and for which he hold affured foveraignty of the Country; he

the open field. The calamity was such, that fon; left the people, hearing the promises of Aratus himself durst not take upon him to Cleomenes ratified by his own mouth should be their General, when his turn came in presently be won with his gentle words and the next election. Wherefore the Acheans finish the bargain without more ado. Therewere compelled to fue for peace; which was fore Cleomenes wrote unto the whole Coungranted upon this easie condition: That they cel, bitterly complaining against these iugshould not arrogate unto themselves the gling tricks: and Aratus was not far behind command of Peloponnesus, but suffer the La- with him in as bitter an Oration. So beeedemonians (as in former ages) to be their tween fear of the one, and reverence of the Leaders in war. Hereunto if they would other, the Affembly knew not how to procondescend, he promised unto them, that he ceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all, would presently restore all places taken as it were to fortune. Cleomenes took his from them, and all his prisoners ransom-free: advantage of their present weakness, and also that they should enjoy their own Laws renewed the War. Many Cities yielded unand Liberties without moleftation. This to him willingly; many he forced; and gentle offer of Cleomenes was very pleafing to partly by force, partly by terror, he wan the Achaans: who defired him to come to Argos, which never King of Sparta before him could do. In this case Aratus sent his own fon to Antigonus, intreating him to Now seemed the affairs of Greece likely to defer no time, but come presently to rebe setled in better order, than they had lieve the distressed Acheans. Antigonus gave good words as could be wished: faveing that he utterly refused to do any thing, on: when God, who had otherwise disposed unless be might first have Acrocorinthus put of these matters, hindred all with a draught | into his hands. This demand was somewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promifed greatheat, and thereupon fell extream fick, to help the horse against his enemy the and so could not be present at Lerna, but | Stagg: but with condition, that the horse caused the Parliament to be deferred to should suffer him to be saddled and bridled. another time. Nevertheless he sent home the | Aratus was herewithall contented, but wanted all honest colour to do it: seeing none other than good faith. By this fair deal- the Corinthians had no way deferved to be ing he confirmed the Acheans in their de- thus given away to the Macedonians. Yet fire of his friendship; who affembled again at length an occasion was found; for that at Argos, there to establish the League. But | the Corinthians, perceiving what he intend-Aratus was violently bent against it, and ed, were minded to arrest him. So he fought by great words, and terrible threats, withdrew himself out of their City, and to make his Countreymen afraid of refolv- fent word to Antigonus, that their Castle ing. When all would not serve turn, he be- should be ready to let him in. The Corinthitook himself to his cunning; and sent word ans on the other side ran to Cleomenes; who to Cleomenes, that he should do well to leave lost no time, but made haste with them to his Army behind him, and come alone into Corinth, where he fought how to get posses-Argos, receiving holtages for fafety of his fion of their Castle, or at least to save it from person. Cleomenes, was already far on his Antigonus, by surrounding it within Trenway, when he met with this advertisement; ches, that none might issue nor enter withand took it in ill part, that he should be thus out his leave. Whilest this was doing, he deluded. For it had been an easie matter, took special order, that Aratus his house and to have told him so much at the first, & not goods, within the Town, should be kept for have made him come so far with an Army, the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger afwhich afterwards he must dismis. Yet that ter Messenger, desiring him to come to which chiefly feems to have troubled him, agreement, and not to bring in the barbawas the drift of his oppugners; who fought rous Macedonians, and Illyrians; to Peloponthereby, either to make him wait without nefuspromifing that if he would hearken to the gates, and deal only with themselves and these perswasions; then would be give him their Mellengers, or if he would adventure double the same pension, which he had been himself into the City, then to deprive him of wont to receive of King Ptolomy. As for the all Royal flew, that might breed respect Castle of Corintb, which was the gate of Peofinin the multitude. This was that in-lopannesus, and without which none could dead which was the country be

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defired that it might not be committed unto men; and called him Tyrant for his doings his own disposition, but be joyntly kept by at home, because he would not do the like the Lacedamonians and Achaans. All this en- abroad. So they took their time, invited the treaty served to no purpose. For Aratus, Acheans, assaled his Garrison, cut in rejecting utterly the motion, fent his own pieces the refeue that he fent, and compelfon as an Hofrage to Antigonus; and labouled him at length to forfake the defence of red with the Acheans, to put Acrocorinthus Corinth, and look unto the enemies that into his hands. Which when Cleomenes were behind his back. For when he underunderstood, he seised upon the goods of stood by continual messengers, that his men Aratus in Corinth, and wasted all the Coun- which held the Citadel at Argos were almost trey of sieyon, whereof this his Adversary lost: he began to fear lest his labour in was native.

the Isthmus; having passed with his Army that lay within. Therefore he forfook his through Eubea, because the Etolians held custody of the Isthmus, and made all haste the straights of Thermopple against him. This towards Argos: which if he could fave, he they did, either in favour of Cleomenes, which meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so they pretended; or in doubt of the great- far he prevailed at his coming to Argos, that nels, whereunto the Macedonians might at- both Argives and Achains were glad to tain by the good fuccels of this journey. house themselves, leaving him Master of the At his coming thither, he found the Lace- streets; when the horsemen of Anigonus demonians ready to forbid his entrance: were discovered afar off, hasting to relieve and that with fufficient strength; yet with no the Citizens; and Antigonus himself (to purpose to hazard battel, but rather to wea- whom Carinth was yielded, as soon asthe ry him thence with hunger; against which Spartan had turned his back) followhe came not well provided. Antigonus there- ing apace with the body of his Army. Closfore laboured hard to make his way by menes therefore had no more to do, then to force; but he was not able forto do: he fe- make a fafe retreat. This he did, and got was violently driven out again, with great space all, or most of that which he had been loss of men; finally he resolved to turn aside, long in getting. and feek a passage over the gulfe of Corinth, to Sieyon, or some other part and commended the Citizens, went into of Achaia; but this required much time, Areadia; where he wan fuch Castles as were and great preparation, which was not eafily held for Cleomenes, and reftored them to

made. came by Sea, that greatly comforted Antigo ment by the Achains , to whom he declared nus, and no less troubled his enemies. The the cause of his coming, and spake brave Acheans were gotten into that City; and words, that filled them with hope. The the Garrison which Cleomenes had left there- Acheans were not behind with him; but in, though it was not driven out of the Cita- made him Captain-General over them and del, yet was hardly diffrefled, and ftood in their Confederates : and further entered in need of present help. Argos had always been to covenant with him, That they would not enemy to Sparta, and well affected to the deal with any Prince or State, either by Kings of Macedon. When Cleamenes took writing, or Emballadour, without his conit, he forbare to chase out those whom he sent. All this while & somewhat longer Aramost suspected; partly, at the entreaty of two was the only man, that seemed to rule the friends, and partly, for that they all made Kings heart: carrying him to Sicyon his own fhew to be glad of his prosperity. They were Town, (for Winter was come on) where he glad indeed of Cleomenes his victories, both not only feafted him as a great Prince, but in Argos and elsewhere, as many as hoped suffered more than humane honours, as factions. that he would cause all debters to be dist sices and the like, to be done unto him. This charged from their creditors, as he had latly example of Aratus and his Sicyonians, was done in Sparta. But that which Cleomenes had followed by the rest of Achaia: which had done in Sparta, was agreeable to the Spartan made (forfooth) a very wife bargain, if in institution: in other places, where it would stead of Cleamenes that would have been a have been tyrannical, he did it not. Thereup King, it had obtained the protection of a on, such as were disappointed of their unjust God. But this god was poor, and wanting hopes, began to turn good Common-wealths wherewith to pay his Macedonians, imposed

guarding the entry should grow frivolous; Antigonus in the mean time drew near to the Acheans in the mean while spoiling all cretly got into the Corinthian Haven; but him home into Laconia : losing in flort

Antigonus having shewed himself at Argos, the old Possessions. This done, he took his In this perplexity, news from Argos way to Egium, where was held a ParliaHAP. II. hardly tance. Neither was Aratus him-hope of better. Neither was Aratus him-hope of better. Neither was Aratus him-hope of better. hope of oction. The hope of octions and the hope of octions and apprehension of necessity. Cleofelt over-early, which he had thrown menes therefore provided for himself, as well mesortinoie a judicio, and in the data with as his own ability would ferve. He madown in Argos, were again erected by Antidown in argo, when the flatues which he had numified all the Heilotes, which were the Lagonia is of the flatues which he had gonus; or those that had taken Acrocorin-crecked, of those that had taken Acrocorin-crecked acro erected, or those all thrown down by the liberty, and arming two thousand of them time with min, were an entired and down of the mocking, and one only left unto himfelf after the Macedonian fashion. Having thus tame ame, at his earnest intreaty. It might there increased his forces, he came on the sudden at an carrier that this god was also spight to Megalopolis, that lay secure, as having detore appears that taking revenge upon fended it felf in more dangerous times, and the those that offended him, Aratus did fatisfie having now Antigonus near at hand in those that of the his own passion by the aid of these Macedo - Ægium. The Town he wan: but after he nis own particularly and the extreme torments he did was entred, all that were fit to bear Arms put Ariffomachus to death, who had been rose hastily against him; and though they put arypomanna and thought they once Tyrant of Argos, afterwards General could not drive him out, yet laved the mulonce tyrain or and from them revolting titude, to whom they gave a Port free for of the clare, did fall at length into their their escape. He sent after the Citizens, ofamount in Galletin, or handled he (though not as fering their Town and goods to them again, yet) the Mantineans, for their ingratitude if they would be of his party. But they war against the Lacedamonian.

he lay ready to defend his own Territory. though he thereby added neither followers, The reason why he stirred no further, nor followed the strength unto Lacedamon. hemight have Cleomenes his own Mother, keep the war from his own gates; and and his children in pledge.

the burthen upon the Acheans. This was fent unto Egypt, yet the aid came not. For the buttness up yet worse must be indured in hardly taken: yet worse must be indured in hardly taken: yet worse must be indured in Ptolemy was slow; as dealing in the business. year the man years and cruelty flewed to the Acheans. For he bravely refuled his offer: wherefore he fackflewall the principal Citizens, and fold the ed and ruined it, carrying with him to Sparnew an the principal children, all for bond- ta a great booty that he found therein. These flaves: dividing the fpoyl; two parts to the news aftonished the Acheans at Ægium: Macedonians, and the third to the Achoans. who thereupon brake up their Parliament. The Town it self was given by Antigonus to Antigonus fent hastily for his Macedonians, the Argives, who peopled it with a Co- out of their wintering-places: but they long of their own ; and Aratus having were fo long in coming, that Cleomenes was charge of this bufiness, caused it to be new lafely gone home. Therefore he returned named Antigonia. Surely of this cruelty them back to their lodgings, and went himthere can be no better excuse, than even the self to Argos, there to pass the rest of his unflattery which Aratus was driven to use to lucky winter, somewhat further from the Antigonus: forafmuch as it was a token of eyeyes of the grieved Acheans. When he fervility, whereinto they had urged and had layn a while at Argos, Cleomenes was at brought him; whom he, as in revenge the gates, with no great number of men, yet thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to with more than Antigonus had then about fpeak of this change, which the coming in him. The Argives perceiving that their of the Macedonian wrought in the Civil Country would be spoiled, if Antigonus did State of the Acheans; let us return unto this not issue into the field, were very earnest wiser than to be moved with their clamors, Mantimea, Orchomenus, Herea, and Telphulfa: and suffered them to see their villages burnt; Mantinea he dif peopled, as was faid before; to bid him refign his Office of Protector unto in Orchomenus he placed a Garrison of his some that were more valiant; and to satisfie Macedonians; the reft he restored to the their passions with soolish words, rather than Acheans, with whom he wintred at Ægi- he would be overcome in fight, and thereby nm, where they held a Parliament. Once lose more honour than could easily be reonly cleamenes had met him this year; and paired. By this Cleamenes had his defire, in that was on the borders of Laconia, where weakning the reputation of his enemy:

Afterwards, when the season was more fit other Towns that he wan, was this: He had for war, Antigonus gathered together all his few Souldiers, and had not mony enough to troops; meaning to require these bravadoes wage more. Ptolems the Egyptian promised of his enemy, with the conquest of Sparta. be note. From the regiption promised of insciency, with the confide laboured to Thele were therefore entred upon the Country of Argos, where he made fuch a havock, as drew Anti- their Illyrians were driven to fall back upon gonus thither, from his intended invasion of the Army following them; perswaded the Laconia. Many great affronts the Macedoni- Captains of the Achean horie, to break upon an was fain to endure, in coasting of the spar- the spartan Mercenaries. But they would tan King; that ranging over the Country not: partly despiting his youth and want of of the Argives, Phliafians, and Orchomenians, charge; partly, for that Antigonus had given drave a Garrison of his out of Oligartie; order, that they should keep their places. and did facrifice, as it were before his face, until they received a fign from him, which in the suburbs of Argos, without the Temple | was not as yet. Philopainen perceiving them of Juno, that was shut up; sending unto to be more orderly than well advied, inhim in fcorn, to borrow the keys. These were treated some of his own Country-men to sollight things; yet ferved to dif-hearten the low him, gave a charge on the Spartans, and Achean fide, and to fill the enemy with cou- forced them, not only to leave the Illgrians. rage, which was no matter of light impor- but feek how to fave themselves. Being so tance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart far advanced, he found the place which the all other regard of things abroad, and to Illyrians had attempted, like enough to be put all to hazard; by fetting up his rest, with- won, through the unskilfulness of him that out any more delay, upon sparta it felf. He held it. Wherefore he alighted, and perhad in his Army eight and twenty thou- swaded the men at Arms his Companions to fand foot, and twelve hundred horse, col- do the like: the folly of Euclydas being malected out of fundry Nations, as Macedoni- nifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirans, Illyrians, Gaules, Epirots, Ewotians, Acar- red not to hinder those that ascended, but nanians, and others; together with the Ache- waited for them in a Plain, where they might ans; and their friends of Peloponnesius. Cleo- fight upon even terms. So he recovered the menes had of all forts twenty thousand, Hill-top; where, though he was fore hurt, with which he lay at selasia: fortifying yet he made good the place that he had flightly the other paffages into Laconia, gotten, until the whole Army came up to through which the Macedonians were not him; by which the Lacedemonians were likely to feek entrance. Antigonus coming beaten from it, with great flaughter of them unto Selasia, found his enemy so strongly en- in their descent. This overthrow, and death camped, upon and between the hills of Eva of Euclydas, made Cleomenes lose the day: and Olympus, that he was conftrained to spend who fighting bravely on the other side, upon much time there, before he could advance Olympus, against Antigonus himself, was like any one foot: neither lay it in his power to to have been furrounded and loft, if he had come hastily to blows, which he greatly de- not withdrawn himself with an extraordifired, without the hazard of his whole Army, nary speed. In this battel ended the glory of in affailing their well defenced Camp. But Lacedamon, which, as a light ready to go at length (as it happens, when men are weary out, had with a great, but not long blaze, both of their hopes and fears) both Kings shined more brightly of late, than in many being resolved to make an end one way or agest past. other; Antigonus attempted with his Illy- Cleomenes fled unto Sparta; wherehe had rians, to force that part which lay on the no defire to ftay; finding only two hundred hill Eva. But his Illyrians were so ill seconded left, of six thousand Spartans that he had led by the Achean foot, that the Spartan horse, unto this battel, and most of his hired Souland light-armed foot, incamped in the diers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded straight valley between those hills, issuing his people to yield themselves unto Antigoforth, fell upon their skirts, and not only 1003; and promising to do all that should at disordered them, but were like to have en- any time lye in his own power, for their dangered all the rest. If Cleomenes himself good, he hasted away to the Sea-side (where had frood in that part of the battel, he he had shipping long before provided would have made great use of such a fair against all that might happen) and imbarkbeginning. But Euclydas, his Brother, a more ed himself for Egypt. He was lovingly entervaliant than skilful Souldier, commanded in tained by Ptolemy Euergetes; who undertook that wing: who neither followed this ad- to restore him to his Kingdom, and (perhaps) vantage, nor took such benefit as the ground meant no less, as being much delighted with afforded, whereon he lay. Fhilopemen the his gallant behaviour, and qualities. In the Areadian of Megalopolis, who afterwards pro- mean feason, he had a Pension allowed him, ved a famous Captain, ferved then on horse, of four and twenty. Talents, yearly. But as a private young man, among the Acheans. this Ptolemy died 5 and his Son Ptolemy Phi-

as a private young man, among the Acheans, this Protemy area, and his young He seeing that all was like to go to rout, if lopater succeeded him: a vicious young Prince,

and bale Men, unmindful of all vertue, and bled before with a confumption of the hating any in whom it was found. When lungs. His Kingdom descended unto Philip therefore Cleomenes was defirous to return the Son of Demetrim, being then a Boy: as into Greece, whither the troubles in Pelopon- also about the same time it was, that Antionefus did feem to invite him; Ptolomy and chus, surnamed (Iknow not why) the Great; his Minions, would neither give him aid; and Ptolemy Philopater, began to reign in Alia nor yet dared to dismis him (as he desired) to try his own friends in Greece, because he old enough to love Harlots, when he first was too well acquainted with the weakness of Egypt: nor well knew how to detain himagainst his will. At length they devised matter against him, and made him prisoner. the last act of him was, that with thirty of his Country-men, he undertook a desperate enterprize: breaking out of the prilon, and provoking the Alexandrians to rebel and feek their liberty. In which attempt he them, and of their Kingdoms, more at largeflewfome enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the streets without refistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight | How the Illyrians infested the Coast of Greece; against him on the Kings behalf) he, and his Companions, agreed together to be ministers of thier own death. Upon his deadbody Ptolemy was bold to flew his indignation: and flew his Mother and Children, that had

and Government: tarrying there no longer it is not meet to be utterly filent.

otherwise determined.

Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, I fhort space finished his life, who was trouand Egypt; Boyes all. Of these, Ptolemy, though was King, vet continued a Boy all the feventeen years of his reign. The unripe age of Philip and Antiochus, bred fuch intestine inconvenience to their Kingdoms, as is ufual in the minority of Princes: but their elder years brought them acquainted with the Romans; upon which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speak of

ø. VII.

and how they were subdued by the Ro-

Whilst things thus passed in Greece, and whilst the Carthaginians were been sent thither as Hostages; together with busie in their conquest of Spain; the Rothe Wives of his Adherents, as many as were mans had found themselves work among there, attending upon the old Queen. Such | the Sardinians and Corficans, that were eawas the end of Cleomenes, a generous fily subdued at first, and easily vanquished Prince, but Son of Leonidas, who had cau- again, when they rebelled. They made fed Agis, with his Mother and Grand-mo- also war with the Illyrians, wherein they ther, to come to such a bloody end, as now got much honour with little pain. With the befell his own Wife, Son, and Grand-chil- Gaules they had much ado, that lasted not Lin. lib. 216 long; being rather, as Livy faith, a tumult After the victory at Sellasia, Antigonus than a war. So that by all these light exerwithout refistance entred sparta: wherein- cises their valour was hardly kept from rust. to never the force of any Enemy, before him, How they got the Islands in the Mediterracould make way. He kindly intreated the nean Sea, it hath been shewed before: of Citizens, and left them to their own Laws their dealings with the Illyrians and Gaules,

than two or three daies; after which he The Illgrians inhabited the Country now haltned out of Peloponnesus, and never re- called Slavonia; a troublesome Nation, impaturned. The cause of his speedy departure tient of rest, and continually making war for was an advertisement that he received out gain, without either regard of friend or foe. of Macedon; how the Illyrians over-ran and They were invited by Demetrius, King of destroyed the Country. Had these news Macedon, to help the Mydionians his friends, come a little fooner, or had Cleomenes ei- that were befieged by the Etolians, for that ther deferred the fight, a few daies longer, they refused to be of their fociety. Before or at least-wise tarried a few daies after the the Illyrians succours came, the Mydionians fight, in sparta; the Kingdom of Lacede- were lo far spent, that the Etolians contendmon would have flood, and perhaps have ed about the booty: the old Prætor, or extended it self over all Greece. But God had chief Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the ho-Antigonus fought a great battel with the nour of the victory, and the division of the Illyrians, and overcame them. Yet therein spoyl to be referred unto him; for that he he caught his bane: not by any wound, but had in a manner brought the fiege to amend, by over-straining his voice; wherewith he and won the Town: others, that were in hope brake a vein that bled inwardly, and in to be chosen into the Office, contradicting

tins, and denting that the same and form the by these Epirots, and trusted to lye in Garlike to that of the French in latter ages, who rison within their Town. The Ganler were thought upon dividing the prey, before they foon grown acquainted with the Illyrians, to had won the victories, which anon they loft, whom they betrayed Phanice; which deat Poitiers and Agincourt. The Etolians ferved none other in trusting them. All En. wifely compounded the difference, order- rus was presently in arms, and hastned to ing it thus, That the old, and the new drive out these unwelcome guests. But whilf Prætor should be joyntly intituled in the the Epirots lay before the Town, there victory, and have equal authority in distribution of the gettings. But the Illyrians inified the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived and landed ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the Ætolians; and though good refistance was made, yet got the victory, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the Mydionians, that were not idle in their own business, but ftoutly fallied out of the Town. Many of the Ætolians were flain, more were taken, their Camp and all their baggage was lost: the Illyrians took the spoyl, and that were besieged within Phanice, fallied went their way; the Mydionians erected out of the Town, and gave such an overa Trophie, inscribing the names both of throw to the Epirots, as made them despair their old and new Magistrates (for they al- of faving their Country, without great and fo chose new Officers at the same time) speedy help from abroad. Wherefore as the Ætolians had directed them by ex-

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Agron King of the Illyrians: not only in tained their fuit; neither was it long, beregard of the money, wherewith Demetrius fore an Army, fent by these two Nations, had hired his affiftance; or of the booty was ready in Epirus to present battail unto that was gotten; but for that having van- | Scerdilaidas. But Scerdilaidas was called quished the stoutest of the Greeks, he found home by letters from Tenta the Queen, that it not uneasse to enrich himself by setting signified a rebellion of some Illyrians against upon the less warlike. For joy of this he her: fo that he had no mind to put his forfeasted, and drank so immoderately, that ces to hazzard, but offered composition, he fell into a Pleurisie, which in few dayes which was accepted. The agreement was, ended his life. His Kingdom, together That the Epirots might ransome their Town, with his great hopes, he left unto Teuta his and all their people that were prisoners;

all forts at Sea, making no difference be- made this profitable and honourable bartween friend and foe; as if the had been gain, the Illyrians returned into their own fole Mistress of the salt Waters. She armed a Country by land, sending their booty away fleet and fent it into Greece; willing her by Sea. Captains to make war where they found advantage, without any further respect. These great trouble, as that which they brought, fell on the weltern coast of reloponness; or had occasioned in this voyage. For, in fulwhere they invaded the Eleans, and Meffani- stilling the commandement of their Queen, ans. Afterwards they returned along by they had taken many Italian Merchants, Epirus, and stayed at the City of Phanice, whiles they lay at Phanice; and made them to take in victuals and other necessaries. good prize. Hereof the complaints, made There lay in Phanice eight hundred Ganles, unto the Roman Senate, were fo frequent, that having been Mercenaries of the Cartha- that Embafiadours were fent to require of ginians, went about to betray, first Agri- Tenta, that she should abstain from doing gentum, then Eryx, to the Romans; but fail- fuch injuries. These Embassadours found her ing to do either, they nevertheless revolted, | very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet and were for their misseeds disarmed and had brought in and for that she had, in short

this, and desiring that old orders might be | sent to Sea by the Romans, yet entertained came news into their Camp, of another Illy. rian Army, that was marching thitherward by land, under one scerdilaidas, whom Queen Tenta had fent to help his fellows. Upon this advertisement, a part of them is fent away towards Antigonia, to make good that Town, and the straights adjoyning, by which these new commers must enter into their Country; another part of them remains at Phanice, to continue the fiege. Neither the one nor the other fped well in their business. For Scerdilaidas found means to joyn with his fellows; and they Embassadours were sent to the Acheans and Ætolians: craving their help, with The success of this voyage highly pleased very pitiful terms of intreaty. They oband that the Illyrians should quietly depart Tenta gave her people free liberty to rob | with all their booty and flaves. Having

At their coming home, they found no fuch

a good look to the Romans, that found fault less may an Embassadour do it without inwas it the manner of Kings to forbid their dour Coruncanus. Subjects to get commodity, how they best The Illyrian Queen was secure of the Roner, and a very laudable one, to take re- undone many of all forts, greater and lefs mean to disquiet and afflict it ever after.

tion, there would never be an end of war fleet divided it felf, & one part of it fell with (a) Divided and destruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a leilon taught by

(a) Dyrrachium, the other with Coreyra. (a) Dyrrachium was almost surprised by the Illy-sometime called Roic Person of that Prince, in whose Countries than to trust her. they refide, warranted by any law whatfoThe Romans were even ready to put to an.

foace, tamed her rebels, and brought all to ever. For whereas the true office of an Emgood order, fave only the Town IJa, which baffadour refiding, is the maintenance of her forces held straightly besieged. Swelling amity; if it be not lawful for one Prince to with this prosperity, the could hardly afford practise against the life of another; much with her doings, and, calling them by a curring justly the same danger of punishtrue name, Piracy, required amends. Yet ment, with other Traitors; in which case, when their speech was ended, she vonchsaf- his place gives him no priviledge at all. But ed totell them, That injury in publick the we will leave this dispute to the Civilians; would do them none: as for private matters, and go on with the revenge, taken by the no account was to be made of them; neither Romans, for the flaughter of their Embasia-

could by Sea. But (faid the younger of the mans, as if they would not dare to ftir against two Embafiadours) we Romans have a man- her. She was indeed in an errour, that hath venge in publick, of those private wrongs than she, both before and since: Having that are born out by publick authority: more regard unto fame, than unto the fubstance therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to of things. The Greeks were at that time more reform your Kingly manners, and learn bet- famous than the Romans; the Ætolians and ter of us. These words the Queen took so Epirots had the name of the most warlike impatiently, that no revenge could fatisfie people in Greece; these had she casily vanher, but the death of him that had spoken quished, & therefore thought, that with the them, Wherefore, without all regard of the Romans she should be little troubled. Had she common Law of Nations, the caused him to confidered that her whole Army, which be flain: as if that had been the way to fet wrought fuch wonders in Greece, was not her heart at rest; which was indeed the much greater than often thousand men; and that nevertheless, it prevailed as much by The Romans, provoked by this outrage, odds of number, as by valour, or skill in arms; preparetwo great Armies; the one by Sea, she would have continued to use her advanconfisting of two hundred fail, commanded tage against those that were of more fame by C. Fulvius; the other by Land, led by A. than strength, with such good caution, that Postbumus. They trouble not themselves any she should not have needed to oppose her more with requiring fatisfaction: for this late-gotten reputation, against those that injury is of fuch nature, as must be requited were more mighty than her self. But she was with mortal war. It is indeed contrary to all a woman, and did what she listed. She sent human Law, to use violence towards Em- forth a greater fleet than before, under Demebassadours: the reason and ground whereof, trius of Pharos; with the like ample commisfeems to be this; that fince without media- fron to take all that could be gotten. This

Nature, that Embassadours should pals free- rians; yet was it rescued by the stout Citi-dams, and ly, and in fafety, between enemies. Never- zens. In (b) Corcyra the Illyrians landed, now Detheles, as I take it, this general Law is not wasted the Isle, and belieged the Town, edit without limitation. For if any King or State Hereupon the Etolians and Achieans where the Adrialay hold upon Embassadours sent by their called in to help; who came, and were tick sea, between enemies, not unto themselves, but unto some beaten in a fight at Sea : losing, besides the islands third, whom they should draw into the quarrel; then it is as lawful to use violence to thole Embassadors (thus employed to make ceeded. The Town of Corcyra, difmayed to corcythe war more terrible) as it is to kill the men with this overthrow, opened the gates unto filled of of war, and subjects of an enemy. And so Demetrius Pharius, who took possession of it the Adridmight the Athenians have answered it when with an Illgrian Garrison: sending the rest tick sea, they flew the Lacedamonian Embassadours, of his forces to besiege Dyrrachium. In the from Duthat were fent to Xerxes, to draw him into mean feason, Teuta was angry with her Cap-races, cala war upon the Athenians. Neither are those tain Demetrins: I know not why; but so led now Embassadours, which practife against the as he resolved to try any other course, rather in the pos-

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Sea, though uncertain which way to take, when advertisement was brought to C. Fulwines the Conful, of Demetrius his fear and of the war between the Romans and Gauls, discontent. Likely it was that such an occafion might greatly help to advance the bufiness in hand. Wherefore the Consul sailed thither; where he found the Town of Corcyra so well prepared to his hand by Demetrius, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the Illyrian Nation, and often molested Rome; fome-Garrison, and submitted it self unto the Ro- times with their own forces, and sometimes

man protection. (c) Apollo- ed along the coast to (c) Apollonia; accom- they took Rome and burnt it : though the mas City panied with Demetrins, whom he used liftue of that war proved not answerable to mear Drest thenceforth as his Counsellor and guide. To the beginning, if we may give credit unto rathing, or thenceforth as his Counsellor and guide. To the beginning, if we may give credit unto rathing the color of the beginning of the man Historians. In following times their Apollonia came allo Posthumus, the other Koman Historians. In following timestheir Dargo, Apollonia came and rejournment, the other apon the Conful, with the Land-Army, numbred at Many country they received; and if twenty thousand foot, and two thousand Many overthrows they received 5 and if horfe. Thence they haften towards Dyrra- they got any victory, it yielded them no chium, which the Illyrians had besieged; but prosit, but was soon extorted out of their upon news of the Roman army they difperfe hands. They were indeed more fierce than themselves. From thence the Royans enter well advised: lightly stirred up to war, Illyria, and take Parthenia; beat the Illyria and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, ans by sea, take twenty of their ships, and they were said to be more than men; but enforce the Queen Tenta to for fake the coast, when that was past, less than women. The and to cover her self in Rison far within the Romans were acquainted with their temper, Land. In the end, part of the Romans hafte by long experience, and knew how to hanthem homeward, and leave the best places die them: yet gave alwayes careful heed to of Illyria in the hands of Demetrins; ano their approach, were it only bruited. For ther part staies behind, and profecutes the the danger of them was sudden, and uncerwar, in fuch fort, that Tenta was forced to tain; by reason of their neighbourhood and beg peace; which she obtained upon miser- want of intelligence among them. Few of able conditions; to wit, That she should their attempts upon Rome were called wars, quit the better part of Illyria, and pay tri- but tumultus Gallici, tumults of the Gauls: bute for the rest; and from thenceforth ne- and rightly. For they gave many alarams to ver fend any of her ships of war towards the | Italy, and used to rise with great Armies: but coasts of Greece, beyond the Island of Lissa: after a few dayes march, and sometimes beexcept it were some one or two vessels un- fore their setting forth, any small occasion armed, and by way of Trade.

Embassadours into divers parts of Greece, years, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they fignifying their love to their Country, and were ftirred up again, by younger heads, how, for good will thereunto, they had made unacquainted with the danger. Whill they war with good fuccels upon Tenta, and her refred, the State of Rome, that againft these people. They hoped, belike, that some distres- made only defensive war, had leisure to fed Cities would take this occasion, to defire grow, by fetting upon others. Herein God their patronage: which if it hapned, they provided well for that Monarchy, which he were wife enough to play their own games. intended to raife: that the Gauls never fell But no fuch matter fell out. The Embassa upon Italy with a mighty power, in the time dours were only rewarded with thanks; and of any other great and dangerous war. Had a decree made at Corinth, That the Romans they attempted to conquer it, whilst Pyrthenceforth might be partakers of the Ifib rhus was travelling in the same enterprize; mian pastimes. This was an idle courtesic, or in either of the two former Punick wars: but well meant by the vain Greeks, and it may be doubted what would have become therefore well taken by the Romans: who of this Imperious City. But it feems that by this Illyrian expedition got nothing in the Gauls had no better intelligence in the Greece, save a little acquaintance, that shall affairs of Italy, than strangers had in Gaule.

be more hereafter.

o. VIII.

into Italy.

"He Gaules that dwelt in Lombardy. were the next, against whom the Romans took Arms. These were a populous with the affiftance of those that inhabited After this good beginning, the Conful fail- | France. Once their fortune was good, when ferved to disperse them. Having received an After this Illyrian war, the Romans fent overthrow, they would rest ten or twelve At least, they knew not how to use their times: and were therefore like to smart,

whenfoever the enemies, whom they had leilure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first Punick War. Once before this, the Romans had been bold. to fet upon the Gaules in their own Coun- rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of to set and that was three years before the the Influbrians, which inhabited the Dutchy coming of Pyrrhus into Haly. At that time of Milan, joyned with the Boji, and upon hitse Hetruria, and befieging Arretium, had won Nations about Rhodanus, wageable as the (2) that names, was cause as the surface agreed battel, and Ilain L. Cacilius, with the Switzers in these times. The Gestates having and a great mater, and a first most of his Army. Mannius Curius the new received a great impreft, come to the field and the most of the Embaladours to them, to treat under the conduct of their Kings Concolitabout ranfome of prisoners. But these Em-nus and Aneroessus: who with the Boji, and mission about the supplier of fifty fiews, Therefore when for Infubrians, compound an Army of fifty (1988) Danasacrast of the better, the Romans fol-thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appoint-FINESTAND TOWNS OUT OF their Countrey, and fent a co-ed, that ever invaded the Roman Territory; in the long of their own to inhabit it. This caused to whom the senogalli, that had been beather nearly and the senogalli, that had been beather nearly of the senogalli, t the (a) Boji, another people of Gaule, to fear ten out of their possessions, gave a great inthe like measures who thereupon took arms, the like measures who thereupon took arms, and and down the Heterwiant to their fide. But the Venetians and the (b) Congruence of the contrary fide; (b) constants the Venetians, and the (b) Cenomanni, ad-mani are the Romans overthrew them in two great hered to the Romans: as better believing in the people

Illyrian war.

they were neerer; like as they called Cifal- of Tuscane. pines, or by-hither the Alpes, those who dwelt between them and the Mountains) to draw the confideration of this powerful Army, them to their party: reasonably prefuming, which the Gaules had affembled, they caused that as their disjunction had caused their a view to be taken, as well of all their own los, so their union might recompenceit, with forces, as of those of their Allies: who were

This dreadful Prefident extremely difmuch provoked, and little hurt, should find pleased the Boji; who being neighbours to Ariminum, feared the like displantation. And because the rest of the Gaules had reafon to resolve, that themselve also should be the senones, a Tribe of the Gaules, invading a common purse entertained the Gessates;

battels; and thereby made them fue for their prosperity and rising fortune. For fear game, on much of battles, much lasted untill the end of this of whose incursions therefore, the Gaules the north the Rater peace, which lasted untill the end of this were forced to leave a good part of their fide of the River Po It vexed the Gaules to fee a Roman colo- Army, on the frontier of Milan: with the in tady. ny planted in their Countrey; who had been accultomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their neighbours perforce. Where- Emilius to Rimine, to stop their passage 3 Commanni fore they laboured with the Transalpines (so and in the place of C. Atilius their other and inhathe Romans called those in France, as lying Consul, who then was in Sardinia, they im-bired the the Romans called those in France, as sying Conius, who then was in vocational, they find control from them beyond the Alpes, though to us ploy one of their Prators, for the defence of Main.

Being at this time greatly troubled with large amends. But the bufine is was to fooliih no less willing than themselvs, to oppose the ly carried, that the Cifalpines and Tranfalpines incursions of the barbarous people 5 fearfell together by the ears, putting the Romans ing, as they had cause, that their own deonly to a tumult, without further trouble of firuction could not be prevented otherwise, war. Soon after, they were urged by a greathan by the good fortune of Rome: The ter indignity, to go more substantially to numbers, found in this Muster, deserve to be work. For C. Flaminius, a popular man in recorded: because they set out the power of Rome proposed a Decree, which was ratifithe Romans in those dayes. With the Coned by the people; That, befides one Colony fuls they fent forth to the war four Legions already planted in the territory of the Seno- of their own: every Legion confifting of five nes, as many more should be carried thither, thousand two hundred foot, and three as would ferve to people the whole Coun-turn hundred horses, and of their Allies thirteen try between Ancona and Ariminum: exter- thousand foot, & two hundred horse. There minating utterly thole Gaules. Such an offer were also appointed for supplies (if any mifwere it made in England, concerning either adventure came to these of the Sabines and Virginia, or Guiana it felf, would not overjoy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of fand horfe, which Army was to be lodged Roy took this in fo good part, notwithflanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that Flaminius had ever after their good there were twenty thouland; and of the Venetians and Cenomans, other twenty thoufand ;

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their own Territories, the General Army of nified. There were besides these, to be entring into Inscane, destroy, and put to fire ready against all uncertain chances of war, and sword, all that lay before them. From thirty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred themes they march directly towards. Rome; horse garrisoned in Rome it self of their own hoping to find the Romans rather in delipeople; and of their Allies, thirty thousand beration, than in the field. But their infoot, and two thousand horse. Over and telligence fails them. For the Roman Army, above these great troops; in the Roll of the sent into Tuscane, having taken some Latines, that was fent unto the Senate, there other way than they did, and finding that were numbred fourscore thousand foot, and it had missed of them, came again fall after (e) Jupyer feven thousand; in that of the (g) lapyer and be charged on their backs, they turned head: and Milja-pygo feem Messapyges, fifty thousand foot, and fixteen and in the same evening discovered the Roto be one thousand horse; the Lucans sent a list of man Army, by whom they incamped. It was wno are also called horse; th (b) Marsi, (i) Marrussim, (k) Fer- fight they must. Wherefore they helped Salemines, rentani, and the Veltini, of twenty thousand themselves with a stratagem, that shew-Pencersons, foot and four thousand horse. The Romans ed no great fineness of wir, but such and also two Legions in Sicil, and about Table had also two Legions in Sicil, and about Table had also two Legions in Sicil, and about Table had none because the size of the size entraining of the Romans and Campanes joyntly, recko- the night, they cause their foot to march the Nor- ning men armed, and fit to bear arms, there away, but not far, leaving their horfe in thermost were registred two hundred and fifty thounead-land of cottainia, fand foot; and of horse three and twenty off at the first light of day, with such a speed, (b) A peo-thousand: of which, reckoning the Romans ple of the apart, there were an hundred and fifty kingdome apart, of Naples thousand foot, and about fix thousand horse. (i)Piolomy Cafring up the whole forces of all the Procaus them a people of vinces in Italy, both of the Romans and their should, follow them in disorder. The Gaules

pmia, cal-But the number is somewhat mis-cast by Po-

nine thousand two hundred of the foot.

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How great foever this muster was, it feems to have been like unto that, which Kings, perswades them, rather to return in-Lodowick Sforza made, when Lewis the to their own Countreys; where, after they twelfth invaded Milan: at what time, the | had disposed of the great spoils and riches better to encourage himself and his subjects which they had gotten, they should then he took a Roll of all persons able to bear renew the war, being without carriage, pearms, within the Dutchy, though indeed he | fter or other impediment. This advice they were never able to bring a tenth part of all embrace; for, feeing they that were them into the field. Certain it is , that the Mercenaries, had obtained what they came battels of Trebia, Thrasymene, and Canna, did for, to wit, the spoils of their enemies, they not confume any fuch proportion, as was an- thought it wisdom, to hazard neither it, nor fwerable to this large accompt. Yet were the themselves any further. Romans fain to arm their flaves, even for | This indeed had been a good refolution, want of other Souldiers, after their over- if they had taken it, before the enemy had throw at Canna. Wherefore the marvel is been in fight. But as well in the wars of not great, that the Carthaginians and others these later ages, as in former times, it hath were little terrified with report of such a ever been found extream dangerous to make multitude. For all heads are not fit for Hel- | a retreat in the Head of an Enemies Army.

and: which latter Armies were directed to | general, as good fighting men, as elfwhere invade the Boji, that forcing them to defend | might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter prepathe Gaules should be thereby greatly dimi- rations, the Gaules keep on their way: and five thousand horse; in that of the sam- them, to arrest them in their journey. Herewites, seventy thousand foot, and of horse of when they heard the rumour, fearing to thirty thousand foot, and three thousand now a matter of apparent necessity, that dred foot, and four hundred horse. So as in good stead at the present. In the dead of guard; to whom they give order to come as might rather argue a running away, than a retreat; as if they had not dared to abide battell. The Romans, interpreting this their hafty departure, as the Gaules defired they Confederates, it amounted to feven hundred return, charge them, and kill fix thouland (h) A peo thouland foot, and feventy thouland horse. The take a piece of ground of advantage, and defend themselvs, led to this lybius; not with a purpose to inrich himself till L. Emilius, being at Ariminum, comes any comes, faith by the dead payes; for where he reckons to their fuccour. Upon the coming of the Conful, the Gaules confult, whether they Leander. nine hundred horse too many, he fals short should give the Romans battel, or forbear. In which dispute, Aneroestus, one of their

mets: though the Roman Citizens were, in | For although they that retire, do often turn

head; yet in always going on from the purfu- nefs, and was one of them that had cause to ing enemy, they find within few miles, either thank him for it. fraight, hedge, ditch or place of disadvantage, which they are inforced to pass in dis- vice (as they take it) of one of their Kings order. In such cases, the Souldier knows turn their backs to the enemy, and their it as well as the Captain, that he which for- faces homeward. Emilius follows them as fakes the field, perceives and fears fome ad-near as he can, without ingaging himself, atvantage of the Enemies. Fear, which is tending his advantage. In the mean while, the betrayer of those succours that reason C. Atilius the other Consul, with the Legions offereth, when it hath once possest the of Sardinia, lands at Pisa; so as the Gaules heart of man, it casteth thence both cou- inclosed between two Armies, are forced to rage and understanding. They that make fight. They therefore equally strengthen retreat, are alwayes in fear to be abando- their Rear and Front. To fustain Emilius, ned; they that lead the way, fear to be in- they appoint the Geffates, and the Milanois; gaged: and so the hindmost treads on his in the Front they range the Piemontois, and heels that is foremost, and consequently, all the rest of the Gaules inhabiting upon the disband, run, and periff, if those that favour River of Po. The manner of the fight Polybins the retrait be not held to it by men of great | describeth at large; which was well fought courage. The miserable overthrow that the of all hands. But in the end the Gaules fell; French received in Naples, in the year 1503. and so did Atilius the Consul: who died in upon a retreat made by the Marques of Sal, the place, accompanied with the two Kines doth testifie no less. For although a great of the Gaules, Concolitanus and Antroestus; troop of French horse sustained the pursu- with forty thousand of their Vassals. ing Enemy a long time, and gave the foot leafure to trot away; yet being retarded courage; and ere long, all that they held in by often turnings, the spanish foot overtook Italy. For they were invaded the year foland defeated them utterly. During the lowing this overthrow, by the new Confuls, wars between the Imperials and the French, Fulvius and Manlius. The Romans knew in a brayery would need sfee the enemy, be- ten, twenty, or thirty years time to the forethey left the field. So was stroft over- Gaules, to repair their forces, as the Gaules thrown by the Marquess of Marignan, be- had done to them. These new Confuls beat cause he could not be perswaded to dislodge the Boji; but by reason of the great rains the night before the Marquess his arrivall, that fell, and the great pestilence that reignarmes chose se difficile, qu'une retraitte; I pelled to resign their Ossice; because the find nothing in the art of war so difficult as Augures, or Soothsayers, had found, that

Now the Gaules, embracing the fafe ad-

After this fatal overthrow, the Gaules loft Boil and Mont were lost at Brignolles, who well how to use their victory: they gave not Therefore did the French King Francis the ed, they were compelled for that prefent first wifely: when without respect of point to surcease. In the second year, Furius and of honour, he dislodged from before Lander- Flaminius invade the Milanois; and preby night, as many other the most advi- vail very far, being strongly affisted by the fed Captains, (not finding themselves in Cenomanni and the Venetians. Neverthecase to give battel) have done. Je ne trouve less these Consuls were revoked out of their Point (faith the Marshal Monluc) au fait des Province, by the Senate of Rome, and comto make a fafe retreat. A fure rule it is that fome token or other of the Birds (in which, there is less dishonour to dislodge in the and all forts of their divination, the Rodark, than to be beaten in the light. And mans were extremely superstitious) had hereof M. de la None gives this judgement of a not only foreshewed little good, when they days retreat, made in France, presently before were chosen, but had also nullified the elethe battel at Moncountour. For (faith he) flaving upon our reputation, in flew, not to this revocation from the Senate, and being diflodge by night; we lost our reputation in- otherwise advertised of the contents, was deed, by dislodging by day: whereby we not hasty to open them: but first gave battel were forced to fight upon our difadvan- unto the enemies, vanquished them, and tage, and to our ruine. And yet did that spoiled their Countrey; then perused the Worthy Gentleman Count Lodowick of Naf- letters; and returning home obtained a Jan, brother to the late famous *Prince of* triumph, fore against the will of the Senate, Orange, make the retreat at Moncountour with and not altogether with good liking of the fo great refolution, as he layed the one half people, who yet bare him out, for that he of the protestant Army, then broken and die fided in faction with the Commonalty, hand, I would be supported by the commonalty of the protestant Army, then broken and die fided in faction with the Commonalty, hand, I would be supported by the commonalty of the common and the commo banded; of which my felf was an eye-wit- though a man of great Nobility.

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pounded the Decree, for dividing the voking any one to fight with him. Marcellus Country of the Senones among the people was no lefs daring, than the barbarous of Rome. He was the first, or one of the King: whether more wise in this action, I hirft, that understanding the Majesty of will not dispute the was more fortunate, and nrit, that undertraining in the people, and that fufficed to commend him. He flue and no otherwise in the Senate, than by a way disarmed Britomarus, in the presence of both no otherwise in the senate, mission is did not Armies: whereby his own men took such frand highly upon his birth and degree, but courage, and his enemies were fo difmated, courted the multitude, and taught them to that without much trouble of fight the know and use their power, over himself and Romans obtained a great Victory. his fellow Senators, in reforming their diforders. For this, the Commons highly effective ever any Roman General flue the General of med him, and the Senators as deeply hated the enemies, with his own hand. To this him. But he had the futer fide, and found kind of victory, belonged a peculiar triinitators, that role by the fame art, which umph; whereof only Romulus, Coffus, and in process of time, grew the only or chief this Marcellus, had the honour: yet I dare way to preferment.

posed, Al. Claudius Al. seellus, and Cn. Cornelius ter men of war than any of these three; Scipio, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of though they never offered up to Jupiter, that year. The Gaules about this time desi- Opima spolia, The Armour of a General stain red peace; and were like to have obtained by themselves, when they were General, nor it: though the new Confuls were against it, | perhaps affected so to do. as fearing to want work. But when thirty thousand of the Gestates following their the Romans; and Milan soon after: with all King Britomarus, were come over the Alpes, that belonged to the Cifalpines, or Gaules, and joyned with the Infubrians: all other that dwelt in Lumbardie. Thus was that vadiscourse, than of present war, was at an end. liant and mighty Nation, that had so many So the Confuls hasted into their Province, years vexed the State of Rome, and in forwhere they befieged Acerre, a Town not mer times taken the City it felf, brought to far from Novarro (fo far had the Romans nothing in a short time; their pleasant and pierced already in the Dutchy of Milan. fertile Territory posses by the Romans, and To divert them from this fiege Eritomarus the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting fat down before Clastidium, a Town in the Italy, so many as would not subject their fame Traft, with a great part of his forces: necks to the Romanyoke, either forced to leaving the rest, with the Insubrians, to at- abandon their Countreys, or to hide themtendupon the Confuls at Acerra, and to look felves in the cold and barren Mountains, like to the defence of Milan. But this would not Outlawes and Thieves. And thus did the fuffice, to make the Romans break up their Romans spend the three and twenty years fiege. Marcellus, taking with him the great following the peace made with Carthage. In est part of the horse, and fix hundred foot part of which time, they were at such leilightly armed, thought to deal well enough fure, that they closed up the Temple of Jawith those at Classidium. Britomarus heard nur which they never did before, (it standof the Confuls coming, and met him upon ing always open, when they had any war) the way: fo fuddenly, that the Romans had fave once in the reign of Numa; nor in long no leisure to rest themselves after their jour- time after, until the reign of Augustus. But ney, but were compelled instantly to fight: this their present happiness was not tolast Herein Britomarus had done well, if he had long: a dangerous war, and perhaps the not forthwith, in a rath bravery, loft his greatest that had ever been, was to come ungame at a cast. He had advantage enough in to their gates; which being well ended, they number, both of horse and foot: but he might boldly undertake to extend their Mothought fo well of his own personal valour, narchy as far as their ambition could reach.

This was that Flaminius, who had protthat he rode out fingle before his Army, pro-

This was the third and last time, that fay, that the two Scipio's, and divers of the Flaminius and his Colleague, being dif- Roman Captains, especially Casar, were bet-

After this victory, Acerrae was yielded to

CHAP. III.

Of the second Punick Warr.

6. I.

The Wars of Hannibal in Spain. Quarrels between the Romans and Carthaginians. Hannibal befregeth and taketh Saguntum, whilft the Romans are buffed with the Illyrians. War proclaimed between Rome and Carthage.

by the Army, as foon as Afdrubal was dead: famine or pettilence, or after fome great and the election was ratified by the State of loss of Army or Fleet, they should be driven Carthage; wherewith Hanno and his Com- to yield unto the impudent demands of plices were nothing pleafed. This was now their enemies; and to give away bafely the third of the Barchine family (so called of their lands and treasures, as they had lately Amilear, whose surname was Barces) that done; or miserably fight, upon terms of had command in chief, over the men of war. Which honour would perhaps have been less envied by these domestical enemies, if the Allies and Friends of the Barchine house, norant (for his father, and other friends, had had not also born the whole sway in Government, and been the only men regarded, making war with the Romans, it was no both by the Senate and the people. This general good will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of Amilear in saving his Country from imminent ruine, inlarging the Dominion thereof, and inriching even of those people, that helped to increase it with treasures and great revenues; so was the Roman Armies in foreinwars. But this it retained, by the same good Arts, among could never be effected, if the matter were his friends and followers. Hanno therefore, openly disputed at Carthage. For it was to be and his Partifans, being neither able to tax doubted, that the Carthaginians, how glad the vertue of their enemies, that was unre- foever they would be, to hear that he had provable; nor to perform the like services set the war on foot, would nevertheless be unto the Common weal; had nothing left | flow and timorous, as commonly men are in whereby to value themselves, excepting the the beginning of great enterprises, if the general reprehension of War, and cautelous matter were referred to their deliberation. advice of not provoking the Romans. This Which if it should happen, then were the they seasoned other-whiles with detractions Romans like to be made acquainted, not onfaying that the Barchine faction went about ly with the generalities of his purpose, but to oppress the liberty of the City. But their with such particulars as must be discoursed peacewas like to hold no longer, than until and the diffosition of his own Citizens.

Annibal, the Son of Amil- the Romans could find some good advancar, was about fix and twenty tage, to renew the war: it was rather defiyears old, when he was chosen red by the Carthaginians, that whilft their General of the Carthaginian own estate was in good case, the war should forces in Spain. He was elected | begin; than that in some unhappy time of

disadvantage.

This disposition of his Country-men, Hannibal well understood. Neither was he iglong time devised of this business) that in fmall advantage to get the ftart of them. If once he could bring an Army into Italy, without molestation; there was good hope that he should find friends and assistance, malicious words were unregarded; and if it of, in procuring allowance to his defign. Were factious, to bear ill-will to Rome, then This might suffice to disorder the whole were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no Project. Wherefore, he refolved to lay fiege less Barchine, than Hannibal himself. For it unto Saguntum, which might seem not greatwas long fine apparent, that the oath of the ly to concern the Romans, and would highly Romans, to the articles of peace, afforded please the Carthaginians, that had fresh in nofecurity to Carthage, were the never fo mind the indignity of that spanish Towns Quiet, and officious; unless she would yield alliance with her half friends. So should to become their subject. Since therefore the he assay both the patience of his enemies, Having

went fair and orderly to work : and begin- in the Army, the most adventrous, but that ning with those that lay next in his way, ap- which may be feem a Captain, or inferiour proaching unto Saguntum by degrees. This Commander, doth not alwayes become a he did (faith Livie) to give some colour to Chief; though it hath sometime succeeded his proceedings: as if he had not principally well with fuch great ones, as have been intended the war against Saguntem, but had found more fortunate than wise. At this been drawn thither by course of business. time, our great Man of war knew as well Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without how to dissemble his courage, as at other regard of fuch formalities, it was needful to times to make it good. For he with-drew finish the conquest of the rest, before he did himself from the River-side, as if fearful to any thing that thould provoke the Romans. foord it; thereby to draw over that great First therefore he entred upon the Territo
* A people ty of the * Oleases; and having besieged Al(sain ste theat (Liene calleth it Cartera) their chief

fort, as Hamibal desired that they should; Ciry, he became, in a few daies, Mafter not thrust themselves in fury and disorder, into only thereef, but of all the other Towns of the swift stream, with a purpose to charge their Country. This Nation which he first the Carthaginians, abandoning (as they description andertook, being subdued, and the winter thought for fear) the defences on the conat hand, he refled his Army in new Carthage, trary fide. But when Hannibal faw them in they are or Carthagena; and imparted liberally to their way, and well-near over; he turned deadant, the Sculdiers, the spoils he had gotten in back his Elephants to entertain them at 123, 5 m his land Company. his late Conquest.

from New war against the (a) Vaccei; and without any ver. These carrying a kind of Lance de Gay, Continue and the continue and after it, (b) Arbusala, midt of the ftaff; had fuch an advantage the Oth. the Old Asia- by affault: though not without a long over the foot, that were in the River, under a for de fiege, and great difficulty. But in his return, their strokes, clattered together, and unable berda, an he was put to the height, both of his couor stage, and of his Martial judgment. For all ground, that they slew all those (in a man-ter factor fuch of the Vaccei, as were able to bear ner) without resistance, which were already arms, being made desperate by the spoil of entred into the water; and pursued the rest, their Country, with those of Salamanca, and that fled like men amazed, with so great a of the Olcades, that had escaped in the late slaughter, as from that day forward, there overthrow, joyning themselves with the To- was not any Spaniard, on that side the River letans; compounded an Army of a hundred of Iberus, (the Saguntines excepted) that thousand able men: and stayed Hannibal had the daring to lift up their hands against on the banks of the River Tagus, which run- the Carthaginians. neth to the Sea by Lisborn in Portugal. These four Nations, having had experience of wards them, cryed before they were hurt. Hannibals invincible courage, and that he They fent Embassadours to Rome, and benever faw enemy, upon whom he durst not moaned themselves, as likely to suffer that, give charge; were throughly refolved, that which afterwards they fuffered indeed; ouhis natural valour would at this time no less ly because of their alliance and friendship neglect the cold advice of discretion, than with this honourable City, which the Carat other times it had seemed to do, when thaginians hated. This tale moved the Sethe like great occasion perswaded him to nate, but much more a report, that sagunuse it. But he that makes himself a body tum was already besieged. Hereupon some of Crystall, that all men may look thorow cry out, that War should be proclaimed by him, and discern all the parts of his dispo-lition, makes himself (withall) an As: and should be sent with Armies, the one into thereby teacheth others, either how to Spain, the other into Africk But others went ride, or drive him. Wife men, though they more Roman-like to work, and carried it So have fingle hearts in all that is just and ver- it was only concluded; that Embassadours

Having thus concluded, he nevertheless der Afdrubal, was, of all the men of mark their landing: and thrust his Horse-men, In the Spring following, he purfued the both above and beneath them, into the Rito move or shift their bodies, as on firm

The Saguntines perceiving the danger totuous; yet they are like Coffers with double should be sent into spain, to view the state bottoms: which when others look into, be- of their confederates: which were indeed ing opened, they see not all that they hold, none other than the Saguntines. For if Hanon the fudden, and at once. It is true, that nibal intended war against Rome 37 it was this subtle Carthaginian, when he served un-likely that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plaufible occasion to take | In the mean while, Demetrius Pharius Arms against him; if he had no such purpose, whom the Romans had made King over a vet would it be in their power to determine great part of Illyria, rebelled against them: what they lifted themselves, upon the report either for that he found himself overof these Embassadours, and this their gra- straightly tyed up by them, with hard condivity, in being not too rash at first, would tions; or rather because he was of an unferve to countenance their following De- thankful disposition. The commotion of the cree. Of these Embassiadours Livie reports, Gauls, and afterward the same of the Carthathat they found Hannibal before Saguntum, ginian war, emboldened him to despise his but could not get audience of him, and there- Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to fore went to Carthage, where also they were have defended and aided, in all perils even not regarded, nor heard. But Polybins an with the hazard of his whole estate, which Historian of fincerity less questionable, tells, he had received of their gift. But he was a that they found him at Carthagena, and had Traitor to his own Queen; and therefore conference with him, though such as left | dealt, according to his kind, with those that them doubtful. This is more agreeable to had rewarded him for being fuch. First, he the rest of Hannibal his whole course. And built ships, and spoiled the Isles of Greece; furely we might wonder, why the Carthagi- against the covenants to which he was nians should afterwards admit a more pe- bound. Then he adventured further, and seiremptory Embassage (as Livie confesseth) sed upon some places, that the Romans kept of Peace; if they had rejected that which or rather if he had stayed somewhat longer,

vention of war.

CHAP. III.

Finding therefore fuch an occasion, whatfoever it was, as made him able to fay, that the Saguntines had first provoked him, ere he medled with them; he made no more ado, but fate down with his whole power beforetheir Town. He was now more secure, than he had formerly been of his own Citi-Roman Embasiadors, with any trembling rewas not proclaimed; but that he might not whose liberality he first had it. be checked in his course, as an open enemy, to be sent into spain, where they thought to many dayes unable to move. Nevertheless, make Saguntum, the feat of the War.

and fall to disputation about the covenants in their own hands. If he had begun sooner, was sent, upon none other pretence than pre- he might have sped better. For the business with the Gauls was ended; with Hannibal, Whillf the Embassadours passed to and not throughly begun, when he declared himfro, Hannibal prepared not only his forces, | felf by his doings, an enemy, and was vanbut some Roman pretences, against sagun- | quished. The Roman Conful, Amilius, was tum. He found out Mamertines, or people | sent against him: who in seven daies wan that should do as the Mamertines in Sicil the strong Town of Dimalum; and thereby had done for the Romans; and implore his brought fuch terrour upon the Country help against the Saguntines. These were round about, that Embassadours were sent the Turdetani, a Nation adjoyning to Sagun- from all places, to yield themselves, withtum, and having many quarrels with them: out putting him to further pains. Only the (as happens commonly among neighbours) City of Pharus, in which Demetrius lay, of which, Hannibal himself hatched some prepared to resist : which he might have done long, if the hor-headed Rebel had not part of his Army in the Isle of Pharus, by night; and bestowed them in covert, prefenting himfelf the next morning with twenty ships before the Town, and offering to force the Haven. Demetrius with all his zens: for that they had not entertained the power issued out against the Consul, and was foon intercluded from the Town, by those verence, as of late years they had been wont. that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away Nevertheless, he was glad of any handsome through by-paths to a Creek, where he had colour, to shadow his actions : not only be- shipping ready for him, and imbarqued himcausethe War, which he so much desired, self: leaving all his estate unto them, of

This business, though it were soon disbefore he could fet foot in Italy. The Romans patched, yet prevented it not the fiege of Sas had the like, though contrary defire. They guntum; before which Hannibal fate down, were glad of the quarrel; as hoping that ere Emilius was landed in Illyria. In the Carthage, with all thereto belonging, should beginning of the siege, the Carthaginians thereby in short space become their own. Yet were much discouraged, by reason of the were they not hasty to threaten, before they | brave fallies made by the saguntines; in one were ready to strike; but meant to tempo- of which, their general received a dangerous rize, until they had an Army in readiness to wound in the thigh, that caused him to lye he was not unmindful of his work in the

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mean while; but gave order to raise certain friends at Carthage, and to animate them unmovable Towers, that might equal those to the War. which were built on the walls of the City; and to prepare to batter the curtains, and mans, who had good cause to be angry at make a breach. These being finished and aptheir own flowness, in forbearing to fend plied, had focn wrought their effect. A help unto the Saguntines, that held out eight great and large breach was made, by the fall months, looking still for succour, but in vain. great and large of each was made, by the fall wherefore they determined to repair of divers Towers, and a great length of walls. Wherefore they determined to repair whereat an hot affault was given; but it was their honour, by taking tharp revenge. To fo well fuftained by the saguntines, as the Carthaginians were not only beaten from Carthage: demanding only, Whether it were the breach, and out of some ground with- by general consent and allowance of the Carin the Town, which upon the first fury they thaginians, that Hannibal had made war uphad won; but they were purfued even to on Saguntum: which if they granted (as their own trenches and camp. Nevertheless it feemed they would) then to give them the Carthaginian Army, wherein were about defiance. Hereunto answer was made, in an hundred and fifty thousand men, did so the Senate of Carthage, to this effect; That weary the Towns-men with continual tra- this their fecond Embassage, howsever vel, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindred from taking full poffession of the City, by some counter-works only required justice against Hamibal; but of the Saguntines, that were also ready to be in this, the very State and Common-wealth won. In this extremity, there was one Aleon of Carthage, was urged to plead guilty, or a Saguntine, that conveyed himself out of not guilty. But (faid the Carthaginian the Town, to treat with Hannibal for some ac- speaker) whether the general of our Army cord. But the conditions which the Carthaginian offered were so severe, and without sollowed his own counsel; or whether he all compass of honour, as Alcon durst not did it, by direction from us: it is not the return to propound them to his Country- question which the Romans ought to alk us. men. For Hannibal demanded all that they That which is indeed worthy examination had, gold, filver, plate, and other riches or dispute, is; Whether it were lawful or mwithin the City: yea, the City it self to be lawful for Hannibal to do as he hath done. abandoned by the Citizens; promifing, that For it belongs to us, to call our own Comthat he would assign some other place for manders in question, and to punish them actheir habitation: not allowing them to car- cording to their faults and errours; to you, to ry out with them any other thing, where- challenge us, if we have done any thing with to fustain themselves, than the cloaths contrary to our late League and contract. on their backs; or other arms, to defend It is true, that in our negotiation with Lathem, than their nails and teeth. Yet might datius the Conful, the Allies of both Nathey far better have submitted themselves tions were comprehended: but the same unto this milerable appointment, (feeing times were not then of your Allies, and therethereby they might have injoyed their lives, fore no parties to the peace then mades for of and faved the honour of their wives and your Allies in the future, or of ours, there daughters) than to have refted at the difere- was no dispute. As touching the last agreetion of the Conquerour, as foon after they ment between you and Afdrubal, wherein did: by whom their wives and daughters you will say, that the Saguntines were comwere deflowred before their own faces; and prehended by name; it is you that have all put to fword, that were above fourteen taught us how to answer that particular. For years of age. For it was a poor comfort, whatfoever you found in the Treaty between which a great number of them took; when us and Instalius, to your own disadvantage, not daring to fight, and fell their blood at you cast it upon your Consuls presumption the dearest rate, they shut themselves up as promising those things, for which he had like most wretched creatures in their own no warrant from the Senate and people of houses, and therein burnt themselves with Rome. If then it be lawful for the Romans, all that they had: fo dying unrevenged. The to disavow the actions of their Confuls and treasures found in Saguntum, which were Commanders, concluding any thing without very great, Hannibal kept wherewith to pay punctual and precise warrant; the same libit Arms of the same libit Arm his Army: the flaves, and other booty, he berty may we also assume, and hold our divided among his Souldiers, referving some selves no way bound in honour to perform things of choice, wherewith to prefent his those bargains which Afdrubal hath made

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These tydings exceedingly vexed the Roqualified with mild words, was indeed more infolent than the former. For in that, they in Spain, in besieging Saguntum, have only

CHAP. III.

This was an impertinent answer, and cepted. little better than a meer cavil. For Luctatius regard of our oath, which we have already goods in his Ports.

broken.

But this the Carthaginians did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as Polyry was omitted, not so much upon forgetfulmade with extraordinary force, in other marvel, if the impression were strong in him. manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the Carthaginian Senate moved the Roman Emterms the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the Saguntines, and the confining of their Armies within Iberus; those were but their pretences. Whereupon Q. Fabius gathering up people of England. the skirt of his gown, as if somewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made th's fhort reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-kirt both Peace and War: make you Hannibal takes order for the defence of Spain, (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to imbrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Even which of them you your felf

for us, without our commandment and Fabius) take the War, and share it among you: Which the affembly willingly ac-

This was plain dealing. To wrangle about the Conful, in his Treaty of Peace with the pretences, when each part had refolved to. Conthaginians, had expresly referred the al- make War, it was meerly frivolous. For all lowunce thereof to the people of Rome. It these disputes of breach of Peace, have had been therefore much better to have ever been maintained by the party unwildealt plainly, and to have alledged, That ling, or unable to sustain the War. The rusty after this League was made and confirmed sword, and the empty purse, do alwaies plead onboth parts, it was broken by the Romans, performance of covenants. There have in robbing the Carthaginians of the Isle of been few Kings or States in the World, that Sardinia, and withall of twelve hundred have otherwise understood the obligation of talents: which perjury the State of Carthage, a Treaty, than with the condition of their being now grown able, would revenge with own advantage: and commonly (feeing open War. As for the Saguntines, it little Peace between ambitious Princes and States, skilled that the Romans had admitted them is but a kind of breathing) the best advised into confederacy, and forthwith inferted have rather begun with the fword, than their names into the Treaty of Peace with | with the trumpet. So dealt the Arragonois Afdrubal: feeing that the Treaty with Af- with the French in Naples; Henry the second drubal, and all other business between Rome of France, with the Imperials, when he and Carthage, following the violence and wrote to Brifac, to furprise as many places breach of Peace, in taking away Sardinia, as he could, ere the War brake out; Don were no better than Roman injuries, as im- John, with the Netherlands; and Philip the plying this commination, Do what sever we second of spain, with the English, when in require; else will we make War, without the great Imbarge he took all our ships and

But Hannibal, befides the prefent strength of Carthage, and the common feeling of injuries received from these enemies, had anobim takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet fince ther private and hereditary defire, that vio-Livie himself doth remember and acknow- lently carried him against the Romans. His ledge, that the taking of Sardinia from the | Father Amilear, at what time he did sacri-Carthaginians, did inflame the spirit of Amil- fice, being ready to take his journey into car with desire of revenge: we may rea- | Spain, had solemnly bound him by oath, to fonably think, that the mention of this inju- | purfue them with immortal hatred, and to work them all possible mischief, as soon as nels, as for that it was not thought convel he should be a man, and able. Hannibal nient, by ripping up such ancient matter of was then about nine years old, when his quarrel, to thew that the war, now towards, Father caused him to lay his hand upon the had long been thought upon, and like to be Altar, and make this vow: fo that it was no

That it is inhumane to bequeath hatred in this fort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be bassadours, to deliver unto them in plain denied. Yet for mine own part, I do not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge of their Predecesiors, that as foon as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the

ø. II.

and Africk. His Journey into Italy.

Arr being thus proclaimed, Hannibal refolved not to put up his fword have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth which he had drawn against the Saguntines, Ppppp 2

until he had therewith opened his passage asking leave: which that others might nor unto the gates of Rome. So began the fe- also do, or attempt, he courteoully dismissed cond Punick War; fecond to none that many more that feemed willing to be gone. ever the Senate and people of Rome furtain- Hereby it came to pass, that the Journey ed Hannibal wintred at Carthagena; where feemed the less tedious unto those that ache licensed his Spanish Souldiers to visit companied him, as being not enforced by the friends, and refresh themselves against compulsion. With the rest of his Army, conthe Spring. In the mean while he gave fifting now but of fifty thousand foot, and infunctions to his Brother Afdrubal for the nine thousand horse, he past the Pyrenes, and Government of *Spain* in his ablence. He affe took order, to lend a great many troops of Spaniards into Africk, to equal the bid his entrance into their Country: but number of Africans formerly drawn thence won them with gentle speech, and rich preinto Spain; to the end, that fo the one sents that he bestowed upon their Leaders. Nation night remain as pledges and gages to favour his Expedition. So without any for the other. Of the spaniards, he trans- molestation, he came to the bank of Rhodaported into Africk thirteen thousand, nus; where dwelt, on each side of the River, eight hundred and fifty foot, and twelve a people called Volce. These were unacquainhundred horse; also eight hundred slingers ted with the cause of his coming; and there · Majores, of the * Baleares. Besides these, he selected fore sought to keep him from passing over four thousand foot, all young men, and of the water. But he was greatly affisted by quality, out of the best Cities of spain; some of those Gauls, that inhabited on the which he appointed to be garrifoned in West side of Rhodanus, to wit, by those of Carthage it felf, not lo much in regard of Vivaretz and Lyonnois. For although many their forces, as that they might ferve for of them had transported themselves and hoftages: for among those four thousand. the best of the spanish Citizens, and those thinking to defend the further bank against that fivayed most in their several States, had him : yet such as remained, being very desitheir Sons or Kinsmen. He also left with rous to free their Country of so many ill his Brother, to guard the Coasts and Ports, | guests, were better pleased to have their fifty and feven Gallies; whereof thirty feven were presently armed, and appointed doned them, than to have their own store of for the war. Of Africans and other Nations, corn and cattel wasted, by the long stay of so ftrangers, he left with him above twelve great an Army, as lay upon them. For which thousand foot, and two thousand horse, befides one and twenty Elephants.

Having in this fort taken order for the defence of spain and Africk; he sent disce- When the Vessels for transportation of his verers before him, to view the Passages of Army were in readiness; he sent Hanno, the the Pyrenean Mountains, and of the Alps. | Son of Bomilear, up the River: himfelfinthe He also sent Embassadours to the Mountai- mean while making countenance to enter ners of the Pyrenes, and to the Gauls, to ob- | the Foord below. The end of this labour, tain a quiet passage: that he might bring his was, that Hanno charging the Gauls una-Army entire into Italy, and not be compelled wares upon their own fide, and Hannibal, at to diminish his force, by any War in the the same time, passing the River in their faway, till he came to encounter the Romans. | ccs, the further bank was won, though with His Embassadours and Discoverers being re- some difficulty; and the enemies dispersed. turned with good fatisfaction, in the begin- Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying ning of the Spring, he past over the River of over his Elephants; who marvellously fear-Iberus, with an Army confifting of fourfcore cd the water. He was therefore driven to and ten thouland foot, and twelve thouland make raffs of trees, and cover them with horse. All those parts of Spain, into which | Earth and Turf 3 whereof he fatned one to he had not entred before, he now subdued: each bank, that might serve as a bridge, to and appointed Hanno (not that old enemy and from another of the same fort, but look of his house, who sate still at Carthage) to upon which the beafts were towed over. govern spain on the East fide of Iberus; to whom he left an Army of ten thousand both the rage of the River, and of those that foot, and one thousand horse. Being arridefended it, he was visited by the Princes ved at the borders of Spain, some of his of the Gauls Cifalpines, that inhabited Pie-

their goods, into the Country of Dauphine, Country-men well beaten, which had abanreason, they helped him to make boats; informed him of another more easie passage, higher up the River; and lent him guides.

Having past this first brunt, and overcome spanish Souldiers returned home, without mont and Atilan, who lately had revolted CHAP. III. pallages of the Alps; that they were not to nians; whom they might elfe have held panages as common report made them; and their affured friends, and good neighbours, from these he received guides, with many as we, and other the people of spain have other encouragements. All which notwith-found them Ye may therefore be gone, with other casconding, he found himself extremely in-flanding, he found himself extremely incombred by the Savoyans; and loft, both of (and fo I think, I may answer for the rest of his carriages, and of his Carthaginians, more our Country-men) the Romans henceforth than willingly he would, or had formerly are not to expect any kindness at our hands; and relistance.

ø. III.

rebellion of the Cisalpine-Gauls against the mies, who have no way as yet offended us,

from the Romans, These informed him of the rooted out, and destroyed by the Carihagithought that he should. For he was twice who are resolved, never to make account of mainly affailed by them, before he could retheir protection, nor amity. From the Volcover the plain Countreys on the other fide. cians, the Embaffadours took their way to-And whereas his Journey over the Moun- wards the Gauls; using their best arguments tains cost him fifteen dayes travel, he was to perswade them not to suffer the Carthaevery day, more or less, not only charged ginians to pass into Italy, thorow their Terby those Mountainers, but withall extremely beaten with grievous weather and snow: selections their frength, and large Dominion itbeing the beginning of Winter, when he But the Gauls laught them to corn, and had began, and overcame this passage. But the hardly the patience to hear them speaks fair and fertile Plains, which were now rea For shall we (said one of their Princes) dy to receive them; with the affiftance and by refifting Hannibals paffage into Italy, enconduct of the Cifalpine Gauls, who by their tertain a war which is not meant to be made proper forces had so often invaded the Roman Territory; gave them great comfort our selves, and in our own Territory, by and encouragement to go on: having no- force which marcheth with a speedy pace thing else of difficulty remaining, but that from us, toward our ancient enemies? Have which from the beginning they made ac- the Romans deserved so well of us, and the comptto overcome, by their proper valour | Carthaginians foill, that we should let fire on and resolution; namely, the Roman Armies, our own houses, to save theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the Romans have already forced fome Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and inheritance: and constrained others, as free as How the Romans in vain folicited the Spa- themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not niards and Gauls to take their part. The therefore make the Carthaginians, our enenor we them.

With this unpleafing answer the Embassa-HE Countries of spain and Ganl, dours returned home, carrying no good I through which the Carthaginians news, of friends likely to help them; but marched thus far, had been folicited before, rather some assurance from the people of by the same Roman Embassadours, who Massilia, which were confederates with had denounced the war at Carthage. These, Rome, that the Gauls were determined to as they were inftructed by the Senate, took take part with their enemy. Of this inclinaspain in their way home-ward from Cartion, the Cifalpine Gauls gave hafty proof. thage, with a purpose to draw into the Ro- For when the news was brought into Haly, man Alliance, as many of the Cities and that the Carthaginians had passed Iberus, Princes as they could; at least to dissinate and were on the way towards Rome; this them from contracting any friendship with alone sufficed to stir up the Boji, and Insubrithe carthaginians. The first which they attempted were the Volcians, a people in spain; lately offended at the plantation of new from whom, in open affembly, they received Roman Colonies, at Cremona, and Placentia, by one that spake for the rest, this uncomfortable answer: With what face (faith he) upon the Carthaginian succour, which they can ye Romans perswade us to value your supposed to be now at hand; they laid Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendlipp afide all regard of those hostages, which of the Carthaginians; seeing we are taught they had given to the Romans, and fell upon by the example of the saguntines, to be more the new Colonies. The Towns it feems they when the organization of the organization of the state of the organization of the orga and promifed affiftance, have been utterly failed to get them. But they forced the Roman

Commissioners, (who belike were abroad five hundred Numidians; Scipio, three in the Country) to flye to Modena: where hundred of his better appointed Roman they belieged them. The fiege of Modena horse. These met and fought, and the Nuhad continued some small time; when the midians were beaten: yet could not the Gaules, having little skill in assaulting Cities, Romans greatly brag, having slain only two waxed weary, and seemed desirous to have hundred, and lost of their own, one hundred peace, and to come to some good accord with and forty. But when Scipio drew near, to the Romans. This they did of purpose, to have met with the Carthaginians; he found draw on some meeting; that they might that they were gone three daies before; and therein lay hand upon the Roman Deputies, that (as he then found affuredly true) with thereby to redcem their Hostages in way of an intent to look upon the walls of Rome. exchange. And it fell out, in part, according This interrupted his intended Voyage into to their wills. For the Romans fent out Embasiladours to treat with them, and to con- his Brother Cn. Cornelius Scipio, with the clude a Peace; whom they detained. Man-greatest part of his Fleet and Army, to try lius the Prætor, who lay in these quarters what might be done against Asarubal, and with anArmy, hearing this outrage; marched the other Carthaginian Lieutenants in the in all haste to the relief of the besieged. But Country. He himself, taking with him a the Gaules, having laid a strong ambush in a few choise bands, returned by Sea to Pisa; wood joyning to the way, fell upon the Prætor fo opportunely, as he was utterly overthrown, and all his followers left dead in the place, a few accepted, that recovered, by fast running to a little village, but defenfible ; upon the River of Po. When this was heard at Rome, C. Atilius, another of the Prætors, was haftily fent to relieve the befieged with a Legion, and five thousand of the Roman affociates: which forces were taken out of the Confuls Army, and supplied

by a new levy. As the Gaules were too rash and hasty; fo were the Romans too flow, and indeed too ill-advised in the beginning of this war. They were not perswaded that Carthage. which had almost servilely endured so many indignities in time of the late peace; great muster he could make, when he had would be so brave and couragious on the fudden, as to attempt the conquest of Italy it | reckon his foot at an hundred thousand, and felf. Wherefore they appointed one of their his horse at twenty thousand; others re-Confuls to make war in spain, the other port them to have been only twenty thouin Africk: resting secure of all danger at land soot, and six hundred horse. Hamibal home. Titus sempronius took his way toward | himself in his monument which he raised, in Africk, with an hundred and fixty Quin- the Temple of Juno Lacinia, agreeth with queremes, or Gallies of five to an Oar, which the latter fumm. Yet the Gaules, Ligupreparation may feem to threaten even the | rians, and others that joyned with him, City of Carthage, to which it shall not come are likely to have mightily increased his near. P. Cornelius Scipio, the other Conful, Army, in short space. But when he marchmade all possible haste, by the way of Ge- | ed Eastward from the banks of Rhodanus, noa, into Provence; and used such diligence, he had with him eight and thirty thouhaving the wind also favourable, as in five | fand foot, and eight thousand horse; of dayes he recovered Maffilia. There he was which, all fave those remembred by himadvertised of Hannibal his having passed the self in the Inscription of his Altar in Juno's River of Rhodanus, whom he thought to Temple, are like to have perished by difhave found busie yet a while in Spain. Han- eases, enemies, Rivers and Mountains; nibal had also news of the Consuls arrival: which mischiefs had devoured, each their whereof he was neither glad, nor forry, as feveral shares. not meaning to have to do with him. Each of them fent forth Scouts to discover the refreshed his wearied Army in the Country others number and doings: Hannibal, about of Piemont; he fought to win the friendship

and so passing thorow Tuscane into Lumbardie, drew together the broken troops of Manlius and Atilius that lately had been beaten by the Gaules: with which forces he made head against the enemy, thinking to find him over-laboured, with travel of his painful Journey.

ø. IV.

Scipio the Roman Conful overcome by Hannibal at Ticinum. Both of the Roman Consuls beaten by Hannibal, in a great battel at Trebia.

Tive Months Hannibal had fpent in his redious Journey from Carthagena; what passed the Alpes, it is not easily found. Some

Having newly passed the Alpes, and scarce

The of the (a) Taurini, who lay next in his way, prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by But the Taurim held war at that time with the best arguments they had: unto which the Influtrians, which were his good friends; Hannibal added the Rhetorick of a prefent and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his example, that he shewed upon certain prianity. Wherefore he affaulted their Town; foners of the Savoians, which he brought and wan it by force in three daies. Their along with him, fitted for the purpole, into fpoil served well to hearten his Army; and Italy. For these, having been no less misertheir calamity, to terrifie the Neighbour ably fettered and chained, than sparingly then places. So the Gauls, without more ado, fed; and withall so often scourged on their fell unto his fide: many for fear, many also naked bodies, as nothing was more in their for good-will, according to their former in- defire, than to be delivered from their miclination. This disposition ran thorow the feries by any kind of present death, were whole Country: which joyned, or was all brought into the middle of the Army: in readiness to joyn with the Carthaginians, where it was openly demanded, which of when the news of Scipio the Conful his arthem would fight hand to hand with some rival, made some to be more advised than other of his Companions , till the one of therest. The name of the Romans was ter them were slain, with condition, being the rible in those quarters; what was in the Victor, to receive his liberty, and some small Carthaginians, experience had not yet laid reward. This was no fooner propounded, open Since therefore the Roman Conful than all of them together accepted the offer. was already gotten thorow the most defen. Then did Hannibal cause lots to be cast, fible passages, ere any speech had been heard which of them should enter the List, with of his approach: many fate still for very fuch weapons, as the Chieftains of the Gauls fear, who elfe would fain have concluded were wont to use in single combats. Every less they had wished well to speed.

whereinto they were entred, made the two chosen, fought resolvedly : as rather de-

a League with these new-come friends; and one of these unhappy men wished, that his some, for greater fear, offered their service own lot might speed; whereby it should at against the Carthaginians, whom neverthe- least be his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victory. This wavering affection of the Province, | That couple, whole good hap it was to be Generals haften to the tryal of a battail firing, than fearing death; and having none Their meeting was at Ticinum, now called other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were Pavia; where each of them wondred at the fome few couples metched, it skilled not others expedition: Hannibal thinking it how equally: for all these poor creatures ftrange that the Conful, whom he had left were willing, upon whatfoever uneven behind him on the other fide of the Alper, terms, to rid themselves out of flavery. The could meet him in the face, before he had fame affection that was in these Combatants, well warmed himself in the Plains; scipio and in their fellows which beheld them, admiring the strange adventure of passing wrought also upon the Caribaginians, for those Mountains, and the great spirit of his whom the spectacle was ordained. For they Enemy. Neither were the Senate at Rome deemed happy, not only him, that by winlittleamazed at Hannibals success, and sud- ning the victory had gotten his liberty, toden arrival. Wherefore they dispatched a gether with an horse and armour: but even McGenger in all haste unto Sempronius, the him also, who being slain in fight, had escaother Conful, that was then in Sicilia, giving ped that miserable condition, unto which him to understand hereof: and letting him his Companions were returned. Their Gefurther know, that whereas he had been di- neral perceiving what impression this dumb rected to make the war in Africa, it was now shew had wrought in them, began to adtheir pleasure that he should for bear to pro- monish them of their own condition, speakfecute any such attempt, but that he should ing to this effect: That he had laid before return the Army under his charge, with all them an example of their own effates: feepossible speed, to save Italy it self. According ing the time was at hand, wherein they were to this order, Sempronius fent off his Fleet all to run the same fortune, that these slaves from Lilybeum; with direction to land the had done; all to live victorious and rich; Army at Ariminum, a Port Town not far or all to die, or (which these prisoners from Ravenna: quite another way from esteemed far more grievous) to live in a Carthage, whither he was making hafte. In perpetual flavery: That none of them all, the mean while, Scipio and Hamibal were in whom was common fenfe, could promile come cone cone that fight they must ere they to himself any hope of life by flight; fince could part afunder. Hereupon both of them the Mountains, the Rivers, the great diCHAP. 111.

pursuit of merciles Enemies, must needs re- long after this, ere the two Generals met: trench all juch impotent imaginations. He each being far advanced before the groß of therefore prayed them to remember, that his Army, with his Horse; and the Roman they, who had even now praised the fortune having also with him some light-armed soot. both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, to view the ground, and the enemies counwould make it their own case; seeing that tenance. When they discovered the apthere was never any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had ever been him his horsemen of the Ganls, to begin the broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void contrary, he told them that the Romans, who were to fight upon their own foil, and in view of their own Towns; who knew as ed foftly in good order. The Gauls (whemany wayes to fave themselves by flight, as ther desirous to try the metal of the Carthathey had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertain such a resolution as the Romans) behaved themselves couragitheirs: feeing the same Necessity, (to which outly, and were as couragiously opposed. nothing feems impossible) did no way prefs Yet their foot that should have aided them, them, or constrain them. In this fort did shrank at the first brunt, or rather fled co-Hannibal, with one substantial argument, That there was no mean between Victory and of being troden down by the enemies horse. Death, encourage his Companions. For, (faith a great Captain of France) La commodite de la retraitte advance la fuite; The commodity of a retrait, doth greatly advance a flat running away.

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Scipio on the other fide, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the River of Ticinus, did not neglect to use it was needful. Wherefore he adventured the best arguments and reasons he could, to himself so far, that he received a dangerous encourage the Army he led: putting them in mind of the great conquests and victories | his son (afterward surnamed Africanus) had of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Army commanded by Hanvibal, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of Carthaginians, whom in their late war they had so often had appointed his Numidian light-horse, to beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed give upon the Romans in flank; and to comthem withall to consider, that at this time it was not only so diminished in numbers, as it Arms sustained their charge, and met them rather feemed a troup of Brigants and in the face. The Numidians performed Theeves, than an Army likely to encounter this very well: cutting in pieces the featthe Romans, but so weather-beaten, and star- tered foot, that ran away at the first enved, as neither the men, nor horses, had counter; and then falling on the backs of ftrength or courage to fustain the first charge those, whose looks were fastned upon Hanthat should be given upon them. Nay (said nibal and scipio. By this impression, the he)ye your felves may make judgment what Romans were shuffled together, and routed: daring they have now remaining, after so so that they all betook them to their speed, many travails and miferies; feeing when they and left unto their enemies the honour of were in their best strength, after they had the day. past the Roan, their horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very ten, and the rest of his Army thereby greatly Trenches of their Camp, but Hannibal him- discouraged; he thought it a point of wiffelf, fearing our approach, ran head-long dom, having loft so many of his Fleet upon towards the Alps: thinking it a less disho- the first puff of the wind, to take Port with nour, to die there by frost, famine, and pre- the rest, before the extremest of the temcipitation, then by the sharp swords of the pest overtook him. For he saw by the low-Romans, which had so often cut down his ring morning what manner of day it was like

stance from their own Countries, and the people, both in Africa, and in Sicil. It was not proach one of the other ; Scipio fent before ground between their troups, to affift them: himself with his Roman men at arms, followginians, or hoping thereby to get favour of wardly away, without casting aDart; for fear This not withstanding, the Gauls maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they received; as prefuming that they were well backt, Neither was the Conful unmindful to relieve them: their hardiness deserving his aid; and the hafty flight of those that should have stood by them, admonishing him that wound; and had been left in the place, if not brought him off: though others give the honour of this rescue to a Ligarian slave. Whilst the Romans were busied in helping their Conful; an unexpected from came driving at their backs, and made them look about how to help themselves. Hannibal pass them about, whilst he with his men at

When Scipio faw his horsemen thus bea-

ing yet unbroken, he in a manner stole the every day more and more of the Gauls fell mg jet and recovered the bridge over Ticito the Carthaginian fide; among whom nus, which he had formerly built. But not came in the Boji, that brought with them withfranding all the hafte that he made, he the Roman Commissioners, which they had left fix hundred of his Rear behinde him: taken in the late Infurrection. They had hiwho were the last that should have passed, therto kept them as pledges, to redeem their and staid to break the bridge. Herein he fol- own hostages: but now they deliver them lowed this rule of a good man of war, Si certamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam their affections towards him; by whose help laudanda: which must be understood in this their own men and lands. In the mean while, fort: If a General of an Army, by some unprosperous beginnings doubt the success; or find his Army fearful or wavering, it is more profitable to feal a safe retrait, than to abide the uncer-

tain event of battail.

It was two dayes after, ere Hannibal could passthe River; Scipio the whilst refreshing his men, and eafing himself of his wound in Placentia. But as foon as Hannibal presented his Army before the Town, offering battail to the Romans, who durft not accept it, nor issue forth of their Camp; the Gauls, that hitherto had followed scipio for fear, gathered out of his fear, courage to forfake tire. They therefore hafted away Sempronihim. They thought that now the long-defired time was come, in which better Chiefthe Roman Camp; wounded and flew many; Armies being joyned in one, the Confuls deespecially of those guards that kept watch at vised about that which remained to be done: the gate; with whose heads in their hands, sempronius received from scipio the relatithey fled over to the Carthaginians; and pre- on of what had passed since Hannibals arrifented their service. Hannibal received them |val; the fortune of the late fight; and by more use to him, in perswading the rest laid on the revolt and treason of the Gauls. of their Nation to become his Confe-

to prove. Therefore his battail of foot be- do; yet this diminished his reputation. For up to Hannibal, as tokens and pledges of miles arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando they conceived better hope of recovering Hannibal, being in great scarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of Clastidium, a Town wherein the Romans had laid up all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a Brundustan, whom the Romans had trusted with keeping it, fold it for a little money.

Rome, filled the Senate and People, rather with a defire of hafty revenge, than any great forrow for their loss received; feeing that in a manner, all their Foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet enus, that was newly arrived, towards Ariminum, where the Army, by him fent out of tains and Souldiers, than Aneroestus, Brito- | Sicil, awaited his coming. He therefore hastmarus, and Gessates, were come to help them: | ed thither; and from thence he marched if they had the hearts to help themselves. speedily towards his Colleague: who attend-Wherefore the same night they fell upon ed him upon the banks of Trebia. Both the

The news of these disasters, brought to

exceeding courteously, and dismiss them to what errour or misadventure the Romans their own places: as men likely to be of were therein foiled: which Scipio chiefly Sempronius, having received from Scipio

derates, than in any other service at the the state of the affairs in those parts; sought by all means to try his fortune with Hanni-About the fourth watch of the night fol- |bal, before Scipio were recovered of his lowing, the Conful stole a retrait, as he had wounds, that thereby he might purchase to done before; but not with the like ease and himself the sole glory of the victory, which security, Hannibal had a good eye upon him, he had already, in his imagination, certainly and ere he could get far, sent the Numidians obtained. He also feared the election of the after him: following himself with all his new Consuls: his own time being well-near Army. That night the Romans had received expired. But Scipio perswaded the contrary; agreat blow, if the Numidians, greedy of objecting the unikilfulness of the new-come spoil, had not staid to ransack their camp: Souldiers: and withall, gave him good and thereby given time to all (lave some few reason, to assure him that the Gauls, natuin Rear, that were slain or taken) to pass the rally unconstant, were upon terms of aban-River of Trebia, and save themselves. Scipio, doning the party of the Carthaginians; being both unable to travel by reason of his those of them inhabiting between the rivers wound, and withall, finding it expedient to of Trebia and Po, being already revolted. attend the coming of his fellow-Conful; in sempronius knew all this as well as scipio but camps himfelf (trongly upon the banks of being both guided and blinded by his ambi-Trebia. Necessity required that he should so tion, he made haste to find out the dishono Qqqqq

which he might otherwise easily have horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Aravoided. This resolution of sempronius was my, after they had well warmed, and well exceeding pleasing to Hannibal: who fear- fed themselves in their camp, he led into the ed nothing fo much as delay and loss of time. field, and marched towards the Conful Ear-For the ftrength of his Army, confifting in ly in the morning, he had fent over Trebia firangers, to wir, in Spaniards and Gauls; he some companies of Numidian light-horfe, to no less feared the change of affection in the brave the enemy, and draw him forth to a One, than the impatience of the other: who bad dinner, ere he had broken his fall, sembeing far from their own home, had many pronius was ready to take any opportunity to paffions moving them to turn their faces to- fight and therefore not only iffued out of his wards it. To further the defire of semprowards no ning, it fell out fo, that about the same time, most cold and miserable day; his footbeing the Gauls, inhabiting near unto Trebia, com- wet almost to the arm-holes: which, togeplained of injuries done by the Carthagini- ther with the want of food, did so enseeble and cool their courages, as they wanted force ceffaries, as he supposed that they might to handle the arms they bare. Strong they have done; although he daily reprehended were in foot, as well of their own Nation.as their negligence, telling them, that for their of the Latines: having of the one fixteen of fakes, and to fet them at liberty, he had un- the other twenty thousand. The mass of dertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore these they ranged in a gross Battalion, guardhow little they regarded his words, he was ed on the flanks with three thouland horle; bold to be his own Carver ; and took from thrusting their Light-armed, and Datters in them by force, as much as he needed of that loofe troups in the head of the rest, in the nawhich they had. Hereupon they fly to the ture of a Vantguard. The Carthaginian num-Romans for help: and, to make their tale the bers of foot were in a manner equal to their better, fay that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyn with *Hannibal* both in number and goodness. When there Scipio cared not much for this: he suspected fore the Roman horse, ranged on the slanks their fallhood, and was affured of their mu- of their foot, were broken by the Numidians; tability. But Sempronius affirmed, that it when their foot were charged both in front flood with the honour of Rome, to preferve and flank, by the Spaniards, Gauls and Eletheir Confederates from fuffering injury : phants; when finally the whole Army was and that hereby might be won the friend- unawares prest in the Rear, by Mago and his thip of all the Gauls. Therefore he fent out a two thousand, that rose out of their place of thousand horse: which coming unlooked amoush; then fell the Romans, by heaps, unfor upon Hannibal his forragers, and finding der the enemies swords: and being beaten them heavy loaden, cut many of them in down, as well fighting in disorder, as flying pieces, and chased the rest even into their towards the River, by the hossemen that own camp. This indignity made the Car- purfued them, there escaped no more of fix thaginians fally out against them: who caused and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of them to retire faster than they came. Sem- all forts, Horse and Foot. pronius was ready to back his own men; and repelled the enemies. Hannibal did the ted, of which every one deserved to be relike. So that at length all the Roman Army compensed with the loss that followed. The was drawn forth; and a battel ready to be first was, that he fought with Hannibal in a fought, if the Carthaginian had not re- Champain, being by far inferiour in horfe, fuled it.

defirous to try the main chance in open field: no use. His second errour was, that he made all the perswassions of scipio to the contrary no discovery of the place upon which he notwithstanding. Of this disposition Hanni- fought; whereby he was grosly over-reacht, bal was advertised by the Gauls, his Spies, and infnared, by the ambush which Hamibal. that were in the Roman Camp. Therefore he had laid for him. The third was, that he bethought himself how to help forward the drencht his footmen with empty stomacks, victory by adding some stratagem to his in the River of Trebia, even in a most cold forces: he found in the hollow of a water and frofty day, whereby, in effect, they loft courfe, over-grown with high reed, a fit the use of their limbs. For, as one faith well, trench to cover an ambush. Therein he cast | There is nothing more inconvenient of perious, his brother Mago with a thousand choise than to present an Army tyred with travel, to

Camp, but foorded the River of Trebia, in a

Three great errours Sempronius commitand withall, thereby subject to the African This victory (for fo the Conful would Elephants, which in inclosed or un-even have it called) made the Romans in general grounds & wood-lands, would have been of as an unprofitable vapour.

CHAP. III.

over-run by the enemies horse. He was attended by more than were requisite in a serly against Hannibal.

ø. V.

Gauls into Hetruria. Flaminius the Roby the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Thra-

followers he not only well intreated, but heard news of the Roman Confuls. fent them to their Countries without ranthem, at his feeding upon them, and walting feigning some religious impediment, should

an enemy fresh and fed , since where the strength their territory. Wherefore some of them of body faileth, the generosity of mind is but conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gave The broken remainder of the Roman Ar- him the advice, were ready foon after to pramy, was collected by Scipio, who got there- ctice against him; but were in like fort detectwith into Placentia; ftealing away the same ed. He was therefore glad to use Piriwigs of night, which was exceeding rainy, from the hair, and false beards of divers colours: to Carthaginians, who either perceived him not, the end that he might not be described, nor hecaule of the showres; or would not per- known, to those that should undertake to ceive him, because they were over-wearied. make him away. Fain he would have passed sempronius escaped with extreme dan- the Appenines, upon the first appearance of ger, tlying through the Country that was Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the Gauls, till he had feen more fwallows than one. At cret flight; yet by fewer than could have length, when the year was somewhat better made refistance, if the enemy had met with opened, he resolved to take his leave of these him. Nevertheless he got away, and came to giddy companions, and bring the war nearer Rome, where he did his office in chusing new to the gate of Rome. So away he went, ha-Confuls for the year following: and then | ving his Army greatly increased with Lightreturned into his Province, with a fresh sup- rians and Gauls; more serviceable friends abroad, than in their own Country. That the passage of the Appenine Mountains was troublesome, I hold it needless to make any doubt. Yet fince the Roman Armies found The departure of Hannibal from the Cifalpine no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell man Conful flain, and his Army destroyed upon Hannibal, when he was travelling thorow and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all wayes foul, than to any THE Winter growing on apace, was intolerable difficulty in that journey. Ne-L very sharp, and unfit for service: to vertheless, to avoid the length of war, tothe great contentment of the Romans, who, gether with the refiftance and fortifications being not able to keep the field, lay warm which may not improbably be thought to in Placentia, and Cremona. Yet Hannibal did have been erected upon the ordinary pafnot fuffer them to reft very quiet; but vex- | fages towards Rome: he chose at this time, ed them with continual Alarms: affayled though it were with much trouble, to travel divers places, and taking some; beating thorow the Fens and rotten grounds of the Gauls their adherents, and winning the Tuscane. In those Marishes and bogs, he lost Ligurians to his party, who presented him, in all his Elephants, save one, together with token of their faithful love, with two Ro- the use of one of his eyes; by the moistness man Queftors, or Treasurers, two Colonels, of the air, and by lodging on the cold and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, ground, and wading thorow deep mire and which they had intercepted. These, and in water. In brief, after he had, with much general all fuch prisoners as he had of the ado, recovered the firm and fertile Plains, Romans, he held in straight places, loaden he lodged about Arretium; where he somewith Irons, and miserably fed: those of their what refreshed his wearied followers, and

C. Flaminius, and Cn. Servilius had of late some; with this protestation, That he there- been chosen Consuls for this year: Servilius fore undertook the War in Italy, to free a tractable man, and wholly governed by them from the oppression of the Romans. advice of the Senate; Flaminius an hot-By these means he hoped, and not in vain, headed popular Orator; who having once to draw many of them to his party and af- been robbed (as he thought) of his Confulfistance. But the Gauls were not capable of ship, by a device of the Schators, was afraid such perswasions. They stood in fear, lest to be served so again, unless he quickly sihe should make their Country the seat of nished the war. This jealous Conful thought War, and perhaps take it from them. They it not best for him to be at Rome, when he were also more grieved than reason willed entred into his Office, lest his adversaries, by Qqqqq 2

CHAP III

detain him within the City, or find other and the Lake. There was he charged unabusiness for him at home, to disappoint him wares, on all sides, (save only where that of the honour that he hoped to get in the great Lake of Perusia permitted neither his war. Wherefore he departed fecretly out of enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from the Town, and meant to take possession of them) knowing not which way to turn, or his Office, when the day came at Ariminum, make refiftance. So was he flain in the place. The Fathers (to the Senators were called) accompanied with fifteen thousand dead highly displeased with this, revoked him by carkasses of his Country-men. About six Embafladors: but he neglected their in- thousand of his men, that had the Vantjunction; and halfning to meet with the guard, took courage, as for the most part it Carthaginians, took his way to Arretium, where he shortly found them.

mised unto Hannibal great assurance of vi- had returned, and given charge upon the ctory, Therefore he provoked, with many in- Carthaginians backs, it was thought that they dignities, the vehement nature of the Ro- might have greatly amended, if not wholly man; hoping thereby to draw him unto altered the fortune of the day. But that viofight, ere Servilius came with the rest of the lence of their fear, which, kindled by neces-Army. All the Country between Fefulæ and fity, had wrought the effects of hardines, Arretium he put to fire and fword, even un- was well affwaged, when they ceafed to deder the Confuls nose; which was enough to spair of saving their lives by flight. They make him stir, that would not have litten stood still, in a cold sweat, upon the Hill-top, ftill, though Hamibal had been quiet. It is hearing under them a terrible noise, but not true that a great Captain of France hath any way discovering how things went, befaid; Pays gaste n'est pas perdu; A masted cause of the great fogg that held all that Country is not thereby loft. But by this waste of the Country, Flaminius thought his own Air was cleared, and they might plainly difhonour to be much impaired; and there- cern the lamentable flaughter of their felfore advanced towards the Enemy. Many lows. But they staid not to lament it; for it advised him (which had indeed been best) was high time, they thought, to be gone ere to have patience a while, and stay for his they were descryed and attatched by the Colleague. But of this he could not abide to enemies horse. This they should have hear; faying, that he came not to defend thought upon fooner, fince they had no mind Arretium, whilft the Carthaginians went to return into the fight. For, descryed they burning down all Haly before them, to the were, and Maharbal fent after them, who gates of Rome. Therefore he took horse, and overtook them by night in a Village, which commanded the Army to march. It is re- he surrounded with his horse: and so they ported as ominous, that one of their Enligns | yielded the next day, rendring up their fluck so fast in the ground, as it could not arms, upon his promise of their lives and be plucked up by the Enfign-bearer. Of liberties. this tale, whether true or falfe, Tully makes This accord Hannibal refused to confirm; a jest; saying, That the cowardly knave saying, That it was made by Maharbal did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) without sufficient warrant, as wanting his having hardly pitched it into the earth. authority to make it good. Herein he taught Neither was the answer of Flaminius (if it them (yet little to his own honour) what it were true disagrecable hereto: for he com- was to keep no faith: and fitted them with manded that it should be digged up, if fear a trick of their own. For if it were lawful had made the hands too weak to lift it : unto the Romans, to alter covenants, or asking withall, whether letters were not add unto them what they listed; if the Carcome from the Senate, to hinder his pro- thaginians must be fain to pay certain hunceedings. Of this their jealousie, both he dreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, beand the Senate that did give him cause, are lides their first bargain; as also to renounce likely to repent.

the Lake of Thrasymene, was on a light fire; which whilst the Consulthought to quench advantage is more ample, than the condiwith his enemies blood, he pursued Han- tions of the late concluded Peace: then can nibal so unadvisedly, that he fell with his Hannibal be as Roman, as themselves; and whole Army into an ambush cunningly laid make them know, that perfidicusness gainfor him, between the Mountains of Cortona eth no more in prosperity, than it lofeth in

happens, out of desperation; and breaking thorow the enemies, that stood in their way, The fiery disposition of this Consul, pro- recovered the tops of the Mountains. If these

their interest in Sardinia, and be limited in All the Territory of Cortona, as far as to their Spanish Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the Romans, whose present lian prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his fo hasty to fight, before the arrival of serhe fet free without ransome; protesting, as his charge, it is probable that he would have he had done before, that it was for their taken his companion with him the second fakes, and to free them and others from the time, and have fearched all suspected places. Roman tyranny, that he had undertaken this proper to have shadowed an ambush: both war. But the Romans he kept in straight pri- | which this new Consul Flaminius neglected. fon, and in fetters, making them learn to cat We may boldly avow it, that by being conhard meat. This was a good way to breed tinued in his Government of France ten in the people of Italy, if not a love of Car- years, Casar brought that mighty Nation, tothate, yet a contempt of Rome : as if this war gether with the Helvetians and many of the only the preferving of her own neck from parts had there been every year a new Lieuthe voke of flavery, which her over-ftrong tenant fent, they would hardly, if ever, have enemies would thrust upon her in revenge been subdued. For it is more than the best ofher oppressions. But an ancient reputation, wit in the World can do, to inform it self. is to be done, ere the Carthaginians can get ces, Rivers, and of all good helps, whereby any Italian Partifans.

matter of importance, when the news was perswaded the imitation. brought him of his Colleagues overthrow and death in Hetruria; that made him hasten

back to the defence of Rome.

fruits of popular jealousie, which perswaded the Romans to the yearly change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certain it is, that all men are far better taught by their own errours, than by the examples of their foregoers. Flaminius had heard in what a trap sempronius had been taken up but the year before,

the change of fortune Fifteen thousand Ita- not, contrary to all good advice, have been hands: of which, all that were not Romans, vilius. If Sempronius had been continued in had not concerned the general fafety, but Germans, under the Roman yoke; into which confirmed by fuccess of many ages, is not within one years compass, of the nature of lost in one or two battels. Wherefore more a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Plato profecute a War to the best effect. Our Presently after the battel of Thrasymene, Princes have commonly left their Deputies C. Centronius, with four thousand Roman in Ireland three years; whence by reason of horse, drew near unto the Camp of Hanni- the shortness of that their time, many of bal. He was sent from Ariminum by Servilius them have returned as wise as they went the other Conful, to increase the strength of out; others have profited more. & yet when Flaminius: but, coming too late, he increa- they began but to know the first rudiments fed only the miladventure. Maharbal was of War, and Government, fitting the Counemployed by Hannibal, to intercept this try, they have been called home, and new company; who finding them amazed with Apprentices fent in their places, to the great report which they had newly heard of the prejudice both of this and that Estate. But it great overthrow, charged them, and brake hath ever been the course of the World rathem: and killing almost half of them, drave ther to follow old errours, than to examine the rest unto a high piece of ground, them: and of Princes and Governours to whence they came down, and simply yielded uphold their slothful ignorance, by the old to mercy the next day. servilius himself examples and policy of other ages and peowas in the mean while ikirmithing with the ple; though neither likeness of time, of oc-Gauls; against whom he had wrought no cassion, or of any other circumstance, have

ø. VI.

In these passages, it is easie to discern the How Q Fabius the Roman Dictator, Sought to consume the force of Hannibal, by lingring War. Minutius the Master of the Horse, konoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successful attempting; adventures rash= ly upon Hannibal, and is like to perish with his Army, but rescued by Fabius.

Reatly were the Romans amazed at I this their ill success, and at the danger by this subtle Carthaginian; yet suffered he apparent; which threatned them in more himself to be caught soon after in the same terrible manner, than ever did war since manner. He had also belike forgotten how Rome it self was taken. They were good Sempronius, fearing to be prevented by a Souldiers, and so little accustomed to renew Conful, and ambitious of the fole ho- ceive an overthrow, that when Pyrrkus had nour of beating Hannibal in battel, without beaten them, once and again, in open field, helpof his companion scipio, had been re- all Italy was strangely affected with his suc-Warded with shame and loss; else would be cess, and held him in admiration, as one that rel was not grounded upon hate: he only against Hannibal, word was brought that the fought honour, and fought (asit were)upon Carthaginian Fleet had intercepted all the a bravery; demeaning himfelf like a cour- fupply, that was going to Cn. Seipio in Spain. teous enemy. This Caribaginian detested the Against these Cartbaginians, Fabins comwhole Roman name; against which he burn-manded servilius the Consulto put to Sea; ed with defire of revenge. Ticinum, Trebia, and taking up all the ships about Rome and and Thrasymone, witnessed his purpose, and Ostia, to pursue them : whilst he, with the his ability; which to withftand, they fled Legions, attended upon Hannibal. Four Leunto a remedy that had long been out of gions he had levied in hafte: and from Ariuse, and created a Dictator. The Dictators minum he received the Army which Servipower was greater than the Confuls, and lins the Conful had conducted thither. scarcely subject unto controll of the whole City. Wherefore this Officer was seldom after Hannibal; not to fight, but to affront chofen, but upon some extremity, and for no him. And knowing well, what advantage longer time than fix months. He was to be the Numidian horse had over the Romans he named by one of the Confuls, at the ap- alwayes lodged himself on high grounds. pointment of the Senate: though it were fo, and of hard accels. Hannibal in the mean that the Conful (if he stood upon his prero- while, pursuing his victory, had ranged gative) might name whom he pleased. At over all the Country, and used all manner of this time the one Conful being dead, and cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially the other too far off, the people took upon to those of the Roman Nation, of whom he them, as having supreme authority, to give did put to the sword all that were able to the Dignity by their election, to 2. Fabius bear arms. Passing by spoletum and Ancona. Maximus; the best reputed man of war in he incamped upon the Adriatick shores; rethe City. Novum factum novum constitum ex- freshed his diseased, and over-travelled petit, Contrary winds, contrary courses, Q.Fa- Companies, armed his Africans after the bius choie M. Minutius Rufus Mafter of the manner of the Romans, and made his difhorse: which Officer was customarily as patches for Carthage; presenting his friends, the Dictators Lieutenant; though this Mi- which were in effect all the Citizens, with nutius grew afterwards famous, by taking part of the spoils that he had gotten Having more upon him.

tion of somewhat amiss in matter of Religi- healed his horse heels of the scratches, by on: a good beginning, and commendable, washing their pasterns in old wine: he folhad the Religion been also good. But if it lowed the coast of the Adriatick Sea to-Liv. liv. ... were true (as Livie reports it) that the wards Apulia, a Northern Province of the Books of Sybil were confulted, and gave di- Kingdom of Naples; fpoiling the Marrucini, rection in this business of devotion; then and all other Nations lying in his way. In must we believe that those books of sybil, all this ground that he over-ran, he hadnot preserved in Rome, were dictated by an evil taken any one City: only he had assayled Spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, Spoletum, a Colony of the Romans; and findmade in the beginning of this war to Mars, ing it well defended, prefently gave it over. The malice of a great Army is broken, and ving not been rightly made before: also the force of it spent in a great siege. This the that great Plays should be vowed unto Ju- Protestant Army found true at Poittiers, a piter, and a Temple to Venus; with fuch little before the battel of Moncountour; and

could work wonders. But Pyrrhus his quar- when the Dictator was newly fet forth

With these forthwith he followed apace refreshed his army, fed his horses, cured his The first act of Fabius, was the reforma- wounded Souldiers, and (as Polybius hath it) other trumpery. This vehemency of super-flition, proceeds alwayes from vehemency of S. Jean d'Angely. But Hannibal was more fear. And furely this was a time when Rome wife. He would not engage himself in any was exceedingly diftempered with paffion; fuch enterprife, as should detain him, and whereof that memorable accident, of two give the Romans leave to take breath. All his women that fuddenly died, when they faw care was to weaken them in force and reputheir Sons return alive from Thrassmene, may tation: knowing, that when once he was abferve to bear witness, though it be more pro- solute Master of the field, it would not be perly an example of motherly love. The long ere the walled Cities would open their Walls and Towers of the City were now regates, without expecting any engine of batpaired and fortified; the Bridges upon Ri- tery. To this end he presented Fabius with vers were broken down, and all care taken battel, as foon as he faw him; and provoked for defence of Romeit felf. In this tumult, him with all manner of bravadoes. But differences between fouldiers bred up, ever of Fabius to grow into credit; as if he had fince they were boyes, in war and in blood, taken the Carthaginians in a trap, and won trained and hardned in Spain, made proud the victory without blows. But Hannibal trained and adventurous by many victories there, reformed this opinion, and freed himself, by and of late by some notable acts against the a sleight invention, yet serving the turn as Romans; and fuch, as had no oftner feen well as a better. In driving the countrey, the enemy, than been vanquished by him. he had gotten about two thousand Kine, Therefore he attended the Carthaginian fo whose hornes he dressed with dry faggots, neer, as he kept him from stragling too far; and setting fire to them in the dark night; and preserved the countrey from utter spoil. | caused them to be driven up the hils. The the Lyon afar off, that in the end he might

CHAP. III.

and was as fiery as Flaminius: taxing Fabius | hill tops were horribly affraid, when some with cowardize and fear. But all stirred of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond not this well-advised Commander. For them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinkwife men are no more moved with fuch ing the enemies were behind their backs; noise, than with wind bruised out of a blad- and fell among the light-armed Carthaginider. There is nothing of more indifcretion ans, that were no less afraid of them. So Hancould he by any arguments be perswaded, the Dictators camp, that hung over his horse. head upon the hills of Collicula, and Cafilinum: for other way there was none, by to thew his own fufficiency. He was fully which he might issue out of that goodly gar- perswaded, that his Romans, in plain field den-countrey, which he had already wast- would be too hard for the Africans and Spaed, into places more abundant of provision | niards: by whom if they had been foiled

Fabins would not bite. He well knew the not cafily escape. Now began the wisdom Heinured his men by little and little, and spectacle was strange, and therefore terrimade them acquainted with dangers by de- | ble; especially to those that knew it to be grees, and he brought them first to look on a work of a terrible enemy. What it should mean, Fabius could not tell; but thought it a device to circumvent him, and therefore Now Minutius had a contrary disposition, kept within his Trenches. They that kept the and danger, than to purfue misfortune: it misal, with his whole Army recovered fure wasteth it self sooner by sufferance, than by ground without molestation: where he staid opposition. It is the invading Army that till the next morning, and then brought off delires battel: and this of Hannibal, was his light footmen, with some slaughter of the both the invading and victorious. Fabius | Romans, that began to hold them in skirtherefore suffered Hannibal to cross the Ap- mish. After this, Hannibal made semblance penines, and to fall upon the most rich and of taking his journey towards Rome: and pleasant Territory of Campania; neither the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, beto adventure the Roman Army in battel: but | tween him and the City, whileft the Carthabeing far too weak in horse, he alwayes kept | ginian wasted all the Plains. The Carthagithe Hilsand fast grounds. When Hannibal nian took Gergon, an old ruinous Town in faw he could by no means draw this wary Apulia, forfaken by the Inhabitants, which Dicator to fight, that the Winter came on, he turned into Barns and Store-houses for and that the Towns flood firm for the Ro- | winter, and incamped under the broken mans, whose Legions were in fight, though wall. Other matter of importance he did afar off; he refolved to rest his Army, that | none: but the time passed idly, till the Diwas loaden with spoil, in some plentiful and ctator was called away to Rome, about some assured place, till the following spring. But business of Religion, and lett the Army ere this can be done he must pass along by in charge with Minutius the Master of the

Minutius was glad of this good occasion for his wintering. It was by meer errour of already twice or thrice, it was not by open his guide, that he first entred within these force, but by subtilty and ambush, which he ftraights. For he would have been directed thought himself wile enough to prevent. unto Callimum; whence he might both affay All the Army was of his opinion; and that the fair City of Capua, which had made him fo earnestly, as he was preferred, by judgefriendly promifes under-hand, and hinder ment of the Souldiers, in worthiness to comthe Romans from coming near it to prevent mand, before the cold and wary Fabius. him. But his guide mif-understood the Car- In this jollity of conceit, he determined to thaginian pronuntiation, and conducted him fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forawry another way, from Cassimum to Cassii-bidden so to do, by the Dictator; the breach num, whence Fabius hoped that he should of whose command was extreme peril of

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he held undoubtedly his own; and the highly esteemed by the Army, and more love of the Army, and the friends that hehad highly by the people at Rome, to whom he at home bearing office in Rome, were enough lent the news, with somewhat greater boast to fave him from the Dictators rods and than truth. It seemed no small matter, that axes, took he the matter never so hainouf- the Roman Army had recovered spirit, so far ly. Hannibal on the other fide was no less forththat it dared to fet upon Hannibal in glad, that he should play with a more ad- his own camp; and that in so doing, it came venturous gamester. Therefore he drew off with the better. Every man therefore near, and to provoke the Romans, fent forth praifed the Master of the Horse, that had a third part of his Army to waste the Coun- wrought this great alteration; and confetrey. This was boldly done, feeing that quently, they grew as far out of liking with Minutius incamped hard by him: but it Fabius and his timerous proceedings, thinkfeems, that he now despised those whom he ing that he had not done any thing wisely, had so often vanquished. There was a piece in all his Dictatorship: saving that he chose of high ground between the two Camps; such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed which because it would be commodious to in no other thing he had so greatly erred. him that could occupy it, the Carthaginians But the Dictator was not so joyful of a little feized upon by night with two thousand of good luck, as angry with the breach of ditheir light armed. But Minutius, by plain scipline; and fearful of greater danger, thereforce, wan it from them the next day; and on likely to enfue. He faid that he knew his intrenching himself thereupon, became their own place, and what was to be done that he

ncerer neighbour.

The main business of Hannibal at this time likewise; and make him give account of what was, to provide abundantly, not only for he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking his men, but for his horles, which he knew it openly, That good fucces iffuing from to be the chief of his strength; that he might bad counsel, was more to be feared than cakeep them in good heart against the next lamity; for as much as the one bred a foolist fummer: if belides this he could give the confidence, the other taught men to be wa-Romans another blow, it would increase his ry. Against these Sermons c ery one cryed reputation, incourage his own men, terri- out, especially Metellus, a Tribune of the fie his enemies, and give him leave to for- people: which office warranted him to fpeak, rage the Countrey at will. Since therefore and do what he lift, without fear of the Di-Minutius did not in many dayes issue forth Ctator. Is it not enough (faid he) that this of his Camp, the Carthaginian fent out (as our only Man, cholen to be General, and before) a great number of his men, to fetch | Lord of the Town, in our greatest necessity, in harvest. This advantage Minutius wisely hath done no manner of good, but suffered espied, and took. For he led forth his Ar- all Italy to be wasted before his eyes, to the my, and fetting it in order, presented battel uttershame of our State; unless he also himto Hannibal, that was not in case to accept der others, from doing better than himself it, even at his own Trenches. His horfes, can, or dares? It were good to consider and all his light Armature, divided into what he means by this. Into the place of many companies, he fent abroad against the | C. Flaminius he hath not chosen any new forragers; who being dispersed over all the Consul all this while; Servilius is sent away fields, and loaden with booty, could make to Sea, I know not why; Hannibal and he, no resistance. This angred Hannibal, that have as it were taken Truce; Hannibal was not able to help them; but worse did sparing the Dictators grounds: (for Hanit anger him, when the Romans took heart nibal had indeed forborn to fpoil some to alfail his Trenches. They perceived that grounds of Fabins, that so he might bring it was meer weakness, which held him with- him into envy and suspicion) and the Dictain his Camp, and therefore were bold to torgiving him leave to spoil all others, withdespise his great name, that could not resist out impeachment. Surely his drift is even their present strength. But in the heat of the this: he would have the war to last business, Aldrubal came from Geryon with long, that he himself might be long in of four thousand men, being informed of the fice, and have the sole Government both of danger, by those that had escaped the Ro- our City and Armies. But this must not be man horfe. This imboldned Hannibal to fo. It were better, that the Commonalty of iffue forth against the Romans; to whom Rome, which gave him this authority, should nevertheless he did not such hurt, as he had again take it from him and conferr it upon received.

death. But the honour of the victory, which For this piece of fervice Minutius was would teach the Mafter of the horse to do so one more worthy. But lest, in moving the people hereto, I should seem to do him in- Before this busie day of contention. Fabius on of this Dictator, by the People.

worthy Master of the Horse) that was bet- and assurance of their liberty. proceed as he had begun. So the Act passed. Minutius & Hannibal equally desired, could

jury; thus far forth I will regard his ho- had dispatched the election of new Connour: I will only propound, That the Master stull, which was M. Atilius Regulus, in the of the Horse may be joyned in equal authoroom of C. Flaminius: and, having finished rity with the Dictator; a thing not more all requifite business, went out of Town. new, nor less necessary, than was the electi- perceiving well, that he should not be able to withstand the multitude in hindering the Though all men, even the Senators, were decree. The news of Minutius his advanceill reriwaded of the course which Fabius ment, was at the camp as soon as Fabius: had taken against Hannibal, as being neither so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colplaufible, nor feeming beneficial at the pre- league, began to treat with him as a Comient; yet was there none fo injurious, as to panion; asking him at the first, in what think that his general intent, and care of fort he thought it best to divide their authe Weal-publique, was lefs than very ho- thority: whether that one, one day; and nourable. Whereas therefore it was the the other, the next; or each of them fucmanner, in palling of any act, that some cessively, for some longer time, should comman of credit and authority, besides the mand in chief, Fabius briefly told him, That propounder, should stand up, and formally it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make deliver his approbation; not one of the the Master of the horse equal to the Dictaprincipal Citizens was found so impudent, tor, but that he should never be his superias to offer that open difgrace, both unto or: He would therefore divide the Legions a worthy Personage, and (therewithal) with him by lot, according to the cultom. unto that dignity, whose great power had Minutius was not herewith greatly pleased; freed the State at feveral times, from the for that with half of the Army he could not greatest dangers. Only C. Terentius Varro, work such wonders as otherwise he hoped who the year before had been Frator, to accomplish. Nevertheless he meant to do was glad of fuch an opportunity, to win his best, and so taking his part of the Army, the favour of the Multitude. This fellow incamped about a mile, and a half from the was the fon of a Butcher, afterwards be- Dictator. Needful it was (though Livy feems camea Shop-keeper; and being of a con-to tax him for it) that he should so do. For tentious spirit, grew by often brabling, to where two several Commanders are not take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poor subordinate one unto another, nor joyned in mens causes. Thus by little and little he Commission, but have each intire and absogot into Office; and role by degrees, lute charge of his own followers, there are being advanced by those, who in hatred of the forces (though belonging to one Prince the Nobility favoured his very baseness And or State) not one, but two distinct Arnow he thought the time was come, for him mies in which regard, one Camp shall not to give a hard push at the: Consulship; by hold them both without great inconvenidoing that, which none of the great men, ence. Polybius neither finds fault with this fearing or favouring one another, either distinction, nor yet reports, that Fabins was durft or would. So he made an hot inve-unwilling to command in chief successively vective, not only against Fabius, but against (as the two Consuls used) with Minutius, by all the Nobility; faying, That it grieved turns. He faith that Minutius was very rethem to see the people do well, and take fractory, and so proud of his advancement, upon them what belonged unto them, in that continually he opposed the Dictator: matter of Government; That they fought who thereupon referred it to his choice, eito humble the Commons by poverty, and ther to divide the forces between them, as is to impoverish them by War; especially by faid before, or else to have command over war at their own doors, which would foon all by course. This is likely to be true. For confume every poor mans living, and find Natures impatient of subjection, when once him other work to think upon, than matter they have broken loofe from the rigour of of State. Therefore he bade them to be authority, love nothing more, than to conwife; and fince they had found one (this test with it; as if herein consisted the proof

ter affected unto them and his Countrey, to It behoved the Malter of the horse to reward him according to his good deferts; make good the opinion which had thus adand give him authority, according as was vanced him. Therefore he was no less carepropounded by the Tribune, that so he ful of getting occasion to fight, than was Famight be encouraged and enabled to bius of avoiding the necessity. That which

tween them was open and bare, yet as fit for and (being so required by the Dictators letambuilt, as could be wished: for that the ters) repaired to the camp, with his fellowfides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many Conful, where they took charge of the Army. and spacious caves; able some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places Hannibal bestowed five hundred horte, and five thousand foot; thrusting The Roman people, desirous to finish the mar them so close together, that they could not be discovered. But lest by any misadventure they should be found out, & buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to feize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the Romans, from their more needful care, to bufiness little concerning them. Like unto this was the occasion, which not long before had provoked Minu- by the principal Citizens. He had indeed tius to adventure upon the Carthaginians. preferved them from receiving a great over-Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in throw; but had neither finished the war, nor like fort as he got it; he sent first his light ar- done any thing in appearance thereto tendmature, then his horse, and at length (seeing ing. Rather it might seem that the reputatithat Hannibal feconded his own troops with on of this his one worthy act, was likely to fresh companies) he followed in person with countenance the slow proceedings or perthe Legions. He was foon caught, and fo hot- haps the cowardize (if it were no worfe) of ly charged on all fides, that he knew neither those that followed him, in protracting the how to make refiftance, nor any fafe retrait. work to a great length. Elfe, what meant the In this dangerous case, while the Romans Confuls to sit idle the whole winter, contradefended themselves losing many, and those ry to all former custome; fince it was never of their best men: Fabins drew near, in very heard before, that any Roman General had good order to relieve them. For this old willingly fuffered the time of his command Captain, perceiving afar off, into what ex- to run away without any performance: as tremity his new Colleague had railly if it were honourable to do just nothing? thrown himfelf & his followers, did the office | Thus they suspected they knew not what; of a good Citizen; and regarding more the and were ready every man to discharge the benefit of his Countrey, than the difgrace grief and anger of his own private los, upon which he had wrongfully fustained, sought the ill administration of the publick rather to approve himself by hasting to do good, than by fuffering his enemy to feel helpful to C. Terentius Varro, in his fuit for the the reward of doing ill. Upon Fabius his ap- Confulfhip.It behoved him to strike, whilest proach, Hannibal retired: fearing to be well the Iron was hot: his own worth being wetted with a showre, from the cloud (as he little or none; and his credit over-weak, to on the Hill-tops. Minutius forthwith submittted himfelt to Fabius; by whose benefit | abundantly supplyed all his defects. Wherehe confessed his life to have been saved. So up his charge unto the Consuls, that follow-

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within kenning. He ran along all the coast of have been overthrown, and was rescued by Italy; took holtages of the Sardinians and Fabins with the other two: but, had all Conficans; passed over into Africk; and there been joyned together, what they might have negligently falling to fool the countrey, was done, it was apparent, by the victory of Michael the property of fhamefully beaten aboord his ships, with the ntime when he commanded over all as Market of the command loss of 1000 men. Weighing archor thereloss of 1000 men. Weighing archor the 1000 men. Weighing archive the 1000

not long be wanting. The countrey lying be- fore in all hafte, he returned home by sicil,

ø. VII.

quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces levied against Hannibal. Hannibal taketh the Romans provisions in the Caftle of Cannæ. The new Confuls fet forth against Hannibal.

With little pleasure did they of the poorer fort in Rome hear the great commendations that were given to Fabius

This affection of the people, was very termed the Dictator)that had hung to long make way into that high Dignity. Butthe Commonalty were then in such a mood, as in to help, he had a kiniman, Bibius Herennifrom this time forwards the war proceeded us, then Tribune of the People; who spacoldly, as the Dictator would have it; both red not to use the liberty of his place, in laywhileft his Office lafted which was not long, and likewife afterwards, when he delivered truth, or modefty. This bold Orator fuck Italy, and fuffered therein to range at his Servilius the Conful had pursued in vain pleasure, by the Noblemen; That Minutius a Carthaginian fleet, to which he came never indeed with his two Legions, was likely to CHAP. 111. Conful, the war would never be brought to | thers, against the vertue (as it was beleived) this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the first were an hundred parted themselves into Tens or Decuries; and governed successively, by the space of five dayes, one Decurie after another in order: yet fo, that the Li-Hors, or Virgers, carrying the Fasces, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only upon the chief of them with those Ensigns of power. This custome was retained in times of the Confuls; and put in use, when by death, or any cafualty, there wanted ordinary Magi-Fathers herein was, that if the election were then was all to begin a new: by which incommonly well affwaged. Upon fuch change

an end; That fuch of the Plebeians as had of this mean, but worthy man, feemed fo long fince been advanced to honour by the manifest, that when the People had urged people, were grown as proud as the old knobility, and contemned the meaner fort, cholen Conful: in whole hand it was left, to ever fince themselves were freed from con- hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon tempt of the more mighty; That therefore all the former Petitioners gave over. For it was needful to choose a Consul, who whereas men of ordinary mark had stood fould be altogether a Plebeian, a meer new for the place before, it was now thought man, one that could boast of nothing but meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to the Peoples love, nor could with more, than | bridle the violence of this unexpert, and hotto keep it, by well deserving of them. heated man, one of great sufficiency and re-By fuch perswasions the Multitude was putation, should be joyned with him, as both won, to be wholly for Terentius: to the Companion and Opposite. So L. Emilius Paugreat vexation of the Nobles, who could lus, he who a few years fince had overcome not endure to see a man raised for none the Illyrians, & chased Demetrius Pharius out other vertue, than his detracting from their of his Kingdome, was urged by the Nobility honour; and therefore opposed him with to stand for the place; which he easily oball their might. To hinder the defire of the tained, having no Competitor. It was not the People, it fell out, or at least was alledged, defire of this honourable man, to trouble that neither of the two present Consuls himself any more in such great business of could well be spared from attending upon the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding Hannibal, to hold the Election. Wherefore his late good fervice, He, and M. Livius that a Distator was named for that purpose; and had been his companion in office, were afhe again deposed: either (as was pretend- terwards injuriously vexed by the people, ed) for some religious impediment, or be- and called unto judgement: wherein Livius cause the Fathers defired an Inter-regnum, was condemned, and Emilius hardly escapwherein they might better hope to prevail ed. But of this injustice they shall put the inchoice of the new Consuls. This Inter-Romans well in mind each of them in his seregnum took name and being in Rome, at the | cond Confulship wherein they shall honoudeath of Romulus: and was in use at the rably approve their worth; the one of them death of other Kings. The order of it was nobly dying, in the most grievous loss; the other bravely winning, in the most happy victory that ever befell that Common-wealth.

These new Confuls, Varro and Paulus omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the war; wherein though Varro made the greater noise, by telling what wonders he would work, and that he would ask no more, than once to have a fight of Hannibal, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day : yet the providence and care of Panlus travelled more earnestly toward the acstrates of the old year, to substitute new for complishment of that, whereof his fellow the year following. The advantage of the vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old Confuls Servilius and Atilius, desiring them not like to go as they would have it, there to abstain from hazard of the main chance; needed no more, than to slip five dayes, and but nevertheless, to ply the Carthaginians with daily skirmish, and weaken them by terruption, the heat of the multitude was degrees: that when he and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Army of those, that were Presidents of the electi- which they were now levying, they might on, it was also lawful unto new Petitioners, find the four old Legions well accustomed to fue for the Magistracies that lay void: to the enemy, and the enemy well weakned which otherwise was not allowed; but a to their hands. He was also very strict in time limited, wherein they should publickly. his Musters, wherein the whole Senate affist declare themselves to seek those offices. But him so carefully, as if in this Action they no device would ferve against the general meant to refute the flanders, with which favour born unto Terentius. One Inter-reg- Terentius and his adherents had burdened mm passed over, and the malice of the Fa- them. What number of men they raised, it is uncertain

leaft, and fix thousand horse, they were the most part, was rather good than great. ftrong in the field, when the day came, which Farro had to greatly defired, of look- honour of their other fervices, but was ining upon Hannibal.

relieved the Carthaginians, when they were that time, made his abode at Gergon; where diffrested by their own Mercenaries; so did lay all his store for the Winter. The Roman he now fend help to Rome, a thousand Art to be near him, lodged about Cammisum; chers, and Slingers, with great quantity of and, that they might not be driven to turn Wheat, Barly, and other provisions: fear-afide for all necellaries, to the los of good ing norhing more, than that one of these opportunities, they believed much of their two mighty Cities should destroy the other, provisions in the Castle of Canne. for the whereby his own cleate would fall to ruine, Town was razed the year before. This place that ftood upright, by having them fomewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them also missed wan, and thereby not only furnished himself, but compelled his enemies to counsel, to send forces into Africa; if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the war from home. His gifts, and good advice lides this, and more to his advantage, he were lovingly accepted; and inftructions enabled himfelfto abide in that open Counwere given to Titus Octacilius the Prætor. which was to go into sicil, that he should than the Romans, having so many mouths

found it expedient. at this time, do much more serve to declare their puillance, than any, though larger accompt by Foll, of fuch as were not eafily him to command no fmall part of the Coundrawn into the field, and fitted for fervice. try adjacent 3 it then feemed needful, even For, besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into sicil, twenty five battel with the Carthaginian, rather than thousand, with L. Fosthumius Albinus, another of the Prators, went against the Gauls, to reclaim that Province, which the passage of Hannibal through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their prefent frength might well embolden them to do as they did. They fent Embaffadors to When all things we Philip, the fon of Demetrius, King of Macedon, requiring him to deliver into their hands Demetrius Pharius : who, having been their subject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdom. They also sent to the Illyrians, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they received, it is not known: only this is to Jupiter, and the rest of their gods, for known, that Demetrius Pharius was not fent good fuccess and Victory: which being perunto them; and that Philip henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the Illyrian money, by the fhifts that they were driven foon after to make, it will appear, that the one half of it (how little foever) would have been welcavil about forfeiture for non-payment of the with friendly leave-taking, and good withes

Whilst the City was busied in these cares, the old Confuls lay as near unto Hannibal as necessity of a battel. Many skirmishes they Country remarkable service. Terentiathis

uncertain. Fourfcore thousand foot, at the had with him; wherein their success, for Yet one mischance not only blemished the the rothe old King of Spracuse, as he had following. Hannibal for the most part of would be troubled with far carriage. Betry, fit for the service of his horse, longer accordingly pass over into Africk, if he to feed, could well endure to tarry; with The great Levies, which the Romans made Of this mithap when servilus had informed the Senate, letting them understand how this Piece taken by Hannibal, would ferve unto the Fathers themselves, to adventure a fuffer him thus to take root in the ground of Italy. Nevertheless answer was returned unto Servilius, that he should have patience yet awhile: for that the Confuls would shortly be there, with a Power sufficient to

When all things were ready in the City, and the season of the year commodious to take the field, the two Confuls, with their Army, fet forth against Hannibal. This was alwayes done with great folemnity: especially, whenfoever they went forth to war against any noble or redoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and folemn Vows, were made unformed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honourable train of the principal men, (not only fuch as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the war, as Voluntaries for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and dismissed At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited upon Emilius Paulus, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to do his have exhorted the Conful Paulus, with many grave words, to shew his magnanimity, not only in dealing with the Carthaginians, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious folly of his fellow-Conful. not again to run into danger of condemuafaw his best were likely to be ill taken, he would think it less rashness to adventure upon the Enemies fword, than upon the malice of his own Citizens.

ø. VIII.

Diffension between the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that Hannibal was upon point of flying out of Italy, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battail of Cannæ.

Lamp, difmissed M. Atilius, one of the bers : which were no less than all that should his Colleague, though greater in per-Rome at the present was able to set forth. formance. He told them in what danger their Country flood; how the state and safety thereof to have the better of their enemies, they fall refled upon their hands; ufing some such into an inconvenience, than which few are other common matter of perswasion. But more dangerous; Dissension of their chief the most effectual part of this Oration, was, That Hannibal with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plain time; why? because the enemy must shortforce and valour: but that only by deceit ly dillodge, and remove hence, into places and ambush he had founthe honour, which less fit for his horse. But shall the Romans he had gotten at Trebia and Thrasymene. Herewithall he taxed the inconfiderate years provisions, return into Campania to rafiness of sempronius and Flaminius; of gather a fecond Harvest? This would (faid whom the one law not his enemies, until | Varro) favour too much of Q. Fabius: And he was furrounded by them; the other your hafte (faid Paulus) doth favour no fearce faw them, when they ftruck off his less of c. Flaminius. Their deeds were like head, by reason of the thick mist, through their words: for they commanded by the darkness whereof he went groping (as turns interchangeably every day. it were blinde-fold) into their fnares. lius lodged fix miles from Hannibal, where

Attendants were the whole multitude of the Finally declaring what advantages they poorer Citizens; a troup no less in great- had against the Enemy; and how destitute ness, than the other was in dignity. At the the Enemy was of those helps, by which he parting, Fabius the late Dictator, is faid to had hitherto prevailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and do their best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their own multitude, and confidence of the Roman vertue in matter of Armes, gave them cause to The answer of Paulus, was, That he meant think, that under a Captain so well experienced, and every way fufficient, as Æmition by offending the multitude; that he lins was known to be, they should easily would do his belt for his Country, but if he prevail against the Carthaginians, that came fhort of them in all things elfe, fave craft; which would not alwayes thrive; But in one thing they mistook the meaning of their General. It was his defire that they should have heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a convenient feafon. But they, having preconceived a victory, thought all delayes to be impediments: and thereby fought to rob themfelves of their best help; which was, Good conduct. They remembred what talk they had heard at Rome; and were themselves affected with the vulgar defire, Hele new Generals, arriving at the of ending the war quickly; wherein fince Amilius had acknowledged, that the adlast years Consuls, requesting it because of vantage was theirs, why did he make them his age and weakness: Servilius they re- forbear to use it: Thus thought the comtained with them, as their Assistant. The mon Souldier : and thus also thought the first thing that Amilius thought necessary, Consul Terentius; who was no less popular was, to hearten his Souldiers with good in the Camp, than he had been in the City. words; who out of their bad fucces hi- Expectation is alwayes tedious; and never therto, had gathered more cause of fear, more, than when the Event is of most imthan of courage. He willed them to con- portance. All men longed, both at Rome, fider not only now, their victories in time and in the Army, to be freed from the past against the Carthaginians, and other doubtful passions of Hope and Fear: theremore warlike Nations than were the Car- fore Terentius, who hastened their defire to thaginians, but even their own great num- effect, was likely to win more thanks, than

Thus while the Romans think themselves Commanders. Varro would fight: Emilius would so too, but said that it was not yet wait, till Hannibal, having eaten up his last 872

if the Carthaginians would take pains to might find the more difficulty in running come, he doubted not to fend them away in from him; and that his hunger might be fuch hafte, as they should not leave run- relieved with the more early harvest. But ning till they were out of Italy. But they whilft he was about to put this device inexcame not. Terentius therefore the next day ecution, the Romans prefied him fo hard. descended into the Plains; his Colleague that they even forced him to that, which he holding him, and befeeching him to ftay. most defired, even to fight a battel upon Nevertheles, he sate down close by Hanni- open Champain ground: wherein he was balwho, as an unbidden gueft, gave him but victorious. It was not uncommendable in a rude welcome and entertainment. The Livie, to speak the best of his own Ciri-Carthaginian Horse, and light armature, fell zens; and, where they did ill, to say, That. upon the Roman Vant-courrers; and pur without their own great folly, they had the whole Army in tumult, whilst it was yet done passing well. Further also he may be in march: but they were beaten off, not excused; as writing only by report. For without los, for that the Romans had among thus he faith, Hannibal de fuga in Galliam their Velites, fome troops weightily armed, whereas the Carthaginians had none. The day following, Emilius, who could not hand- he makes it no more than a matter of hearfomely withdraw the Army out of that le- fay; as perhaps was all the rest of this Revel ground, incamped upon the River Aufi- lation. As for the process it self, it is very due; sending a third part of his forces over incredible. For if Hannibal, coming out of the water, to lye upon the Eastern bank, Ganl, thorow the Marishes and Bogs of Hernwhere they entrenched themselves. He ne- ria, could find victuals enough, and all things ver was more unwilling to fight than at this needful unto his Army, the Summer forepresent; because the ground served wholly going: what should hinder him to do the for the advantage of his enemy; with whom like this year; especially seeing he had plaid he meant to deal, when occasion should the careful Husband in making a great hardraw him to more equal terms. Therefore vest; fince he had long been Master of the he stirred not out of his Trenches, but for open field; and besides, had gotten, by surtified himself, expecting when Hannibal prise, no small part of the Romans provishould dis-lodge, and remove towards Ge- lions? Sutable hereunto is all the rest. If ryon, Canna, or some other place, where his Hannibal had taken nothing but corn and ftore lay, for want of necessaries: whereof cattel, his Souldiers might perhaps have an Army forraging the Country, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quangold with him into *Italy*: and had so well tity, for any long time.

lence, That Livie differeth much in his Re- | Souldiers, all Roman-like, and loaded his lation from Polybius; telling many strange followers with spoil: having left wheretales, of the milery into which Hannibal with to redeem as many of his own, as were had been driven; and of base courses that taken by the enemy; when the Romans he devised to take, if the Romans could have were not willing, as finding it not easie to do retained their patience a little longer. He the like. In this point therefore, we are to had (faith Livie) but ten dayes provision of attend the general agreement of Historians, meat. He had not mony to pay his fouldiers. who give it as a principal commendation They were an unruly Rabble, gathered out unto Hannibal, That he alwayes kept his of feveral Nations, so that he knew not how Army free from sedition, though it were muring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, in Manners, Religion, and almost in Naabout their Pay, and Provant, and after- ture, than they were in languages; and well get him as far as he could from the Romans, Gaul, was a fenfeles device. Hannibal, beinto the Southermost parts of Apulia; to the ling there with his whole Army, took to

the ground was somewhat uneven. Thither end, that both his unfaithful Souldiers increased his stock, since he came into that Here it would not be passed over with si- Country, that he had armed his African to keep them in order; by that from mur composed of fundry Nations, no less different wards for very famine. Especially the spa- might he so do, having not only pronounniards were ready to forfake him, and run ced, That which of his men foever fought over to the Romans fide. Yea Hannibal him- bravely with an enemy, was thereby a Carfelf was once upon the point, to have ftoln thaginian; but folemnly protested and wore, away into Gaul with all his horse, and left his (besides other rewards) to make as many foot unto their milerable destinies. At length of them as should deserve and seek it, free Cifor lack of all other counfel, he refolved to tizens of Carthage. The running away into CHAP. III. that he made all haste to get him out of it. some answerable number, for defence of his And what should be now do there with his Trenches (which out of his paucity he was hore for could he be trufted, either there, less able to spare from the battel, than or ellewhere? yea, how could he defire to were the Romans) or that these ten thouor enewards betrayed all his Army, and re- fand, falling upon the Carthaginian Camp,

Now let us return back to the two Ar-River Aufidus. Varro was perfwaded, that which as yet was lively, and full of fuch courage, as promifed affured victory. When hold. ginan, to the intent, that either Hannibal rible many. As horrible a many as they are

little pleasure in the Country and People, might be compelled to leave behind him linquified his miferable foot to the butchery of their enemies? This tale therefore Plusal the wealth therein, might thereby (as tuckomitteth, who in writing the life of commonly do fuch accidents) terrifie and Hamibal, takes in a manner all his directions diffract the enemies in the heat of fight. This from Livie. But of this and the like it is done, the two Confuls went over the water chough to fay, That all Historians love to with their Army to the leffer Camp, whence extol their own Country-men, and where a also they drew forth their men, and ranlos cannot be diffembled, nor the honour of ged them in order of battel: the ground the victory taken from the enemy, and given on the East part of the River, seeming perunto blind Fortune, there to lay all the blame haps more fit for marshalling of their Army. on tome strange mil-government of their Hannibal was glad of this, as he had great own forces: as if they might easily have cause; and without any delay, passed likewonall, but loft all through fuch folly, as wife over, fomewhat higher up the ftream, no Enemy can hope to finde in them another which ran from the South; leaving in his own Camp so many, as he thought would serve to defend it, and no more. To encourage mies, where they lye encamped on the his men; he bade them look about them, and view the ground well, upon which they it concerned him in honour to make good were to fight. They did so. And could you his word unto the people of Rome: and (faid he) pray for any greater fortune fince he had thus long waited in vain than to joyn battel with the Romans upon to get the confent of Paulus, now at length fuch a level ground, where the stronger in to the his own authority; and, without horse are sure to prevail? They all asany more disputing of the matter, to fight sented to him; and shewed by their countewhen his own day came. When therefore nances, that they were very glad of it. Well it was his turn to command; at the first then (said he further) ye are first of all to break of the day he began to pass the thank the gods, that have brought them River, without staying to bid his Col- hither; and then Us, that have trained them league good morrow. But Paulus came to along, and drawn them into necessity of him, and fought, as in former times, to playing for their lives, where they are fure to have diffiwaded him from putting the lofe them. As for the Romans, I was fain estate of his Country to a needless hazard. to encourage you against them, when Against whose words and substantial argu- ye met them first: but now ye may even ments, Terentius could alledge none other encourage your selves, by calling to mind than point of Honour. Hannibal had pre- that they are the men, whom ye have as fented them battel at their Trenches: should often beaten as seen. Of one thing only they endure this Bravado.? He had fent I will put you in mind: That whereas his his Numidians over the River but even the therto you fought for other respects, as, to day before, who fell upon the Romans that drive them before you out of Ganl; and to were fetching water to the leller Camp; win the open Country, and fields of Haly; and drave them shamefully to run within both of which ye have obtained: now are their defences, which also they made offer ye to fight for the Towns themselves, and to assail: Must this also be suffered? He all the riches within them; which this viwould not endure it: for it could not but drory shall make yours. Therefore play the weaken the spirit of the Roman Souldier; stout Souldiers: and ere many hours pass,

When he had faid this; his Brother Mago the oblimate resolution of his Companion, came to him, whom he had sent to view the he took all care, that what he faw must be countenance of the enemy. Hannibal asked done, might be done well. Ten thousand him, what news, and what work they were Roman foot he caused to be left behind, in likely to have with these Romans? Work the greater Camp opposite unto the Cartha- enough (answered Mago) for they are an hora (thus Hannibal replied) I tell thee, Brother, | niards, armed each after their own Counthat among them all, fearch them never fo try manner; their shields alike; but the diligently, thou shalt not find one man, Gauls using long broad swords, that were whose name is Mago. With that he fell a forcible in a down-right freak; the spalaughing, and so did all that stood about niards, short and well pointed blades, either him; which gladded the fouldiers, who to firike or thrust; the Gauls, naked from thought their General would not be so mer- their navel upwards, as consident in their ry, without great affurance. Whether it own fierceness: the spaniards, wearing were fo, that Hannibal, in the pride of his white Cassocks embroidered with Purple. victorics already gotten, valued one Mago This medley of two Nations, differing as above many thousand Romans; or whether well in habit and furniture, as in quality, he intimated, that the Romans were no less troubled with thinking upon Mago and his strange. The Gauls were strong of body and Companions than was Mago with beholding furious in giving charge, but foon wearied. their huge multitude; or whether he meant as accustomed to spend their violence at the only to correct the fad mood of his Bro- firstbrunt, which disposition all that come ther with a jest, and show himself merry un- of them have inherited to this day. The Shato the Souldiers: this his answer was more mards were less eager, but more wary; neimanly, than was the relation of his discove- ther ashamed to give ground, when they rer. But if Hannibal himself had been sent were over-pressed; nor asraid to return and forth by Mago, to view the Romans, he could renew the fight, upon any small encouragenot have returned with a more gallant re- ment. As the roughness of the one, and paport in his mouth, than that which Captain tience of the other, ferved mutually to re-Gam, before the battel of Agincourt, made duce each of them to a good and firm temunto our King Henry the fifth: faying, That per; fo the place which they held in this of the Frenchmen, there were enow to be kil- battel, added confidence joyntly unto them led; enow to be taken prisoners; and enow both. For they saw themselves well and to run away. Even fuch words as these, or strongly flanked with Carthaginians and fuch pleasant jests as this of Hannibal, are not other Africans; whose name was grown terwithout their moment; but ferve many rible in Spain, by their Conquests, and in times, when battel is an hand, to work up- | Gaul, by this their present war. Since thereon fuch passions, as must govern more of the fore it could not be feared, that any great bufiness: especially, where other needful calamity should fall upon them, whill the care is not wanting, without which they are | wings on either fide flood fast: thele Barbut vain boafts.

led himfelf, expressing no less perfection of knowing that the enemy could not press his military skill, than was greatness in his far upon them, without further ingaging spirit and undertakings. For to omit the himself than discretion would allow. Herecommodiousness of the place, into which he unto may be added that great advantage, had long before conceived the means to which the Carthaginian had in horse; by draw his enemies to battel; he marshalled which he was able, if the worst had happed, his Army in such convenient order, that all to make a good retrait. The effect of contrahands were brought to fight, where every ries is many times alike. Desperationbegetone might do best service. His Darters, teth courage; but no greater, nor so lively, and Slingers of the Baleares, he fent off be- as doth affured Confidence. Hannibal therefore him, to encounter with the Roman Ve- fore caused the Gauls and Spaniards to adlites. These were loose troops, answerable vance, leaving void the place whereinthey in a manner to those, which we call now by had stood, and into which they might fall a French name, Enfans Perdues; but when back, when they should be over-hardly prewe use our own terms, the forlorn-hope. The fed. So, casting them into the form of a groß of his Army following them, he or- | Crefcent, He made them as it were his Vantdered thus. His Africans, armed after the guard: the two points of this great half Roman manner, with the spoils which they Moon, that looked toward the empty space had gotten at Trebia, Thrassmene, or else- from which he had drawn it, being narrow where; and well trained in the use of those and thin, as serving only to guide it orderly weapons that were of more advantage, than back, when need should require; the fore those wherewith they had formerly served; most part of the Ring, swelling out toward made the two wings very deep in File. Between these he ranged his Gauls, and Spa- thickned against all impression. The circle

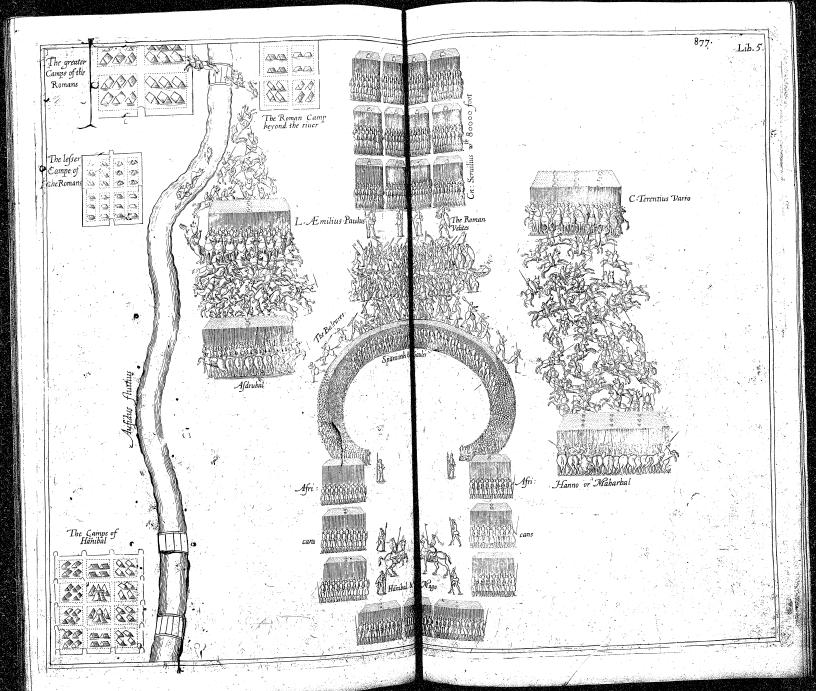
made a gallant shew, and terrible, because barians had no cause to shrink, or forbear to In this great day, the Carthaginian excel- | imploy the uttermost of their hardines, as fladowed the Africans, who stood behind the South. it though fuch figures, cut in brass, as I have feen of this Battel, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appear: as Slingers of the Baleares; Astrubal brake upalso in the same figures it is omitted, That on the Consul Paulus, and was roughly enany Companies of Africans, or others, were any companies, to second the Gauls and on horse-back, used in those times, wheeling spaniards, when they were driven to retrait; about Alman-like; but each giving on in a though it be manifelt, that Hannibal in per- right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having fon flood between the last ranks of his long the River on the one hand, and the shoulder Battalions, and in the head of his Rear, of the foot on the other hand; fo that there doubtlefs well accompanied with the choice was no way left, but to pierce and break of his own Nation. Between the left Batta- thorow. Wherefore they not only used their lion and the River Aufidus, were the Gauls Lances and Swords; but rushing violently and Spanish horse, under the command of amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: Assumble: On the right wing, toward the and so their horses running from under them, wide Plains, was Hanno (Livie faith Mahar | fell many to the ground; where flatting up hall with the Numidian light-horse. Hanni- again, they began to deal blows like foothalhimself, with his brother Mago, had the men. In conclusion, the Roman horse were leading of the Rear. The whole fum of over-born, and driven by plain force to a Hamibals Army in the field this day, was staggering recoil. This the Consul Paulus herfe.

The Roman Army was marshalled in the usual form: but somewhat more narrow, and deep than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had been found convenient against the Carthaginians, in the former war. It was indeed no bad way of refistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks thick and flort, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Rear, that it might stand fast the disordered troups might re-ally themfelves. Thus much it feems, that Terentius had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battels accor-

hereof feemeth to have been fo great, that it their faces Northward, the Romans toward

of the History of the World.

After some light skirmish, between the Roman Velites, and Hannibal his Darters and countred: not after the manner of service tenthousand horse, and forty thousand foot, could not remedy. For Asarbal, with his his enemies having two to one against him in boisterous Gauls and Spaniards, was not to foot; and He, five to three against them in be refisted by these Roman Gentlemen, unequal both in number, and in horfmanthip. When the battels came to joyning, the Roman Legionaries found work enough, and fomewhat more than enough, to break that great Crefcent, upon which they first fell: To strongly for the while, did the Gauls and spanish foot make relistance. Wherefore the two points of their battel drew towards the midit; by whose aid, these opposites were forced to difband, and fly back to compacted as a wall, under shelter whereof their first place. This they did in great haste and fear : and were with no less haste, and folly purfued. Upon the Africans that ftood behind them, they needed not to fall foul; both for that there was void room dingly, as meaning to flew more skill, than enough; and forasmuch as the Rear, or wasin his understanding. But the Carthagi Horns of this Moon, pointed into the fafe mians had here no Elephants with them in retrait, where Hannibal with his Carthagithe field: their advantage was in Horfe; nians was ready to re-enforce them, when against which, this manner of imbattailing time should require. In this halty retrait, was very unprofitable, forafimuch as their or flight of the Ganls and Spaniards, it hapcharge is better fultained in front, than upon ned, as was necessary, that they who had a long flank. As for *Emilius*, it was not his stood in the limb or utter compass of the half day of command: He was but an Affiftant; Moon, made the innermost or concave surand in fuch cases it happens often, that wise face thereof (disordered and broken though men yield for very weariness unto the more it were) when it was forced to turn the incontentions. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the Roman horfe-men, as yet, untouched, only turning round, and under the Conful Paulus: On the left wing, recoyling very little. So the Romans in purwas C. Terentius Varrothe other Conful, with fuing them, were inclosed in an half circle; the reft of the horfe, which were of the La- which they should not have needed greatly tines, and other affociates: Cn. Servillus the to regard, (for that the fides of it were former years Conful, had the leading of the exceeding thin and broken; and the bothers and the bothers are the second than the second the second the second than the second the second than th battel. The Sun was newly rifen, and offended neither part; the Carthaginian: having routed, and feeming unable to make refiftance) had all the enemies foot been cast company alighted, thinking that the Conful into this one great body, that was in a man- had given order fo to do: as in many batner diffolved. But whilft the Legions, follow- tels, the Roman men at arms had left their ing their supposed victory, rushed on upon horses, to help their foot in diffres. When those that stood before them, and thereby Hannibal (for he was near at hand) perceivunwittingly engaged themselves deeply ed this, and understood that the Conful had within the principal strength of the Enemies, willed his horse-men to dismount; He was within the principal fitting and beat and pleasantly fail, the work of them in on both hands; the two very glad of it, and pleasantly fail, the different pleasantly fail, the would have delivered them unto me, far, that getting beyond the Rear of them, bound hand and foot: meaning that he had they enclosed them, in a manner, behind: them now almost as safe, as if they were so and forward they could not pass far, with- bound. All this while C. Terentius Varro, with out removing Hannibal and Mago; which the horse of his associates, in the lest wing, made that way the least easie. Hereby it is was marvellously troubled by Hanno(or Maapparent, That the great Crescent, before harbal) and the Numidians: who beating fpoken of, was of such extent, as covered the up and down about that great fandy Plain. Africans, who lay behind it undifcerned, un- raifed a foul dust; which a strong South till now. For it is agreed, that the Romans wind, blowing there accustomarily, drave were thus empaled unawares; and that they into the eyes and mouths of the Romans. behaved themselves, as men that thought These, using their advantage both of number upon no other work, than what was found and of lightness, wearied the Consul and his them by the Gauls. Neither is it credible, followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor that they would have been fo mad, as to fuftaining any charge, but continually run head-long, with the whole bulk of their making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at Army, into the throat of flaughter; had the first they seemed to promise him an hapthey feen those weapons bent against them py day of it. For when the battails were at the first, which when they did fee, they even ready to joyn; five hundred of these had little hope to escape. Much might be Numidians came pricking away from their imputed to their heat of fight, and rashness fellows, with their shields cast behind their of inferiour Captains: but fince the Con- backs, (as was the manner of those which ful Paulus, a man so expert in war, being | yielded) and throwing down their arms. vanquished in horse, had put himself among rendred themselves. This was good luck to the Legions; it cannot be supposed, that begin withall, if there had been good meanhe and they did wilfully thus engage them- ing. Varro had not leifure to examine them; felves. Afdrubal, having broken the but caused them, unweaponed as they were, troups of Roman horse, that were led by to get them behind the Army, where he the Conful Paulus, followed upon them bade them rest quietly till all was done. along the River side, beating down and These crasty adventurers did as he bade killing, as many as he could, (which were them, for a while; till they found opporalmost all of them) without regard of tak- tunity to put in execution the purpole, for ing prisoners. The Consul himself was ci- which they had thus yielded. Under their ther driven upon his own Legions, or wil- Jackets they had short swords and poniards; lingly did cast himself among them; as besides which, they found other scattered hoping by them to make good the day, not- weapons about the field of such as were lain, withstanding the defeat of his horse. But he and therewithal slew upon the hindmost of failed of this his expectation. Nevertheless the Romans, whilst all eyes and thoughts he cheared up his men as well as he could, were bent another way: fo that they did both with comfortable words, and with great mischief, and raised yet a greater terthe example of his own front behaviour: ror. Thus Hannibal, in a plain level ground, beating down and killing many of the found means to lay an ambush at the back of enemies with his own hand. The like did his enemies. The last blow, that ended all Hannibal among his Carthaginians, in the fight and refistance, was given by the same fame part of the battel; and with better fue- hand which gave the first. Afdrubal (having cels. For the Consul received a blow from in short space broken the Roman troups of a fling, that did him great hurt : and though horfe, and cut in pieces all, fave the Coma troup of Roman Gentlemen, riding about pany of Emilius that rushed into the gross of him, did their best to save him from further his foot, and a very few besides, that recoverharm; yet was he so hardly laid at, that ed some narrow passage, between the River he was compelled, by wounds and weak- and their own Battalions) did not flayto ness, to for fake his horse. Hereupon all his charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell



hack behind the Rear of his own, and that he lived and died mindful of his wholegetching about, came up to the Numidians: Some counsel. These words (peradventure) with whom he joyned, and gave upon Te- or some to like purpose, the Consul uttered

behindit, on the other fide: fo did it prog- time he put himself in the head of his Leginosticate a dismal storm unto those upon ons. For I doubt not, but Hannibal knew whomit was ready now to fall. Wherefore what he faid a good while before this; Terentius his followers, having wearied when he thought the Conful and his troup, nosultain; thought it the best way, to avoid inclosed indeed as within a sack; whereof the danger by present flight. The Consul the African Battalions made the fides; the was no less wife than they, in apprehending Spaniards, Gauls, and Hannibal with his Carthe greatness of his own peril; nor more thaginians, the bottom; and Afdrubal with desperate, in striving to work impossibili- his horse, closed up the mouth: in which ties: it being impossible, when so many part, they first of all were shuffled together. fhrank from him, to fustain the impression and began the Rout, wherein all the rest alone, which he could not have indured followed. Emilius therefore, who could with their affiftance. Now he found that not fit his horse, whilst the battel yet lasted, it was one thing to talk of Hannibal at Rome; and whilft the spaces were somewhat open, and another, to incounter him. But of this, by which he might have withdrawn himor of ought elfe, excepting hafty flight, his felf; was now (had he never fo well been fider. Close at the heels of him and his flying close a throng of his own miserable (ollointo judgement by the People, either as an ac- and leave him. cufer of his Colleague, or as guilty himself of In this terrible overthrow died all the Roas fall as well they could, and telling Fabius, of them brake forth, and joyning with such

to Lentulus, either when against his will he This fearful Cloud, as it shewed at the was drawn to that battel, or when he befirst appearance what weather it had left held the first defeat of his horse; at what themselves much in doing little, and seeing in little better case than if they had been more work toward, than they could hope bound. The whole Gross of the Romans, was present leisure would not serve him to con- mounted) unable to fly, having in his way so troups, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Afdrubal* unto the purfuit, as fit-apace in that great Carnage. It fufficeth untelt for that service. Aschrubal himself, with to his honour, That in the Battel he fought the Gauls and Spanish horse, compassing no less valiantly, than he had warily before, about, fell upon the backs of the Romans; both abstained himself, and disswaded his that were ere this hardly diffressed, and in sellow-Consul, from fighting at all. If, when amanner surrounded on all parts else: He the day was utterly lost, it had lien in his brake them eafily; who before made ill re- power to fave his own life unto the good of fiftance, being inclosed, and laid at on every his Country, never more needing it: I should fide, not knowing which way to turn. Here think, that he either too much discheemed began a pittiful flaughter: the vanquished himself; or being too faintly minded, was multitude thronging up and down, they weary of the World, and his unthankful knew not whither or which way, whilst Citizens. But if such a resolution were every one fought to avoid those enemies, praise-worthy in Amilius, as proceeding whom he faw nearest. Some of the Roman out of Roman valour; then was the English Gentlemen that were about Amilius, got vertue of the Lord John Talbot, Viscount up to horfe, and faved themselves: which | Lifle, son to that famous Earl of shrewsbury, though it is hardly understood how they who died in the Battel of Chastillon, more could do; yet I will rather believe it, than highly to be honoured. For Æmilius was Suppose that Livie so reporteth, to grace old, grievously, if not mortally, wounded, thereby his Hiftory with this following tale. and accomptable for the overthrow receiv-Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, galloping along by a ed: Talbot was in the flowre of his youth, Place where he faw the Conful fitting all bloodi- unhurt, cafily able to have escaped, and not ed won a stone, intreated him to rise and save answerable for that dayes misfortune, when bimself; offering him his allistance and horse. he refused to forsake his Father; who fore-But Paulus refused it; willing Lentulus to seeing the loss of the battel, and not meaning Shift for himfelf, and not to lofe time: faying, to stain his actions past by flying in his old That it was not his purpose to be brought again age, exhorted this his noble fon to be gone

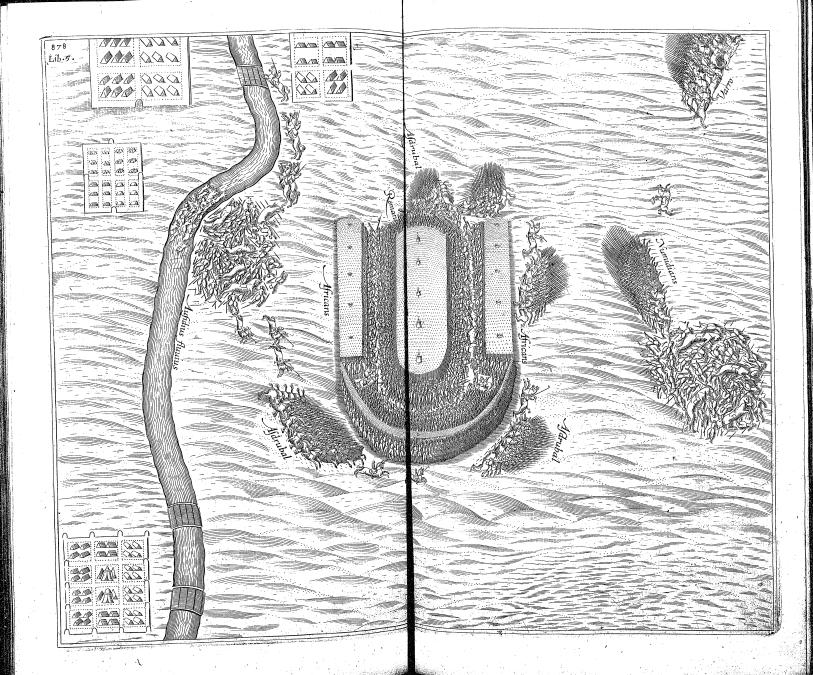
that dayes loss. Further, he willed Lentulus man foot, fave two or three thousand, who to commend him to the Senate, and in particu- (as Livie faith) escaped into the lesser Camplarto Fabius: willing them to fortifie Rome, whence the same night, about six hundred of those in the greater Camp, as were willing | Confuls: among whom was Ch. Servilius. to try their fortune, conveyed themselves the last years Consul, and Minutius, late away ere morning, about four thouland fcot, Master of the horse. The number of prisoand two hundred horfe, partly in whole ners, taken in this battel, Livie makeyno troops, partly dispersed into Cannussum: the greater than three thousand foot, and three next day the Roman Camps, both less and hundred horse: too few to have defended greater, were yielded unto Hannibal by those for the space of one half hour, both the Rothat remained in them. Polybius hath no man Camps, which yet the same Livie saith. mention of this escape: only he reports, that to have been over-cowardly yielded up. We the ten thousand, whom Emilius had left on may therefore do better, to give credit unto the West side of Aussidus (as was snewed be- one of the prisoners, whom the same History fore) to fet upon the Camp of Hannibal, did rian shortly after introduceth, speaking in as they were appointed; but ere they could the Senate, and faying, That they were no effect their defire, which they had well-near less than eight thousand. It may therefore be, done, the battel was loft: and Hannibal, that these three thousand were only such as coming over the water to them, drave them the Enemy spared, when the sury of Execuinto their own Camp; which they quickly tion was past: but to these must be added yielded, having loft two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first the greater Camp, when their company were fight of Hannibal, coming upon them with cither flain or fled. So the reckoning falls his victorious Army, a greater number of out right: which the Romans, especially the these did flye, and thereby escaped, whilst their fellows, making defence in vain, retired into their Camp, and held the enemy busied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not half full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that having ferved at Canna, were afterwards extremely difgraced by the State of Rome, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the Roman horse what numbers escaped, it is uncertain: but very few they were that faved themselves in the first charge, by getting behind the River; and was therefore told, That he knew have to and Terentius the Conful recovered Venusia, get, not how to use a victory. with threefcore and ten at the most in his company. That he was so ill attended, it is no marvel: for Venusia lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his nearest way thither, had been thorow the midst of Hannibals Army, if the passage had been open-Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of fight, he turned up some by- Fabius the Roman, and Philinus the Carthaway; so disappointing the Numidians that gian; who, regarding more the pleasure hunted contre. Of fuch as could not hold of them unto whose honour they consepace with the Conful, but took other wayes, crated their travels, than the truth of and were scattered over the fields; two things, and information of posterity, magnithouland, or thereabout, were gathered up fied indifferently, whether good or bad, all by the Numrdians, and made prisoners: the actions and proceedings, the one of his Carrest were slain, all save three hundred, who thaginians, the other of his Roman Quirites, differfed themselves in flight, as chance and Fathers conscript. No man of sound led them, and got into fundry Towns. There judgment will condemn this liberty of cendied in this great Battel of Canna, befides fure, which Polybius hath used. For, to recom-L. Emilius Paulus the Conful, two of the pence his juniority (fuch as it was) he pro-Roman Quartors or Treasurers, and one and duceth substantial arguments, to justifichis twenty Colonels or Tribunes of the Soul- own Relation; and confuteth the vanity of diers, fourfcore Senators, or fuch as had born those former authors, out of their own wil office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of special which pains is to be surface. cial mark, as having been #diles, Prators or would not have taken, had he been bornin

about five thousand more, who yielded in Consul Varro, had before cast up (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they find it. On the fide of Hannibal there died fome four thousand Gauls, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred Horse, or thereabouts: a loss not sensible, in the joy of so great a victory; which if he had purfued, as Maharbal advised him, and forthwith marched away towards Rome; it is little doubted but that the war had prefently been at an end Buthe believed not fo far in his own prosperity;

ø. IX.

Of things following the Battel at Canna.

DOT without good cause doth Polybius reprehend those two Historians,



either of these two Cities, but have spared unto him; not only in regard of their griefome part of his diligence, and been content- vous losses sustained abroad in the fields, ed to have all men think better and more which the Romans themselves, who could not honourably than he deserved, of his own hinder him from spoiling the Country, espe-Country. The like disease it is to be feared, cially the poorer fort of them did hardly inthat we shall hereafter find in others; and dure; but in a loving respect unto that great shall have some cause to wish, that either courtesie (as it seemed) which he used unto they were somewhat less Roman, or else, that such of them as became his prisoners. For as some works of their opposite Writers were at other times, so now after this great victoextant, that so we might at least hear both ry at Canna, he had lovingly dismissed as fides speak: being henceforth destitute of many of the Italian Confederates of Rome, Polybius his help, that was a man indifferent. as fell into his hands, rebuking them gently But fince this cannot be, we must be some- for being so obstinate against him that had times bold, to observe the coherence of sought to deliver them from bondage. Neithings; and believe so much only to be true, ther spared he to win their love by gifts, as dependeth upon good reason, or (at least) pretending to admire their valour; but seekfair probability. This attentive circumfpe- ing indeed, by all wayes and means, to make ction is needful at the present : such is the them his, whilst all other motives were conrepugnancy, or forgetfulness, which we current. At this time also he began to deal find in the best narration of things following kindly (though against his nature) with the the Battel of Canna. For it is faid, that four Roman prisoners; telling them, that he bore thousand foot and horse gathered toge- no mortal hatred unto their Estate; but bether about the Conful Terentius at Venulia; ing provoked by injuries, fought to right that others to the number of ten thousand himself and his Country; and fought with got into Cannussum, chusing for their Cap- them, to try which of these two Ciries Rome tains, young P. Scipio, and Ap. Claudius; yet or Carthage, should bear soveraign Rule, not, that the Conful Terentius Varro, joyning his which of them should be destroyed. So he company unto those of scipio at Cannusum, gave them leave to chuse ten of their numwrote unto the Senate, that he had now ber, that should be sent home to treat with well-near ten thousand men about him; that the Fathers about their ransome: and togethese letters of the Consul were brought to ther with these he sent Carthalo a Noble Rome, when the Senate was newly rifen, man of Carthage, and General of his Horfe to that had been taking order for pacifying feel the disposition of the Senate, whether it those tumults in the City, which grew upon were bowed as yet by so much adversity, the first bruit of the overthrow; and yet, and could stoop unto desire of peace. But that Embassadours from Capua (after some with the Romans these Arts prevailed not, confultation, whether it were meet to fend as shall be shewed in due place. The people any, or without further circumstance, to side of Italy, all, or most of them, save the Rowith Hannibal) were fent unto Terentius, and | man Colonies, or the Latines, were not only found him at Venusia, a pretty while before weary of their losses past, but entertained he wrote those letters, which overtook (in a deceivable hope, of changing their old a manner) at Rome the first news of the Society for a better. Wherefore not only overthrow. Among such incoherences, I the Samnites, Lucans, Brutians, and Apuhold it the best way, to omit so much as lians, ancient enemies of Rome, and not unhath not some particular connexion with til the former Generation utterly subdued, matter enfuing: mutual dependency in began to re-assume their wonted spirits: but things of this nature, being no small argu- the Campans, a Nation of all in Italy most ment of truth.

Camp, and truffed up the spoils, forthwith he | ly conjoyned, as were any save the Latines, dif-lodged, and marched away into samni- changed on a fudden their love into hatred, um; finding a disposition in the Hirpines, and without any other cause found, than change many other people thereabout, to forfake of fortune. the Roman party, and make alliance with Carthage. The first Town that opened the ful Province of Italy, if not (as some then gates unto him, was Coffa, where he laid up thought) of all the Earth: and the City of his baggage: and leaving his Brother Mago Capua, answerable unto the Country, whereto take in other places, he hasted into Cam- of it was Head; so great, fair, and wealthy, pania. The general affection of the multi- that it feemed no less convenient a feat of the

bound unto the State of Rome, and by When Hannibal had facked the Roman many mutual affinities therewith as straight-

Campania is the most goodly and fruittude, in all the Cities of Italy, was inclinable | Empire, than was either Rame or Carthage.

quisite unto soveraign command. The Cam- a Roman: but, that the danger of forsaking pans were luxurious, idle, and proud: and of the Roman party was not now the greavaluing themselves like Jayes by their feateft: for that the people were violently bent thers despited the unfortunate vertue of the to murder all the Senate, and after to joyn Romans their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet themselves with Hannibal, who should counwere there fome of the principal among tenance the fact, and save them harmles. them, as in other Cities, that bore especial This he spake, as a man well known to be regard unto the Majesty of Rome, and could beloved himself by the people, and prive not indure to hear of Innovation. But the unto their defigns. Having throughly terri-Flebeian faction had lately so prevailed with- fied the Senate, by laying open the danger in Capua, that all was governed by the pleafure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of Pacuvius Calavius an ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, to his hands; offering his oath, or any other and was up held by furthering all popular defires; whereof the conjunction with Hannibal was not the leaft. Some of the Capuans had offered their City to the Carthaginians shortly after the battel of Thrasymene: whereupon chiefly it was, that Hannibal made his journey into Campania: the Dictator Fabius waiting upon him. At that time, either the nearness of the Roman Army, or some other fear of the Capuans, hindred them from surprised by his policy, and all fast, ready to breaking into actual rebellion. They had abide what fentence they would lay upon indeed no leifure to treat about any article them. Only thus much he advised them, as of new Confederacy: or, had leifure ferved, a thing which necessity required, That they yet were the multitude (whose inconstant should chuse a new Senate, before they salove Hannibal had won from the Romans, tisfied their anger upon the old. So rehearing by gentle ulage, and free difiniffing of fome unto them the names of one or two Senaprisoners in good account among them) un- tors; he asked what their judgement was able to hold any fuch negotiation, without of those. All cryed out, That they were woradvice of the Senate, which mainly impug- thy of death. Chuse then (said he) first of ned it. So they that had promised to yield all some new ones into their places. Hereat up their Town to Hannibal, and meet him the multitude, unprovided for such an elethat should assure him of all faithful mean-other adventured to name whom he thought plexity: as having failed to let in this their liked by the whole Affembly; either for

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But of all qualities, Bravery is the least re- Lady, and given his Daughter in marriage to hapging over them : He promised nevertheless to deliver them all, and to set things in quiet, if they would freely put themselves inaffurance that they should demand for his faithful meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting up the Court, and placing a guard of his own followers about it, that none might enter, nor issue forth, without his leave; he called the people to affembly: and fpeaking as much ill of the Senate as he knew they would be glad to hear, he told them, that these wicked Governours were on the way, with some of their Nobility ction, was filent, until at last some one or ing, were driven to fit still in a great per- fit. The men so nominated, were utterly disnew friend, yet sufficiently discovered them- some known fault, baseness and insufficiency; felves, to draw upon them the hatred of the or else even because they were unknown, Romans. In this case were no small number and therefore held unworthy. This difficulof the Citizens; who thereupon grew the ty in the new Election appearing more and more incensed against their Senate, on whom more, whilst more were to be chosen; (the they cast all the blame, easily pardoning sittest man to be substituted, having been their own cowardize. The people holding named among the first, and not thought sit for tender a regard of liberty, that even the lawful government of Magistrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppression; had nate might for this time be spared, in hope now good cause to fear left the Senators of amends hereafter; which (doubtles) would become their Lords indeed, and by they would make, having thus obtained help of the Romans bring them under a pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not more straight subjection, than ever they had nonly the people, as in former times, hoendured. This fear being ready to break in- noured Pacuvius, and efteemed him their to some outrage, Pacuvius made use of, to Patron; but the Senators also were governferve his own ambition. He discoursed unto ed by him, to whom they acknowledged the Senate, as they fate in Counsel, about themselves indebted, for faving all their those motions troubling the City: and said, Dives Neither did the Senate fail after this by That he himself had both married a Roman all obsequiousness, to court the people, giving

the reines unto their lawless Will, who else tude; whom he put in mind of Pyrrhus and being thus of one mind; only fear of the Ro- old friends for new acquaintance. This did pans, did then serve the Romans in the Isle of it, and to cut it in pieces, that by such a vailed so far, that Embassadors were sent unto amends unto the Romans, whom they had Terentino the Conful, to fee his present case, for sken. and what it could minister of Hope or

were likely to cast them down. All the City the Tarentines, wishing them not to change mans kept them from opening their gates to he, when they were fending Embassadours Hannibal. But after the Battel at Canna, this unto Hannibal; and this also did he, when impediment was removed; and few there the new alliance was concluded; but most were that would open their mouths to speak earnestly, when a Carthaginian Garrison was against the rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three entring the Town: at which time he gave hundred principal Gentlemen of the Cam- advice, either to keep it out, or to fall upon Sicil: the Parents and Kinfmen of these pre- notable piece of service, they might make

Advertisement hereof was given to Han-Fear. These, wheresoever they found him, nibal: who lying about Naples not far off. found him weakly attended, and as weak in fent for Magins to come speak with him in fpirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him the Camp. This Magius refused : alledging, formally the service of their State; and de- that he was, by the late concluded Articles, fired to know what he would command free from subjection unto any Carthaeinian; them. But he most basely lamented unto and therefore would not come. Hannibal them the greatness of the Roman misfortune: thereupon hasted himself towards Capua; faying. That all was loft; and that the cam- forbearing to attempt any further upon pans must now not help the Romans, who had Naples, which he thought to have taken in his nothing left wherewith to help themselves, way by Scalado, but found the walls too high, but make war in their defence against the and was not well provided to lay siege unto Carthaginass, as the Romans had fometimes it. At Capua he was entertained with great done for the Campans against the Samnites. solemnity and pomp: all the people isluing Hereunto he is faid to have added a foolish forth of the Town, to behold the great Invective against Hannibal and his Cartha- Commander, which had won so many noble ginians: telling, how he had taught them victories. Having taken his pleasure in the to make bridges of flaughtered carkaffes, fight of that goodly City, and paffed over his and to feed upon mans flesh, with such first entertainments, he came into their Seother stuff, as only bewrayed his own fear. nate, where he commended their resolution, As for the Campans themselves, he put in shaking off the Roman yoke; promising, them in mind of their present strength: that ere long all Italy and Rome it self, should they having thirty thousand foot, and four be driven to acknowledge Capua as chief, thouland horse; with money, and all pro- and receive Law from thence. As for Decius visions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed Magins, who openly took part with the Rothem prouder than they came, and filled mans their enemies; he prayed them, that them with conceit of getting a great Lord- they would not think him a Campan, but a thip; whereas before they were fome- Traitor to the State, and use him accordingwhat timorous in adventuring to feek ly, giving fentence out of hand upon him, as their own liberty. Having reported this he deferved. This was granted : and Magine at Capua; the same Embassadours were dif- delivered unto Hannibal; who unwilling to patched away to Hannibal, with whom they offend the Capuans, at his first coming, by eafily made alliance, upon these conditi- putting so great a man to death, yet fearing ons; that the Campans should be absolute- that they might sue for his liberty, if he kept ly free, and ruled by their own Laws; him alive, thought it best to fend him away That no Citizens of theirs should be subject to Carthage. Thus Hannibal settled his friendunto any Carthaginian Magistrate, in what ship with the Campanes : among whom, oncase soever, whether in War or Peace; and ly th's Decius Magius had openly dared to that Hannibal should deliver unto the Cam- speak against him; being affisted by Perolla Pans three hundred Roman prisoners, such the Son of Pacuvius. This Parolla would as themselves would chuse, whom they have murdered Hannibal, whilst he was might exchange for their Gentlemen which at supper, the first night of his coming, had not his Fathers authority kept him from at-Against all this Negotiation, Decius Ma- tempting any such attempt. All the Town gim, an honourable Citizen, opposed him- (besides) were so earnest in the love of their telfearnestly; using, in vain, many perswa-fions, to the wilful and head-strong Multi-dered all the Romans, upon whom at the

all one) to have mothered them to death fcue of Hieron, in an hot Bath.

which depended on this, as their Mother-take foveraign charge of the Weal-publick, City. Nola, Nuceria, Naples, Cassline, and Acer- with absolute power, as necessity required. re, were the Ciries next adjoyning, that It must needs seem strange, that all forts of frood out for the Romans. Against these people went forth to meet the Consul, and Hanibal went, thinking to find them weak- bid him welcome home, giving him thanks ly manned; as they were indeed, though for that he had not depaired of the Weal-pub-

froutly defended. to put Garrifons into all their walled less) provided wisely for upholding the ge-Towns; but were fain to leave all places, neral reputation. If this coming into the except a few of the most suspected, unto the City had renewed the lamentations and outfaith and courage of the inhabitants. Rome cries of the people: what else would have it self was in extream fear of Hannibals followed, than a contempt of their wretchcoming, at the first report of the overthrow edness, among those that were subject unto at Canna: and the grief of that loss was so their Dominion? Now in finding this ocgeneral, and immoderate, that it much cation (though indeed he gave it not) of diffurbed the provision against apparent bestowing upon him their welcome, and danger. It was hard to judge, whether the thanks; they noised abroad a fame, which loss already received, or the fear of destru- came perhaps unto the ears of Hannibal, of ction prefently threatning, were the more their Magnanimity and Confidence: that terrible. All the Senators found work might feem grounded on their remaining enough, to stint the noise and lamentable strength. This therfore was wifely done. But which was in readiness to set upon Lily- that whosoever ought money and could baum, and the rest of the Roman Pro- not pay it, or had committed any capital

present they could lay hand ; or (which is vince, if the Prætor stirred aside to the re-

In the midst of these extremities, it was The fame course of fortune, with those thought needful to call home Terentise the of Capua, ran some other Towns thereabouts Conful, that he might name a Dictator, to lick.But this was done (as may feem) by or-The Romans at this time were not in case der from the Senate: which therein (doubtbewailings, whereof the firects were full, whereas Livie would have us think, that it to the bewailings. Courses were fent forth, to bring affured was done generoully, and out of great fairt, tidings how all werths hereof when Letters let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It from the Confu Varro had throughly in- was done fearfully, and to cover their grief: formed them, they were fo amazed, that had they dared to flew their indignation, they ran into barbarous superstition; and they would have struck off his head; as in taking direction (as was faid) from their fa- few years after, Cn. Fulvius had his life tal books, buried alive two men and women, brought into question, and was banished by Gaules and Greeks, in their Oxe-market. If them, being less blame-worthy, for a smaller the books of sibyl gave them fuch instruction offence. M. Junius, by appointment of the ons; we may juftly think that sibyl her felf Senate, was nominated Dictator; and T.Sem-Liniban was inftructed by the Divel. Yet is it not im- pronius, Mafter of the horse. These fell preprobable, that extremity of fear caused fently to mustering of Souidiers, of whom them to hearken to wicked South fayers; they raifed four new Legions, and one thouwhose detestable counsels they afterwards fand horse: though with much difficulty; for their own honour (as affnamed of fuch as being fain to take up fonce that were very Authors) imputed to the books of sibyl. An boyes. These four Legions are essewhere Embassadour was sent to Delphi, to consult forgotten in account of the forces levied by with the oracle of Apollo; and enquire with this Dictator; and two Legions only fet what prayers and supplications they might down, that had been enrolled in the beginpacifie the gods, and obtain an end of these ning of the year for custody of the City. calamities. This is enough to discover the So it may be, that these two Legions being Links greatness of their fear; though not ferving drawn into the field; four new ones of to give remedy. At that time came Letters Pretextati, or striplings were left in their out of sicil, from the Prætor of Ocincilius; places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, whom the Senate had appointed, it he found little confidence was to be reposed; for it meet, to pals over into Africk. In these which reason they increased their number, were contained news of one Carthaginian by adding unto them eight thousand flurdy flect that walted the kingdome of Hieron llaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if their good friend and confederate; and of they should deserve it by manfull service. another fleet, riding among the Isles Agateis, This not sufficing, the Dictator proclaimed,

his debt or punishment, if he would ferve them at the price, whereat he thought in the War. To arm these Companies, they them current. But if we should suppose, were fain to take down out of their Tem- that by trading with Hannibal, a better ples and Porches, the spoils of their enemies bargain for slaves might have been made. that had been there fet up: among which, than was by the State at home, in dealing were 6000. Armours of the Gaules, that with private men; yet must we withal conhad been carried in the Triumph of C. Fla- | fider, that these private men did only lend War. To fuch mockery had God brought wealth, and were afterwards contented to the pride of the Romans, as a due reward of forbear the price of them (when by order of their insolent oppressions, that they were the Senate they were enfranchised) unfain to iffue forth of their own gates, in the till the war should be ended. If Hannihabit of strangers, when Hannibal was ready bal would have given such long day of to encounter them with his Africans, armed payment, it is likely that the Romans Roman-like.

with the Agents of the prisoners taken at rather to say, We will not give, than, We Canna, came to Rome. Carthalo was not ad- cannot. The like aufterity, upon the fame mitted into the City, but commanded, whilft reason, but contrary pretence, was used he was on the way to be gone ere night out toward the Souldiers that escaped from of the Roman Territory. To the messengers that great battel. These were charged of the captives audience was given by the for having fled: as the prifoners were, for Senate. They made earnest Petition to be not flying, when they might have done ransomed at the publick charge; not only so. True it is, that in such cases (if ever) the tears&amentation of their poor kinsfolk | that which they call Raggione del Stato, may but the great need, wherein the City then | serve for an excuse: when the Commonflood, of able Souldiers, commending their wealth, being driven to a milerable exifuit; which yet they obtained not. Besides gent, is sain to help it self, by doing in-the general custom of the Romans (held by Juries to private men. And so dealt the long Tradition, and strengthened by a Romans now: condemning all those that notable Precedent, when Regulus was overhad served at Canna, to be transported thrown, and taken prisoner in the former into sicil; and there to serve, not as War) not to be too tender of fuch as had others did, untill they had fulfilled twenyielded to the enemy; much was alleaged ty years in the Wars, or else were fifty against these who now craved ransome : but | years of age, but untill this War should selves, as others did. It sufficed not unto censure was afterwards laid upon others, they had been severe; when as indeed they apparent than the fault. were fuitable to the present fortune, poor

offence, should forthwith be discharged of ransome: and likely it is, that he offered minius, a little before the beginning of this these slaves for a while unto the Common-Liville 26.

would have been his Chapmen: but, feeing About the same time it was that Carthalo he dealt only for ready money, they chose the special point was, that they were wil- be ended, how long soever it lasted, and fully lost, fince they might have faved them- that without reward. The same thrifty these poor men to say that their offence was for their mis-behaviour: but never upon no greater than the Confuls; they were any man of quality, fave only (a good told that this was great prefumption. The while after this, at better leifure) uptruth was, the State wanted money; and on Cecilius Metellus, and a few other haretherefore could not want excuses, whereby brain'd fools his companions; who, being to avoid the disbursement : whether it were frighted out of their wits, with the terlo, or not, that any fuch Plea was held about rour of fo great a loss, were devising, this matter of redemption, as we find re- after the battel, which way to run out corded. Neither must we regard it, that the of Italy, when Hannibal as yet had scarce llaves which were armed for the war, are one Town within it. The inequality of faid to have cost more, than the summed d this rigour grew shortly distasteful to the amount unto, that would have ranfomed Commonalty: and was openly blamed by these prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised a Tribune of the people; nevertheless it was Livilib. 24. to countenance the Roman proceedings, as if quietly digested, the excuse being no less

M. Junius the Dictator, having dispatched and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no lit- all needful business within the City, took tle proof, That Hannibal valued those Roman the field with five and twenty thousand slaves, whom he had taken in the Camp men. What he did with this Army, I canamong their Masters, at no more, than every not find: nor more of him than this, That one the third part of a commou Souldiers he spent the time about Campania; where (as

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may be prefumed) he was not idle. To one that had so well deserved of the Rohim therefore perhaps it may be afcribed, man state, had not repaired unto him that Hannibal did no greater evil: for of the Prætor, who defired nothing more any evil done to Hannibal, by the Romans, than such acquaintance. So with many in this their weak estate, only Marcellus commendations, gifts, and loving enterhad the honour. Marcellus, being then tainment, being himself also a man highone of the Prætors, lay at offia, with a ly reputed for his personal valour, he made Fleet ready to set sail for sicil, having this Bantius so far in love with him, that no one Legion aboord his ships; and sifteen thing could be attempted within Nola, hundred other Souldiers newly taken up: against the Romans, whereof he had not with which forces he was to defend that prefently advertisement. At the coming of Island, and do what harm he could in Marcellus, Hannibal removed from about Africk. But hearing of the overthrow at Nola; and affayed, as formerly he had Canna, he sent these of his new Levy to done, the Neapolitans: but they had late-Rome, for defence of the City; and mar-ly taken in a Roman Garrison; upon conched hastily with his Legion toward Can-fidence whereof they gave him a peremnulium: delivering the Fleet, empty of ptory answer, to his discontent. Thence Souldiers, to P. Furius Itis Colleague, went he to Nuceria, which he took by Thence was he called by the Magistrates, composition; and so returned back again and chief Citizens of Nola, to help them: who to Nola. He was not ignorant, what good were like to be forced by the multitude affection the common people of Nola bore (affected, as were the rest of the Cam- unto him: who although they durst not panes) to let in the Carthaginian; and stir in his quarrell, being over-awed by knew not how to avoid this otherwise, the Roman Garrison; yet if they saw than by seeming to deliberate about the Murcellus hardly bestead, and forced to articles of this new confederacy. Where-turn his care from watching them within, fore he made great journeys thitherward; to repelling the enemies affailing him and arrived even time enough to prevent without, like enough it feemed, that the Enemy. Many idle walks Hannibal they would not be wanting unto the acmade betwixt Nola and Naples: aflaying compliftment of their own defires. He by fair words and terrible threats the therefore brought his Army close to the one and the other City. Naples was strong, Town, and skirmished often with Marcellus: and not infected with any the least touch not in hope thereby to do much good, of difloyalty : had also a fure Haven, but only to make shew of a meaning to whereby it stood in the less fear of fustain- force the Town; which he fought in the ing much inconvenience, by spoil of the mean while to take by intelligence. In the Lands and Villages abroad in the Counnight time there passed messages between trey. But at Nola it was thought a him and the Citizens hispertakers: where-

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valuable confideration, That Hannibal was by it was concluded, That if once Mar-Master of the field: which if he laid waste, cellus, with all his forces, could be trainall the poor people were utterly undone, ed into the field, the multitude within So thought the Multitude: and fuch talk the Town should presently rise; and seizing used some, that had little fear of their upon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. own private want or poverty, but a great Of this Negotiation Marcellus was adverdesire to gratise the Carthaginian. Of tiled: and fearing lest the Conspirators these, one L. Bantius was chief; a frour would shortly adventure, even to find him young Gentleman, and Souldier of especi- busied within the City, whilest the Carthaal mark, well beloved in the City, and ginians should scale the wals; hethought one that had done good service to the Ro- lit the surest way, to cut off the Enemies mans 5 but was found by Hannibal half hope, and fend him away betimes. Wheredead at Canna; and after much gentle fore ordering his men in three companies, usage, good attendance, and cure of his within three several gates, looking towards wounds, friendly dismissed with liberal the enemy: he gave a straight command, gifts. He therefore thought, that it con- that all the Citizens should keep their cerned himin honour, to return the greatest houses. Thus he lay close a good part of thanks he could unto fo courteous enemy. the day, to the enemies great wonder, Marcellus perceiving this, wrought upon against whom he had customarily ished the same easie nature of the Gentleman; forth before more early, every day, to skir and taking notice of him, as if it had mish But when it was further noted, that the been by chance, feemed to wonder, why wals were bare, and not a man appearing on

them; then thought Hannibal, that furely red unto their pleasure, by his own Citizens; all was discovered, and Marcellus now bu- could now please themselves, as with good fied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad news, to hear, That in a skirmish not far his men bring ladders, and make ready for from Rome, he appeared to be a man, and not the affault: which was done in all hafte. But refiftless. At Casilimim the Dictator was not a when the Carthaginians were at the very but many Companies of Italians, Confedewals, and thought nothing less, than that the rates of Rome, were gotten into the Town. Romans would meet them in the field : fud- and held it. Five hundred of the Praneftines denly the middle gate was opened, whereat there were, and about four hundred of Pe-Marcellus, with the best and oldest of his rusia, with some of the Latines. All these Souldiers, brake forth upon them, with a had the good hap, to come too late to the great noile, to make his unexpected fally the battel at Canna, being fent by their feveral more terrible. Whilest the Carthaginians, States to the Camp: whither whilest they much out of order, were some of them fly- were marching the tidings of that great ing before Marcellus, the rest making head misfortune encountred them, and sent them against him: the other two gates opened, backforrowful; for they loved well their whereat in like fort issued they of the new Lords the Romans, under whose government levied Companies, upon the enemics backs. they lived happily. So came they all, one The fudden terrour was more available unto after another, to Casiline, where they the Romans, than their force; yet the Exe- met and stayed. Neither had they stayed cution was fo great, that this was accounted there long, ere they heard news from Capua, as a victory, and reputed one of the bravest How that great City became the Ring-lea-Acts performed in all that War, for a for of all the Campanes into rebellion. The as hereby it was first proved, that Hannibal people of Casiline were affected as they of might be overcome. After this, Marcellus Capua: and therefore fought how to rid being freed from his enemies that were their hands of those Pranestines and their departed, took a strict account of the Citi- fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard zens of Nola; condemning above threefcore for them, and after many trains laid one for and ten of high Treason, whose heads he another, at last they slew all the Townsmen struck off; and so leaving the Town in quiet in a night, and fortified the Western part obedience unto their Senate, went and in- of the Town (for it was divided by the Ricamped hard by about Suessula. Hannibal in ver Vulturnus) against the Enemy. If they the mean feafon was gone to Acerra: where had run away with the goods, and pretendbeing excluded, he thought it no wildom ed, that these of Casiline were as the rest of to lose time in perswasions, but said siege the Campanes, all Traitors; they themselves unto it, and began on all fides to close it might have been reputed, as no better up. This terrified the People, who knew than the Mamertines. But their constancy themselves unable to hold out. Therefore in defence of the place witnesseth, upon what before his Works were finished, & they quite honest reasons they surprised it. Hannibal furrounded; they frole out by night; and came thither, thinking to have encountred left him the Town empty: which he facked with greater forces: but these few found and burnt. Then hearing news of the Di- him more work than he expected. Divers dator, that he was about Cassline, thither assaults he gave, but was still repelled with went Hannibal; as being unwilling that an loss: and many fallies they made, with vaenemy fo near should disquiet him at Capua; riable event. The Enemy mined; and they where he meant to Winter. It feems, or ra- countermined : opposing so much industry ther indeed it is plain, that the late victory to his force, that he was driven to close of Marcellus had nothing abated the spirit them up, and seek to win them by famine. of the Carthaginian : who durst with a small T. Sempronius Gracchus, that was Master of part of his Army feek out the Dictator, that the horse, lay with the Roman Army higher had with him the heart of the Roman up the River: who fain would have relieved strength. Wherefore the joy of his Ene- castiline, but that the Dictator being gone mies, upon fo flight an occasion as the death to Rome about some matters of Religion, had of some two thousand of his men, at the given him an express charge not to fight till most, and those not slain in plain battel, his return. Marcellus from Suessila could not but by a fudden eruption; witneffeth come: his way being fropped by the overchiefly, in what great fear they stood of flowings of Vulturnus; the Nolans also be-Hannibal, and how Crest fallen they were : seeching him not to leave them, who that having three years fince demanded at were in danger of the Campanes, if he de-Carthage the body of Hannibal, to be delive- parted. Thus it is reported: but if the water Ttttt 2.

frayed his journey, fuch intreaties were needless. Neither is it like that the Dictator neculeus rectuel is a line that the stream fa- of the great supply that was decreed at Cartarried at Rome fo long, as till extream famine had consumed the Garrison in Casiline. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Town was loft, because the Romans durst not adventure to raise the siege. Barrels of corn were fent by night, floting down the River; and when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of water, fruck among the Willows on the bank, whereby this manner of relief was discovered and prevented; Gracehus cast a great quantity of Nuts into the stream, which faintly sustained the poor belieged men. At length when all food was spent, and whatsoever grew green un- the battel at Canna; his brother Hamnibal der the Walls was gathered for Sallets, the fent for him to Capua, and thence difpatch-Carthaginians ploughed up the ground; ed him away to Carthage, with the joywhereon the besieged presently sowed Rape ful message of Victory. He told the Carthafeed. Hannibal feeing this, admired their ginian Senate with how many Roman Gepatience; and faid, That he meant not to nerals his brother had fought, what Conftay at Cafiline untill the Rapcs were grown. fuls he had chafed, wounded or flain; how Wherefore though hitherto he had refused the stout Romans, that in the somerwar neto hearken unto any Composition, as in- ver shunned any occasion of fight, were tending to make them an example to all now grown to calm, that they thought their others, by punishing their obstinacy; yet Dictator Fabius the only good Captain, benow he was content, to grant them their cause he never durst adventure to come lives at an indifferent ransome, which when to battel; That not without reason their they had paid, he quietly dismissed them, according to his promife. Seven hundred Car- flain of them above two hundred thouthaginians he placed in Casiline, as a Garrison and taken above fifty thousand prisofor defence of the Campanes, unto whom he ners. He further told them of the Brutirestored it. To the Pranestine Souldiers ans, Apulians, Sammites, Lucans, and other great thanks were given, and loving rewards; among which they had offer, in re- of those great victories, had revolted unto gard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of the Carthaginians. Among the rest he mag-Rome. But their present condition pleased | nified Capna, as a goodly City, and fit to be them fo well, that they chofe rather to con- not only (as already it was) Head of all tinue, as they were in Praneste: which is no the Capuans, but the chief seat of their Doweak proof, of the good estate wherein the Cities flourished, that were subject to the them, how lovingly his brother had been Roman Government. This fiege of Cassime entertained, where he meant to rest that was not a little beneficial to the Romans; as winter attending their supply. As for the having long detained Hannibal, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise have been better spent. For winter overtook the Romans any breathing time, wherein to him long before he could dispatch the business: which how to quit with his honour he ken forces. He willed them to consider, that did often beat the Romans in following times, as shall appear hereafter.

ø. X.

by the malice of Hanno, and floth or parfemony of the Carthaginians, the Supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faster, than of the Romans. Of Fabius and other old Roman Historians , how partial they were in their writings.

When Mago, the fon of Amilear had fpent some time about the taking in fuch Italians, as fell from the Romans after spirits were thus abated, since Hannibal had people of Italy, that followed the fortune minion in Italy: and there he informed war, He said it was even at an end, if they would now purfue it closely, and not give re-collect themselves, and repair their broknew not, when he was once engaged. the war far from home, in the Enemies Coun-Therefore he wintered at Capua: where he trey: that so many battels had much dimirefreshed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as nished his brothers Army: that the Souldiers, all Historians report, and made it effeminate; who had so well deserved, ought to be conthough effeminate as it was, He therewithal fidered with liberal rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new Italianfriends, with exactions of money, corn, and other necessaries; but that these things must be sent from Carthage; which the victory would requite with large amends. Finally, he caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the Roman Knights that were flain, to be poured out openly in the Court: Spain, in his journey towards Italy) then which being measured, filled (as some say) might such an objection more justly have three bushels; or (as others would rather been made unto his demand of a supply. But have it) no more than one; adding that by the most likely part of Hanno his Oration. this might appear the greatness of the Ro- and wherein he best might hope to prevail,

is, that the Rome was poor, the bravery of private men was not altogether for gest, as the Law would have permitted, though otherwise Jus Annuli, it was in g of the Ring, was the general priviledge of the Roman Equites.

may easily find, that the State of Carthage war; yet it is not likely, that the faith, so ofnever did receive, in all the durance there- ten broken to the Carthaginians in former of, any fuch hopeful advertisements from times, would have been kept entire, when their Captains abroad. Wherefore it is no any opinion of good advantage had called marvel, if the errand of Mago found extra- for revenge of fo many shameful overthrows; ordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this lince after this war ended, and a new league joy, Himileo, a Senator adverse to the facti- concluded, no submissive behaviour could on of Hanno, is faid to have demanded of preferve Carthage from ruine, longer, than that great perswader unto peace with Rome, untill such time as Rome was at leisure from Whether he were still of opinion, that Han- all other wars. This counsel therefore of nibal should be yielded up unto the Romans; Hanno, though it might seem temperate, was or whether he would forbid them to give indeed very peftilent; and ferved only to thanks unto the gods, for this their good fuc- hinder the performance of a noble refoluticefs. Hereunto though it be not likely that on. For it was concluded by a main confent Hanno made the fame formal answer, which of the Senate, that forty thousand Numidi-Livie puts into his mouth, calling the Cartha- ans, forty Elephants, and great abundance ginian Senators Patres Conscripti, by a term of filver, should be sent over to Hannibal: proper to the Romans; and putting them and that, befides these, twenty thousand in mind of his own shameful overthrow re- foot, and four thousand horse, should be leceived at the Islands Agateis: yet the sum vied in Spain; not only to supply, as need of his speech appears to have been no less should require, the Armies in their Promalicious than is fet down, forafmuch as vince, but to be transported into Italy. Hannibal himself, at his departure out of This great Aid, had it been as carefully Italy, exclaimed against the wickedness of sent, as it was readily decreed; the Roman this Hanno; faying that his hatred against Historians would not have found cause, to the Barchines, had oppressed their Family, tax the retchless improvidence of Hannibal, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine in forbearing to march directly from canne of Carthage. Therefore it may well be, that to Rome, or in refreshing his Army among he made fuch a jest of these victories, as is re- the delights of Capua: the next years work ported; faying, It ill beseemed him, who would have finished the business, with less had vanquished the Romans to call for more dangerous adventure; and the pleasures, help as if he had been beaten; or him, that which his men enjoyed among the Camhad taken their camp, filled forfooth with panes, would have been commended, as respoil, to make request for meat and money. wards by him well thought upon, where-To these cavils, if answer were needful, it with to animate both them and others, that might be faid. That other booty than of were to be imployed in the following Warhorses and slaves, little was to be found in But either the too much carelesness of those, a few * filver study in the bridles and trap-quired it; or the crasty malice of Hanno, and ken any main convoy of money and provisi- mours of men, that had more feeling of their ons, going to supply all wants of a great own commodity, than sense of the publick army in some other Province, (as the two need; utterly perverted, and made unpro-

contained a perfwafion to use their fortune with moderation; and now to seek peace, whilst to wear that ornament.

What would have been the iffue of this counfel, if it had been followed, it were not easie to say. For though it be likely, that the Roman pride would have brooked much in-Who fo confiders the former Punick-war, dignity, in freeing Italy from the danger of

the Roman camp: the best of the Souldiers that were loth to make haste in laying out carrying no other wealth into the field than their money, before extreme necessity repings of their horses. If Hannibal had ta- his fellows, working upon the private hu-Scipio's are afterwards faid to have done, fitable in the performance, the order that when they wan the camp of Afdrubal, that had been so well set down. The * Elephants * Liv.l. 16. carryed along with him all the wealth of were fent: and some money peradventure,

uncertain it is how long after. But those | pons, and engines of War; the Romans told great forces of threescore thousand foot, and them plainly, That the City of Carthage. four thousand horse, came not into Haly, till which was the body of the Citizens, should much was lost of that which already had be friendly dealt withal, but the Town been gotten, and a great part of the old Car- must needs be demolished, and removed inthaginian Army, was first consumed by time, to some other place, that should be twelve and fundry accidents of war. Only fome miles diftant from the Sea. For (faid the small numbers, no way answering unto the Romans) This Trade of Merchandice, by proportion decreed, were fent into spain; which ye now live, is not so fit for peaceable and the journey of Asarubal thence through men, such as ye promise to become hereas-France into Italy much talked of, but he not ter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an enabled thereunto, till many years were wholesome kind of life, and enduing men past, and the Romans had recovered their with many laudable qualities which enable

ftrength.

Carthaginians drew into their City, both the Romans, though sugred with glosing by the Tributes received from their subjects, words, plainly shews, what good observaand by their wealthy Trade of Merchan- tion the elder Cato had made of the hafty dize. For it is not long, fince the War of the growth of Carthage in riches. For when be-Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of ing demanded his opinion in the Senate the Romans, extorting in time of greatest about any matter whatsoever it were, he adnecessity twelve hundred talents; had ex- ded still this conclusion, Thus Ithink, and ceedingly impoverished Carthage : which that Carthage should be destroyed; He may was before brought into great want, even by feem, not only to have had regard unto that the expence of to much money, as was to be present wealth, which at his being there he difburied for redeeming of peace, after the had found in the City, but much more unto los of Ægateis. Yet we see, what great these times, and the great height whereunto Armies of Numidians, and spaniards, be- it rose, even suddenly as we see, out of many fides those already on foot, are appointed calamities, whilft the Romans thought, that to the service in Haly, and how little the it had not been in case to date so terrible a Carthaginians fear the want of money in War. these chargeable undertakings: whereas the But as the Carthaginians, in gathering Romans on the other fide, having three or | wealth, were more industrious and skilfull four years together been forced to some ex- than the Romans; so came they far short of traordinary cost, are fain to go upon credit; them in the honourable care of the publick even for the price of those flaves, which good: having every one, or most of them,a they bought of their own Citizens to arm more principal regard of his own private befor their defence. Such advantage in means nefit. This made them (besides the neglito enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy gence commonly found in victors) when the Merchants of Carthage, trading in all parts first heat of their affection (wherein they of the Mediterran Sea, even from Tyrm their concluded to pursue the war strongly) was Mother-City in the bottom of the ftraights over-past, go more leisurely to work, than unto the great Ocean, above the Romans . had been requifite in the execution. It was who lived on the fruits of their ground, and easie for Hanno to perswade covetous men, ing the same course of life. When the time in Spain. This might be done with little chardition, that their City might not be destroy- had given him to the conquest of Rome. dition, that their City might not be deftroy-lad given him to the conqueft of Rome, which is detailed and flav ng accordingly, when they were so required, yielded up all their weather their own slackness, incredulity, dull-Lingless.

their bodies, and make them very apt for Here we may note, what great riches the conversation. This villainous dealing of

received their Tributes from people follow- that they should first of all defend their own therefore was come, that the hatred of ges. Afterwards, when that Province was fe-Rome found leifure to shew it self, in the de- cured, hey might send an Army into Haly, so ambien struction of Carthage; the impudence of Ro- going to work orderly by degrees. For it Hamble man fallhood, in feeking an honeft colour were no wisdom to commit all the firength melly wherewith to shadow the intended breach of the Common-wealth to one hazzard of mind, for of Fairh, discovered plainly whence the fortune, against the enemies, or (which per ingidate and each of the collection). jealousse was bred, that this mighty City haps were worse) to the government of an the selection would again rebel. For the Carthaginians, ambitious man, and his brethren; who having might let having given up hoftages, even betore the once (if they could fo do) finished the wars with the Roman Army did let four have properties when the once (if they could fo do) finished the wars with the Roman Army did fet forth, to perform what- might easily make * Hannbal a King, and ons, ss foever should be enjoyed them, with confulded Carthage, with the forces that they knowledge the confunction that their City middle method them.

perswaded rather to make small disburfed to hearken unto his discourses, as long ments in *Spain*, than to let up all their reft at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impossible to the purse full. In the mean while they sufhold a Country of fo large extent, and fo fered Hannibal, and all the noble house of open a coast as that of spain, free from all Amilear, to weary themselvs in travel for the incursion of the Enemy: especially the affe- Common-wealth: which all Carthage in gettion of the Naturals being (as in a new con- neral highly commended, but weakly afquelt)ill established. A better way therefore stifted; as if the industry of these Barchines it had been, to make a running War, by had been somwhat more than needful. Surewhich the Romans might have been found by the Carthaginians, in general, were far occupied, even with the ordinary Carthagi- less honourable than the people of Rome not nian Garrisons or some little addition there-only in government of their subject Provinunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer ces, but in administration of their own the profecution of their main intendment estate; few of them preferring the respect against Rome it self, untill such time as every of the Weal-publick above their private inlittle thorn were pulled out of the fides of terest. But as they thrived little in the end, fo great a Province, then must Emporia have by their parsimony used toward their own been belieged and forced: which, by reason Mercenaries, when the former Roman war of alliance with the Mafilians, gave unto the was finished: so the conclusion of this war Romans, at all times when they pleased, a present, will make them complain, with ready and secure Harbour. But the Town of feeling sighs, of their negligence in supplying Emporia, was too strong to be won in haste: Hannibal, after the victory at Canna; when it had long defended it felf against the Bar-gladly they would give all their Treasures, barians; having not above four hundred to redeem the opportunity, that now they races of wall to the main Land, and excee- let pass, as if it were cost enough to send a dingly well fortified: a great spanish Town few handfuls into spain. of the same name, lying without it, that was That both the Spanish business, and the three miles in compass, very strong likewise, state of Africk it self, depended wholly, or and friend unto the Gracians, though not for the most part, upon success of things in over much trusted. Wherefore to force this Italy, the course of actions following will Town of Emporie, that was, befides the pro- make manifest. Particularly, how matters per strength, like to be so well assisted by the were ordered in spain by the Carthaginian Massilians, Romans, and some Spaniards, Governours, it is very hard and almost imwould have been a work of little less diffi- possible to set down. For though we must culty, then was the Roman war (in appear-not reprehend, in that worthy Historian Livy, ance) after the battel at Canne: yea, it had the tender love of his own Countrey, which been in effect none other, than to alter the made him give credit unto Fabius & others; feat of the war; which Hannibal had already yet must we not, for his sake, believe those fixed, with better judgement, near unto the | Iyes, which the unpartial judgement of Polygates of Rome. The difficulty of this attempt, bins hath condemned, in the Writers that being such as caused it altogether to be gave them original. It were needless to rebled about expelling the Romans utterly out cerning the untruth of that Roman Hiftorian of spain: whom they might more easily Fabina. One example may suffice. He saith of have diverted thence, and drawn home to Amilear and his men at Eryx, in the former their own doors, by making strong war up- war, I hat, having clean spent their strength, on their City. For even so the Romans af- and being even broken with many miseries, terwards removed Hannibal into Africk, by they were glad to submit themselvs unto the fending an Army to Carthage; and by take- Romans. Contrary hereunto we find in the ing the like course, they now endeavoured life of Amilear, set down by Emilius Probus, was a malicious wretch: yet they that peace between Amilear and Catulus when

nes, or niggardize, the Carthaginians were thought him so, were well enough content-

forborn; great folly it was to be much trou- hearfe all that may be found in Polybius, con- Pol, Eb. 1. to change the feat of the war transferring That Eryx was in such fort held by the Carit out of Italy into Spain. But the private thaginians, that it feemed to be in as good affections of men, regarding the common condition, as if in those parts there had not good no otherwife, than as it is accessary to been any war. These words, being referred to their own purpoles, did make them easily thebrave resolution of the Carthaginian Soulwink at opportunities, and hope that some- diers, and the singular vertue of their Genewhat would fall out well of it felf, though ral, infuling fuch spirit into them may be tathey fet not to their helping hands. Hanno ken as not over liberal. For in the treaty of

the Roman first of all required, that this Gaulinto Italy, to encounter with Hannibal Garrison of Ergx should lay down their arms at his descent from the Alps, sent before him and forfake Sicil, threatning, that otherwise his Brother Cnew, with part of his Fleet and he would not talk of any composition: Amil- Army, into Spain. Two Roman Legions. car boldly bade him chuse, whether he with fourteen thousand foot of the Confewould talk of it or no; for that the Arms derates, and twelve hundred horse, had been which his Country had put into his hands to allotted unto the Conful, therewith to make use against her enemies, it was not his pur- war in Spain against Hannibal; who, since he pose to yield up unto them. Now since the was marching into Haly with the strength of Romans, contrary to their custom upon like his Army, P. Scipio believed, that a good advantages, were content to let Amilear have part of these his own forces might well be his will, & not to stand with him upon point spared from the Spanish Expedition; and of honour, whilst otherwise they might therefore made bold to carry some of the quietly rid their hands of him; plain enough number back with him, fending on his Broit is, that they were far from thinking him a ther with the rest, as his Lieutenant. Publius man confumed with miseries, as Fabius would himself remained in Italy all the time of his have him feem. Hereunto agrees the relation | Confulfhip; which being expired, he was of Polybius: who flatly, and by name, charg- fent Proconful into Spain by the Senate. eth Fabius with untruth; faying, That how- with an Army of eight thousand men, and a foever Amilear and his Souldiers had endu- Fleet of thirty Gallies. red all extremity, yet they behaved themfelves as men that had no fense thereof; and | Province, were very great; and, as they are were as far from being either vanquished or reported, somewhat marvellous. For they tyred, as were their Enemies. Such being the continually prevailed in Spain, against the difference between Fabius (as also perhaps | Carthaginians; whom they vanquished in between other oldWriters of the Roman (to- | fo many battels, and withdrew from their ry)and those that had more regard of truth, Alliance fo many of the Spaniards their than of flattering the mighty City of Rome: | Confederates, that we have cause to wonwe must take it in good part, that howsoe- der how the enemy could so often find ver Livie introduceth Hanno, in one place, means to repair his forces, and return ftrong joyning very foolifhly his own shameful into the field. But as the Romans, by pre-* Egatis overthrow at the Islands * Ægateis, with the tending to deliver the Country from the tyinfulas great services of Amilear at Ergx, as if both ranny of Carthage, might easily win unto their Eyyengue greater vices of names at exps., as it soon and so the mate scalar of them had had a like event; yet felferen proposite, where he forbeareth not to put a more like-the hybrid state (though with as impudent a commetted by tale (though with as impudent a commetted by tale (though with as impudent a commetted by tale). t Lipaliza; moration of his own unhappy conduct) into first Conquerors might serve to arm the Nathe same Hanno his mouth, making him say, turals against these Invaders, and to reclaim That the affairs of Carthage went never bet- those that had revolted unto the Romans, ter, than a little before the loss of their Fleet were it only by the memory of such ill sucin that battel at Sea; wherein himself was cess, as the like rebellions in former times General Now, concerning the doings of the had found. Hereto may be added the Car-Scipio's in Spain, there is cause to wish, that thaginian Treasure; which easily raised this Fabins, with Val. Antins, and others of the Souldiers, among those valiant (but in that like stamp, had either written (if they could Age) poor, and gold-thirsty Nations. Neinot write more temperately) nothing at all; ther was it of small importance, that so malow.

6. X I.

Strange reports of the Roman victories in Spain, before Aldrubal the Son of Amilcar

nelius scipio the Conful returning from it had been extremely dangerous to Rome,

The fifth Book of the first Part

The Acts of these two Brethren in their or that the tender affection of Livie to his ny of the Spaniards had their children kinf-Rome, had not caused him to think too well men, and friends, abroad with Hannibal in of their relations; which are such as fol- his Italian Wars; or serving the Carthaginians in Africk. And peradventure, if we durst be bold to say it, the victories of the Scipio's were neither fo many, nor fo great as they are fet out by Livie. This we may be bold to fay, that the great Captain Fabius, or Livie in his person, maketh an objection unto scifollowed thence his Brother Hannibal into pio, which neither Scipio, nor Livie for him, doth answer. That if Asdrubal were vanquished, as Scipio would say by him in Spain: T hath been shewed already, how P.Cor- strange it was, and as little to his bonour, as that the same vanquished man should invade | That they should gently (or kindly) uphold the Italy. And it is indeed an incredible narra- Majefty of the People of Rome. This was in tion. That Asdrubal, being enclosed on all appearance nothing troublesome; yet imthese his Elephants, being so sent before, Hanno Governour over them, as over the whereof there is no great certainty.

fides, and not knowing how to escape out of plied it indeed an obscure covenant of subbattel, fave only by the steep descent of jection. And in this respect it may be true. Rocks, over a great River that lay at his That the Spaniards became ditionis Roma-Livelbasis back, ran away with all his mony, Ele- ne, of the Roman jurifdiction; though herephants, & broken troops, over Tagus, direct- after they will fay, they had no fuch meanly towards the Tyrences, and so toward Ita- ing. That part of the Country wherein Scily, upon which he fell with more than three- pio landed, was newly subdued by Hannibal fcore thousand armed Souldiers. Neither do in his passage toward Italy; and therefore I see, how it hangs well together, That he the more easily shaken out of obedience. chose a piece of ground very defensible, but particularly in the Bargutians; Hannibal had most incommodious for his retrait, if he found at his coming among them such an should happen to be vanquished; and yet, apprehension of the Roman greatness, as that he fent all his mony and Elephants made him suspect, that any light occasion away before him, as not intending to abide would make them frart from the Carthagithe enemy: Or how it could be true, that nians. Wherefore he not only appointed

could hinder the Romans (for so have they rest of the Province between Iberus and the faid to have done in the last battel between Pyrenees, but made him also their Lord; that him and Scipio) from breaking into his is, (as I conceive it; for I do not think he Camp. Wherefore we can no more than be gave the Principality of their Country unforry, that all Carthaginian records of this to Hanno and his Heirs) he made him not War, and spanish, (if there were any) being only Lieutenant-general over them, in matutterly loft, we can know no more thereof, ters of War, and things concerning the than what it hath pleased the Romans to tell holding them in obedience to Carthage; but us; unto whom it were no wildom to give took from them all inferiour Officers of too much credit. In this regard, I will fum- their own, leaving them to be governed by marily run over the doings of the Scipio's in Hanno at his discretion. These therefore spain, not greatly infifting on particulars, had good cause to rejoyce at the coming of Scipio; with whom, others also (no doubt) Cn.Cornelius landed at Emporia, an Haven found reasons to joyn; it being the custom Town, not far within the Pyrenees, retain- of all conquered Nations in hatred of their ing still the same name with little inflexion. present Lords, to throw themselves indis-That by the same of his clemency he allu- creetly into the protection of others, that red many Nations to become subject unto many times prove worse than the former. So Rome, as the story begins of him, I could were the Neapolitans, and Milanois, in the eafily believe, if I understood by what occa- age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turns of fion they had need to use his elemency, or the Spaniards and French; as more fensible he to give such famous example thereof, be- still of the present evil which they felt, ing a meer stranger, and having no jurisdi- than regardful of the greater mischief, ction in the Country. Yet it is certain, that whereinto they ran by feeking to avoid it. he was a man very courteous, and one that This bad affection of this Province, would could well infinuate himself into the love of not suffer Hanno to temporize. Ten thousand the Barbarians, among whom, his dexterity foot, and a thousand horse, Hannibal had left in practice had the better success, for that unto him: besides which it is like that some he feemed to have none other errand than forces he was able to raife out of his Profetting them at liberty. This pretext avail- vince. Therefore he adventured a battel ed with fome: others were to be hired with Scipio, wherein he was overthrown with mony: and some he compelled to yield and taken. Following this victory, Scipio by force or fear; especially when he had besieged stissum, a Town hard by, and won won a battel against Hanno. Into all Trea- it. But Asdrubal having passed Iberus, and ties of Accord, made with these people, coming too late to the relief of Hanno, likely it is, that he remembred to infert this with eight thousand foot, and a thousand Article, which the Romans in their Alliances horse, fell upon the Roman Sea-forces, that never forgat, unless in long times past, and lay not far from Tarracon, whom he found When they dealt with the Carthaginians, or careles, as after a victory, roaving abroad in the Superiours; Majestam Pop. Rom.comitthe Country; and with great slaughter him ter conservent, which is, as Tully interprets it, drave them aboard their ships. This done, he

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drew the Ilergetes from the Roman party, ruled them before. For that it was their inthough they had given Hostages to scipio. tent to live under their own Country Laws. Scipio in the mean feafon was gone to visit and not under Governours sent from and aid his Fleet; where having fet things in order, he returned back, and made toward Afdrubal; who durst not abide his henceforth unto the daies of Augustus Cafar. coming, but withdrew himself again over till when they were never thorowly con-Iberus. So the Ilergetes were compelled by force, having lost Athanagia their chief City, to pay a fine to the Romans, and increase the number of their Hostages. The Aufetani likewife, Confederates of the Carthaginians, were befieged in their chief Town; men being on shore. All their ships, that ran which they defended thirty days; hoping, in vain, that the sharp Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would have ing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all made the Romans todislodge. But they were places that were not well defenced. After fain at length to yield; and for this their this victory, above one hundred and twenty obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents Nations, or petty Estates in Spain, are said of filver. During the fiege, the Lacetani to have submitted themselves unto the Rocame to help their diffressed neighbours; mans, or given Hostages; whereby Astrobal and were beaten home by scipio, leaving was compelled to flye into the uttermost twelve thouland of their Company dead be- corners of the Land, and hide himself in Luhind them. I cannot but wonder how these strania. Yet it follows, that the Ilergetes Lacetani, that are said to be the first which | did again rebel; that Astrubal hereupon embraced the friendship of scipio, should, without any cause remembred, become Carthaginian on the sudden, in the next news went not forth to meet him, but stirred up that we hear of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of Iberus, Liv.lib.31. having lately become voluntarily ditionis him Hostages. These took from the Cartha-

Romana subject unto Rome, should, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold war in two battels; wherein they flew fifteen against scipio, without any resistance of the thousand of his men, and took four thou-Carthaginians. Neither can I believe, that fand prisoners. Then arrived P. Scipio, with Asit were by a charm, stirred up the supply before mentioned: and hencethe Hergeres, making them lay afide all care | forward the two Brethren joyntly adminiof their Hostages, and take Arms in his quar- | stred the business in Spain. rel; whilst himself had not the daring to ftand against Scipio, but ran away, and sa- | Celtiberian War; the two Scipio's did band

ran up into the Country, where he with- the comfortable promifes of those that had Rome or Carthage, their demeanour in all Ages following may testifie: even from quered.

The year following this, Cn. Scipio had a victory against the Carthaginians in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their not too far on ground, he took ; and thereby grew Mafter of the whole coast; landcame over Iberus; and that Scipio (though having eafily vanquished the Ilergetes) against him the Celtiberians, that lately were become his subjects, and had given ginians three Towns, and vanquished him

The Carthaginians being occupied in the ved himself beyond Iberus. Philinus per- cunctanter, without both fear or doubt, pass haps, or some Carthaginian Writer, would over Iberus, and besieged Saguntum. Little have told it thus: That scipio adventuring | cause of doubt had they, if cn. had already too far into the Country, was beaten by subdued many Nations beyond it; and, Afdrubal back to his ships, whence he durst among many other, the same Celtiberians, not sfir until Winter came on: at what that with their proper forces were able to time the Carthaginian returned into the vanquish Asarbal. Bostar, the Governor of heart of his Province, leaving some few | Saguntum, a simple man, suffered himself to Garrisons to defend those places, that after be perswaded by one Acedux a Spaniard, Scipio won, by returning upon them, un- that the only way to get the favour and looked for through a deep Snow. As for the hearty good will of the Country, was by Lacetani, Ilergetes, and the rest, we may freely restoring unto them their Hostages; reasonably think, that they sought their own benefit; helping themselves one while by their faith. But the crafty spaniard, being the Romans against the Carthaginians; and | trusted with this message and restitution of contrariwife, upon sense of injuries received, the Hostages, carried them all to the Roman or apprehention of more grievous tyranny, General; perswading them, as he had done under which they feared to be brought by Bostar, to make the Liberality their own these new Masters, hearkning again unto Hereby the Romans purchased much love, if

if the tale were true; and if it were not ra- and Sea, is sent to take the charge of spain. ther true, as afterward, and ere this we find Wherefore Afdrubal hath now no more to few, But fince we find no better certainties, we must content our selves with these.

The year following was like unto this: Addribal must be beaten again. The two him of his care. But fince it can be no betby Land, P. by Sea. Afdrubal, with much Spaniards his Subjects: and having gotten labour and entreaty, hath gotten four thou- together as much treasure as he could, onfand foot, and five hundred horse out of ward he marcheth toward Iberus. The Sci-Africk: He repairs his Fleet, and provides pio's hearing these news, are careful how to every way to make refistance. But all his arrest him on the way. They besiege Ibera chief Sea-men, and Masters of his Ships, re- (so called of the Rivers name running by it) volt unto the Romans; because they had the richest Town in all those quarters, that been chidden the last year for their neg- was confederate with Afdrubal; who thereligence, which had betrayed the Navy. The upon steps aside to relieve it. The Romans revolt of these ship-masters animates to re- meet him, and fight a battel with him: bellion the Carpetians, or Carpetani, an In- which they win the more easily, for that the land people about Toledo, in the very Center | Spaniards, his followers, had rather be vanof Spain. These do much mischief, so that quished at home, than get the victory, and Aldrubal is fain to make a journey to them. afterwards be haled into Italy. Great num-His sudden coming cuts off some of them, bers are slain; and few should have escaped. that were found scattered abroad in the but that the Spaniards ran away ere the fields. But they, making a head, fo valiantly battels were fully joyned. Their Camp the assail him, that they drive him for very fear, Romans take and spoil; whereby (questionby force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions; and shortly make themselves Manate of Carthage is not much moved with else can we think, that remember the last this excuse; Astrubal must needs be gone: news of him, and how fearfully he mistrust-Himileo, with fuch forces as are thought ed his own fafety? They find him, and Mago expedient for that service, both by Land and Amilear the Son of Bomilear, with an

that all the spanish Hostages were left in do, than to furnish himself with store of monew Carthage. I am weary of rehearing fo ny, that he might have wherewithall to win many particularities, whereof I can believe fo the friendship of the Gauls; through whose Countries he must pass, as Hannibal had done before him. The Carthaginians were greatly to blame, for not remembring to eafe scipio's divide their forces: Cn. makes war ter, he layes great Impositions upon all the to encamp himselfstrongly on an high piece less) they are marvellously enriched; all the of ground; whence he dares not come forth mony that could be raked together in Spain to give them battel. So they take a Town being carried along in this Italian Expedition. This dayes event joyns all spain to the Romans, if any part of the Country sters of the Country round about. This good | stood in doubt before; and puts Afdrubal so fuccess breeds negligence; for which they | far from all thought of travelling into Italy, dearly pay. Afdrubal comes upon them, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himtakes them unprepared, beats them, kills felf fafe in Spain. Of these exploits advertisthe most of them, and disperseth the rest; so ment is sent to Rome, and Letters to the Sethat the whole Nation yieldeth to him the nate, from P. and Cn. Scipio, whereof the Liv. lib. 24. next day. Then come directions from car- Contents are, That they have neither mony, thage, that Asdrubal should lead his Army apparel, nor bread, wherewith to sustain forth into Italy; which we may wonder why | their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting: the Carthaginians would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his letters in they can neither hold their forces together, what hard case he was; and had so weakly nor tarry any longer in the Province. These supplyed him, as is shewed before. But thus Letters come to Rome in an evil season; the we find it reported; and that upon the ve- State being scarcely able, after the loss at ry rumour of this his journey, almost all | Canne, to help it self at home. Yet relief is spain was ready to fall to the Romans. Af | fent; how hardly, and how much to the drubal therefore prefently fends word to car- commendations of that love and care, which thage, That this must not be so: or, if they the private Citizens of Rome bare unto the will needs have it fo, that then they must Common-wealth, shall be inserted elsewhere fend him a fucceffor, and well attended with into the relation of things, whereof the truth astrong Army, which to imploy they should is less questionable. At the coming of this find work more than enough; fuch notable supply, the two Scipio's pursue Astrubal, men were the Roman Generals. But the Se- and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What

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Illiturgi: (which the learned Ortelius, and place with victuals, being strong and defenothers probably conjecture to have food, lible; as intending to make it his feat for a where Carinnena is now in the Kingdom of while. But the Countrey round about is too Aragon; for there was Illiturgio, afterwards full of Enemies: the Carthaginian horse have called Forum Julii, quite another way) a charged the Romans in their march, and are Town of the Illergetes their nearest Neigh- gone off clear; falling also upon some stragbours, for having revolted unto the Ro-mans. The Town is greatly diffred in march, they have cut off two thousand fed; but most of all, for want of victu- of them. Hereupon it is thought behoveful. als. The Romans therefore brake through to retire unto some place more assured. So between the Enemies Camps, with terrible Publius withdraws himself unto Mons villoflaughter of all that refifted them: & having rie: that rifing fomewhat Eastward from victualled the place, incourage Townf-men | Incibili, overlooketh the Southern Out-let to defend their wals as floutly, as they of Iberus. Thither the Carthaginians pursue should anon behold them fighting manfully him: His brother Cn. repairs unto him; and with the beliegers, in their behalf. So they Afdrubal the fon of Gefco, with a full Army. issue forth, about sixteen thousand against arrives to help his Companions. As they lie threefcore thousand: and killing more of thus near incamped together, P. Scipio with the enemies, than themselves were in num- some light-armed, going closely to view the tienthing ber, drave all the three Carthaginian Com- places thereabouts, is discovered by the ene-

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booty, fifty and eight Enfignes.

ten from Illiturgi, fall upon Incibili, that know not why) Castulo, a great city of Spain, stood a little Southward from the mouth of whence Hannibal had taken him a wife, joyn-Iberus. The Spaniards are blamed, as too eth with the Romans; though being far greedy of earning money by war, for thus distant from them, and seated on the head of re-inforcing the broken Carthaginians. But the River Bætis. Nevertheless the Carthait may be wondred, whence the Carthagini- ginians pass over Iberus, to besiege Illiturgi ans had money to pay them: fince Afdrubal again, wherein lodgeth a Roman garrifon; was lately driven to poll the Country, want- hoping to win it by famine. We may justing money of his own; and being beaten ly wonder, what should move them to negin his journey, had lost his wealthy carriages | lect the rebellion of Castulo, yea and the Rowhen his Camp was taken after the battel man Army lying so close by them, and to seek by Iberus. Howfoever it happens, the Car- adventures further off, in that very place, thaginans (according to their custome) are wherein they had been so grievously beaten beaten again at Incibili: where there were the year before. But thither they go: and of them above thirteen thousand slain, and thither follows them Cn. Scipio with one were not aware.

mous by the death of the great Amilear, and fifty Enfigns. The Carthaginians flicto

Army of threefcore thouland men, befieging | Publius Scipio incampeth: and stores the manders, every one out of his quarter; and mies: who are like to take him, but that took that day, besides prisoners and other he withdraws himself to an high piece of ground; where they befiege him, until his The Carthaginian Army, being thus bea- brother Cn. fetcht him off. After this (but I above three thousand taken; besides two Legion: who enters the Town by force, and forty Enfigns, and nine Elephants. Af- breaks out upon them the next day, and ter this, (in a manner) all the people of spain in two battels kills above twelve thousand, fell from them unto the Romans. Thus and takes more than a thousand of them pricould Fabius, Valerius, Antius, or fome foners, with fix and thirty Enfigns. This viother Historian, to whom Livy gave credit, Ctory (doubtless) is remarkable: consiconquer all Spain twice in one year, by dering that the greatest Roman Legion at winning famous victories; whereof thele this time, conflited of no more than five good Captains, P. and Cn. Scipio, perhaps thousand men. The vanquished Carthaginians besiege Bigarra: but that siege is also The Romans notwithstanding this large raised by Cn. Scipio. Thence the Carthaginiaccess of Dominion, winter on their own ans remove to Manda; where the Romans side of Iberus. In the beginning of the are soon at their heels. There is a great batnext year, great Armies of the Spaniards tel fought, that lafteth four hours, wherein rife against Asdrubal; and are overthrown the Romans get a notable victory: and a by him. P. scipio, to help these his friends, is more notable would have gotten, had not forced to make great hafte over the River. Cn. Scipio been wounded. Thirty nine Ele-At Castrum Altum, a place in the mid-way phants are killed, and twelve thousand men; between new Carthage and Saguntum, fa-three thousand prisoners taken, and seven Auringes;

Auringes; and the Romans pursue them. Cn. | took Saguntum (if they took it not by furthrows, the Spaniards, a people framed even also must we think, that all those battails disturbed them if they had been able.

But overlooking now this long continu-

scipio in a Litter is carried into the field, and | prife; which is to be suspected, fince in this vanquished the Carthaginians again; but Action we find no particulars remembred. kils not half so many of them, as before; as when the same place was taken by Hangood cause why, for there are fewer of them | nibal) they had gotten the better of their left to fight. Notwithstanding all these over- | Enemies in some notable fight. In like fort by nature to fet war on foot, quickly fill lately remembred, after every one of which up the broken troops of Afdrubal, who hav- Afdrubal fate down before some place, that ing also hired some of the Gauls, adventures | had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebel, were once more to try his fortune with the Ro- prosperous unto the Carthaginians. For it mans. But he is beaten again: and loseth is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to eight thousand of his mensbesides Priloners, carry the war from Town to Town, and Elephants, Enfigus, and other appurte- beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to nances. After fo many victories, the Romans fortifie themselves within their own places are even ashamed to leave Saguntum en- of strength, and therein to attend the levy thralled unto the Carthaginians; fince, in and arrival of new fupplies. And furely, behalf of that City, they had at first entred if the Romans had been absolute Masters into this war. And well may we think it of the field, when they won Saguntum, ftrange, that they had not recovered it long they would not have confumed a whole before, fince we may remember, that long year following, in practifing only with the before this they had won all the Countrey Celtiberians the next adjoyning people. Yet once and again. But it must not be forgot- made they this, little less than two years ten, that they had ere now befieged sagun- business. Of these Celtiberians we hear betum; and were fain (as appears) to go their | fore, That they had yielded up themselves way without it: so as they need not to blush, unto the Romans; for security of their faith, for having fo long forborn to do that, which | given Hostages to Scipio; and, at his appointere now they had attempted, but were un- ment, made war against the Carthaginians, able to perform. At the present they won with their proper forces. Wherefore it is Saguntum: and reftored the possession strange, that they are now thus hardly thereof unto such of the poor dispersed wrought; and not without express condi-Citizens as they can find out. They also tion of a great summ, hired to serve in the waste and destroy the Countrey of the Tur- Roman camp. How this may hold together I detani, that had ministred unto Hannibal cannot perceive; unless perhaps in those days matter of quarrel against the Saguntines. it were the Roman custome, or rather the This last action (questionless) was much to custome of some bad Author whom Livi their honour; and wherein we may be af- follows, to call every meffenger, or stragfured, that the Carthaginians would have gler, that entred that camp, an Hostage of that people from whom he came.

The Celtiberians at length, hired with ance of great victories, which the Romans great rewards, fend an Army of thirty thouhave gotten in spain, other print or token and to help the Romans: out of which, of all their brave exploits, we can perceive 3000 of the fittest men are chosen , and none, than this recovery of Saguntum: ex- carried into Italy, there to deal with their cepting the stopping of Asdrubals journey; | Countrey-men that follow Hannibal in his which was indeed of greatest importance, wars. But if any of these three hundred but appertaining to their own defence. For return back into spain, it is to be feared, they have landed at Emporia, an Haven that he brings with him such news of the Town, built and peopled by a Colony of riches and welfare of Hannibals men, that all the Phoceans, kin to the Malfilians, friends his fellows at home are the less unwilling to the Romans; They have easily won to to follow Asdrubal, when he shall next have their party, loft, recovered, and loft again, a defire to lead them into Italy. Hereof we some petty bordering Nations of the spal find more than probability, when these niards, that are carried one while by per- mercenary Celtiberians meet the Carthaginiswasion, other-whiles by force, & sometimes an Army in the field. The two scipio's, preby their own unfettled paffions; and now fuming on this access of strength, divide finally they have won a Town, whereof the their forces, and feek out the Enemies, who Carthaginians held entire possession, who lie not far off with three Armies. Askirubal hadrooted out the old inhabitants. Where the fon of Amilear, is nearest at hand; fore we may eafily believe, that when they even among the Celliberians, at Anitorgical

good order: but the fear is, that this one C. Scipio therefore being unable to flay them, part of the Carthaginian forces being de- and no less unable, without their help, eiftroyed; Mago, the Son of Gefeo, hearing the ther to refift the enemy, or to joyn with his news, will make use of their distance, which Brother, maketh a very violent retrait; is five dayes march, and, by running into herein only differing from plain flight, that the furthest part of the Country save them he keeps his men together. Astrobal preffelves from being overtaken. Publius there- feth hard upon him: and Mago, with Afdrufore must make the more haste, and take bal the Son of Gesco, having made an end with him the better Souldiers, that is, two of Publing, haften to dispatch his Brother afparts of the old Roman Army, leaving the ter him. Scipio (teals from them all by night, third part, and all the Celliberians, to his but is overtaken the next day by their horse, Brother. He that hath the longer journey to and arrefted, in an open place of hard stomake, comes somewhat the sooner to his ny ground, where grows not so much as a lives end. Mago and Afdrubal, the Son of Ihrub, unfit for defence of his Legions Geleo, are not studying how to run away: against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he they find no fuch necessity. They joyn their finds of easie ascent on every side; which forces together, meet with Publius Scipio, and the takes for want of a more commodious lay at him fo hardly, that he is driven to place, and fortifies with pack-faddles, and keep himself close within his Trenches; other luggage, for default of a better Palwherein he thinks himself not well assured. lisado. These weak desences the Carthaei-Especially he is vexed by Masarissa, Prince vians soon tear in sunder : and, breaking in of the Maffelyli, Numidians, bordering up on all hands, leave very few of them alive; on Mauritania, in the Region called now that faving themselves, I know not how, Tremizen: to whom the chief honour of within some woods adjoyning, escape unto this service is ascribed, for that he becomes T. Fonteius, whom Publius had left in his afterward Confederate with the Romans. In Camp, as is before faid. It is a terrible overthis dangerous case, P. Scipio gets intelli- throw, they say, out of which no man escapes. gence, that Indibilis a spanish Prince, is com- Yet, how they that were thus hemmed inon ing with seven thousand and five hundred every side, in so bare a ground as afforded of the Suessetani, to joyn with his Enemies. not a shrub to cover them, could break out, Fearing therefore to be ftrait that up, and and throwd themselves within woods adbefieged, he islues forth by night, to meet joyning, I should much wonder; did not a with Indibilis upon the way, leaving T.Fon greater miracle following call away mine teins his Lieutenant, with a small company attention. T. Fonteins is in P. Scipio's Camp.on to defend the Camp. He meets with Indibi- the North fide of Iberus, fearful (as may be lie, but is not able according to his hope, to supposed) of his own life; fince his General, defeat him at the first incounter. The fight with two parts of the Roman Army, had

With him Cn. Scipio doubts not to take should have had for hazarding their lives. continues to long, that the Numidian horse little hope to remain long safe within it. Thiappear (whom he thought to have been ig- ther comes L. Martins, a young Roman norant of his departure) and fall upon the Gentleman of a notable spirit; who having Romans on all sides : neither are the Car- gathered together the scattered Souldiers, thaginians far behind; but come so fast up- and drawn some Companies out of their Garon him in a Rear, that P. Scipio, uncertain risons, makes a pretty Army. The Souldiers, which way to turn, yet fighting and anima- being to chuse a General by most voices, ting his men, where need most requireth, is preferr this L. Martius before Fonteins ftruck thorow with a lance, and flain: very the Lieutenant, as well they may. For few of his Army escaping the same destiny, Afdrubal the Son of Gesco, coming upon through benefit of the dark night. The them; this L. Martius fo encourageth his like end hath Cn. Scipio within nine and men (fondly weeping when he led them twenty daies after. At his meeting with Af- | forth, upon remembrance of their more hodrubal, the Celtiberian Mercenaries all for nourable Generals lately flain) and admofake him, pretending that they had war in nisheth them of their present necessity, that their own Country. If Anitorgis, where Af he beats the Carthaginians into their drubal then lay, were, as Ortelius following Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he Beuterus takes it, a Celtiberian Town; this might have gotten, but that he wifely founds was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. the retrait; referving the fury of his Soul-But we may justly believe, that they were diers to a greater occasion. The Carthoginiwon by Afdribal, and eafily perfinaded to ans are at first amazed, and wonder whence take as much mony for not fighting, as they this new boldness grows, in enemies lately vanquished,

taken : but when they see, that the Roman tius got a great name; which he might dares not follow his advantage, they return well do, if with fo fmall forces, and in fuch to their former fecurity; and, utterly de- diffress, he could clearly get off from the fpifing him, set neither Corps de garde nor Enemies, and give them any parting blow, Sentinel, but rest secure, as if no enemy were though it were far less than that which is near. Martius therefore animates his Soul- here set down. diers with lively words; and tells them, That there is no adventure more fafe, than to Rome, not forgetting his own good ferthat which is furthest from suspition of be- vice, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in ing undertaken. They are soon perswaded such wise, as the Senate might judge him to follow him, in any desperate piece of ser- worthy to hold the place of their Vicevice. So he leads them forth by night, and gerent in spain: which the better to intisteals upon the Camp of Afdrubal; where, mate unto them, he stilled himself Propretor. finding no guard, but the enemies fast The Fathers were no less moved with the tyafleep, or very drowfie, he enters without dings than the cafe required; and therefore refistance, fires their Cabbins, and gives took such careful order, for supplying their aterrible alarm; fo that all affrighted the forces in Spain, that although Hannibal came Carthaginians run head-long one upon ano- to the gates of Rome, ere the Companies ther, they know not which way. All paf- levied to ferve that Province, could be fages out of their Camp, Martius hath pre- fent away; yet could they not stay a tyde possessed, fo that there is no way to escape, for defence of the City it self, but shipped fave by leaping down the Rampart; which them in all hafte for spain. As for the title of as many do, as can think upon it, and run Propretor, which Martins had affumed they away toward the Camp of Afdrubal the Son thought it too great for him, and were ofof Amilear, that lay fix miles off. But Mar- fended at his prefumption in usurping it: tius hath way-laid them. In a Valley be- forefeeing well, that it was a matter of ill tween their two Camps he hath bestowed a consequence, to have the Souldiers abroad Roman cohort, and I know not what num- make choice among themselves of those that ber of Horse; so that into this Ambush they should command Armies and Provinces. fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But, Therefore Claudius Nero was dispatched left perchance any should have escaped, and away, with all convenient haste, into spain: give the alarm before his coming; Martins carrying with him about fix thousand of hastens to be there as soon as they. By which the Roman toot, and as many of the Latines, diligent speed, he comes early in the with three hundred Roman horse, and of the morning upon this further Camp; which Latines eight hundred. with no great difficulty he enters, and part- It happened well, that about these times, ly by apprehension of danger which the the affairs of Rome began to prosper in Italy, Énemies conceived, when they beheld the and afforded means of fending abroad such

Perate, as Valerius Antius, in multiplying whom he found among the Ausetani, near the numbers that have fallen in battels, enough at hand, incamped in a place called That, whilst Martius was making an Oration Lapides atrizout of which there was no iffue, to his Souldiers, a flame of fire shone about but only through a straight, whereon the Rohis head, Livie reports as a common tale, man seized at his first coming. What should

vanquished, and now again little better than | rately concludeth, That this Captain Mar-

Of these occurrents L. Martius sent word

Roman shields, foul, and bloodied with a strong supply: otherwise the victories of their former execution, he drives head- Martius would ill have served either to keep long into flight, all that can fave themselves footing in Spain, or to stop the Carthaginifrom the fury of the fword. Thirty feven an Armies from marching towards the Alps. thouland of the enemies perish in this nights. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new work; besides a thousand eight hundred forces, took charge of that remainder of and thirty, taken prisoners. Hereunto Vale- the Army, which was under Martius and rius Antius adds, that the Camp of Mago | Fonteius; he found furer tokens of the overwas also taken, and seven thousand slain; throws received, than of those miraculous and that in another battel with Asdrubal, victories, whereof Martius had made his there were flain ten thousand more; besides vaunts unto the Senate. The Roman party four thousand three hundred and thirty ta- was forsaken by most of the Spanish friends; ken prisoners. Such is the power of some whom how to reclaim, it could not easily Historians. Livie therefore hath elsewhere be devised. Yet Clandius advanced boldly well observed, That there is none so intem- towards Asarbal the Brother of Hannibal; not giving thereto any credit: and tempe- have tempted any man of understanding

to incamp in fuch a place, I do not find: and much of the great Alexanders vanity; how as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is faid, That Afdrubal feeing himself thus lockt up, made offer to depart forthwith out of all spain, and quit the Province to the Romans, upon condition that he and his Army might be thence dismissed; That he spent many dayes, in entertaining parley with Claudius about this bufiness; That night by night he conveyed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, he ftole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his Campempty. If we confider, that there were at the same time, besides this Afdrubal, two other Carthaginian Generals in end nothing is left out, that might ferve Spain; we shall find no less cause to wonder to adorn this Roman Champion. For it is at the simplicity of Claudius, who hoped to considently written, as matter of unqueconclude a bargain for fo great a Country, fitionable truth, That when a Proconful was with one of these three Chiestains, than at to be chosen for spain, there durst not any the ftrange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creep out self as Petitioner for that honourable, but by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a dark mifty day. Wherefore in giving belief to such a tale, it is needful that we suppose, both the danger wherein the Carthaginians were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far less value. How soever it was; neither this, nor ought else that the Romans could do, served to purchase any new friends in Spain, or to recover the old which they had loft. Like enough it is that the old Souldiers, which had chosen Martius their Propretor, took it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and fent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some fuch occasion may have moved them to defire a Proconful, and (perhaps) young Scipio by name: as if a title of greater dignity were needful to work regard in the Barbarians; and the beloved memory of cn. and Publius, likely to do good, were it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these,or upon other reasons; C. Claudius was recal-

ferred the war into Africk: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, and fingularly well conditioned; the Sea-coast. At the same of scipio's arrival, especially he excelled in Temperance, Contilit is faid, that Embassages came to him apace neucy, Bounty, and other vertues that pur- from all quarters of the Province; which chase love; of which qualities what great use he entertained with such a Majesty, as bred he made, shall appear in the tenour of his a wonderful opinion of him. As for the actions following. As for those things that enemies, they were greatly afraid of him; are reported of him, favouring a little too and fo much the greater was their fear, by

he used to walk alone in the Capitol, as one that had some secret conference with Tupiter; how a Dragon (which must have been one of the gods; and, in likelihood, Jupiter himself) was thought to have conversed with his Mother, entring her Chamber often. and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than fables, devised by Historians, who thought thereby to add unto the glory of Rome: that this Noble City might ieem not only to have surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one fingle man. To this Captain of the principal Citizens offer himdangerous charge ; That the people of Rome were much aftonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the City flood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this P. Cornelius Scipio, being then about four and twenty years of age, getting up on an high place where he might be feen of all the multitude, requested and obtained, that the office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of L. Martius no better than dreams: and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the Roman Captains, who durst not follow Claudius Nere, that not long before was gone into Spain Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which Afdrubal the Carthaginian, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which I find in the too partial Roman Historians, I do not willingly infist.

P. Scipio was fent Proconful into Spain; led out of the Province; and Publius the Son of P. Scipio sent Proconsul into Spain. as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They car-This is that Scipio, who afterward trans- ried with them ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty Quinquereme Gallies. With these they landed at Emporie; and marched from thence to Tarracon alongst

how much the less they could give any rea- to fo great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of fon of it. If we must believe this, then must the Celtiberians, and two petty Kings of the What booty was found within the Town, temper. Livie himself cannot certainly affirm; but is Now if I should here interpose mine own

we needs believe, that their fear was even as Ilergetes and Lacetani, nearest Neighbours great as could be: for very little cause there to Tarracon, and dwelling on the North-fide was, to be terrified with the fame of fo of Iberus, forfook the Carthaginian party, young a man, which had as yet performed and joyned with the Romans. The speech nothing. All the Winter following (or, as of Indibilis, King of the Ilergetes, is much fomethink, all the next Year) he did no- commended; for that he did not vaunt thing: but spent the time perhaps, as his fore- himself, as commonly Fugitives use, of the goers had done, in treating with the Spani- pleasure, which he did unto the Romans, in ards. His first enterprise was against new revolting from their enemies; but rather ex-Carthage: upon which he came unexpected, cused this his changing side, as being thereto with five and twenty thousand foot, and compelled by injuries of the Carthaginians, two thousand five hundred horse; his Sea- and invited by the honourable dealing of forces coasting him, and moderating their Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new course in such wise, that they arrived there professed friendship, was indeed no unsure together with him. He affailed the Town by token, that it should be long-lasting. But if Land and Sea; and won it by affault the the Ilergetes had long ere this (as we have first day. The Carthaginians lost it, by their heard before) for saken the Carthaginian partoo much confidence upon the strength of ty, and stoutly held themselves as friends to it: which caused them to man it more slen- cin. Scipio: then could nothing have been dederly, than was requisite. Yet it might have vised more vain, than this Oration of Indibibeen well enough defended, if some Fisher- lis their King, excusing, as new, his taking men of Tarracon had not discovered unto part with the same, when he should have ra-Scipio, a fecret passage unto the walls; where- ther craved pardon for his breach of alliof the Townsmen themselves were either ig- ance, formerly contracted with the Father norant, or thought (at least) that their ene- and the Uncle. Most likely therefore it is, mies could have no notice. This City of new that howfoever the two elder scipio's had carthage, resembled the old and great car- gotten some few places among these their thage in fituation; franding upon a demy- Neighbours, and held them by frength; yet Island, between an Haven and a great Lake. were the Romans never masters of the All the Western side of the walls, and some- Country, till this worthy Commander, by what of the North, was fenced with this recovering their Holtages from the Cartha-Lake: which the Fisher-men of Tarracon had ginians, and by his great munificence in founded; and finding fome part thereof a fending them home, won unto himself the shelf, whereon at low-water men might pass affured love and affistance of these Princes. knee-deep, or (at most) wading up to the The Carthaginian Generals, when they Navil, Scipio thrust thereinto some compa- heard of this loss, were very forry: yet nenies of his men; who recovered the top of vertheless they set a good face on the matthe walls without refiftance: the place be- | ter ; faying, That a young man, having ftoln ing left without guard; as able to defend it a Town by surprise, was too far transported, felf by the natural strength. These falling and over-joyed, but that shortly they would suddenly upon the backs of the Carthagini- meet with him, and put him in mind of his ans within the City, easily forced a gate, Father and Uncle; which would alter his and gave free entrance to the Roman Army. | mood, and bring him to a more convenient

fain to fay, That some Roman Historians told conjecture; I should be bold to fay, That the lies without measure, in way of amplificati- Carthaginians were at this time busic, in seton. By that small proportion of riches, ting forth towards Italy; and that Scipio; to which was afterward carried by Scipio into divert them, undertook new Carthage, as his the Roman Treasury, we may easily perceive | Father and Uncle, upon the like occasion, how great a vanity it was to fay, That all fate down before Ibera. And in this respect the wealth of Africk and Spain was heaped I would suppose, that it had not been much up in that one Town. But therein were be- amis, if the passage over the Lake had been flowed all the spanish Hostages (or at least undiscovered, and the Town held out some of the adjoyning Provinces) whom Scipio longer while. For howfoever that partiintreated with fingular courtefie 3 refloring cular Action was the more fortunate, in them unto their kindred and friends, in fuch coming to fuch good iffue upon the first gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due day: yet in the generality of the business,

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be wished, that Astrubal should be stayed finally to have concluded, that go he needs from going into Half, than that half of spain must, were it but to carry all the spaniards thould be taken from him. Whereas there- as far as might be, from the name of scipio. fore he had nothing left to do, that fhould How likely this was to have been true, it hinder his journey; Mago, and Afdrubal shall appear at his coming into Half; whence the fon of Ggeo, were thought fufficient to these incoherent relations of the spanish hold seipio work, in that lingring War of affairs have too long detained us. taking and retaking Towns, whilst the main of the Carthaginian forces, under Asdrubal the fon of Amilear, went to a greater enterprise: even to fight in tryal of the Empire. But the Roman Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That Asdrubal was beaten into Italy: whither he ran for fear, as thinking himself ill assured of the spaniards, as long as they might but hear the name of Scipio. Scipio, fay they, coming upon Afdrubal; his Vant-currers charged fo lustily the Carthaginian horse, that they drave them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that fmall piece of service how full of spirit the Roman Army was, and how dejected the Enemy. Afdrubal therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on rejoyced (as may be thought) not a little, to three fides with the River, very freep of hear the good news from Carthage of fuch ascent, and not easie of access on the foreside: mighty aid, as was decreed to be sent thence by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the Romans. On the top of it there work enough, to carry the Romans corn inwas a Plain, whereon he strongly encamp- to his own barns, and to drive away their ed himself: and in the mid-way, between Cattel to Geryon: his victories affording him the top and root of the Hill, was also ano- little other profit, than sustenance for his Arther Plain; into which he descended, more upon bravery, that he might He might perhaps have forced fone walled not feem to hide himself within the Towns in like fort as he did Gergon, and the Trenches, than for that he durft adventure Castle of Canne: but had he spent much his Army to the hazzard of a battail, for time, about the getting of any one place well which this was no equal ground. But such defended; the hunger, that his Army must advantage of place could not fave him from have endured the Winter and Spring folthe Romans. They climed up the Hill to him; lowing, untill corn were ripe, would have they recovered even footing with himsdrove grievoully punished him for such imployhim out of this lowerPlain, up into his Camp | ment of the Summer. This may have been on the Hill top: whither although the accent the reason, why he forbore to adventure up were very difficult, and his Elephants bestow- on Rome, after his victory at Canna. For had ed in the smoothest places to hinder their he failed (as it was a matter of no certainapproach; yet compassing about, and seeking ty) to carry the City at his first coming; passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their to quit the enterprise. Yea many of the gan. Nevertheless, Mago, and Astrubal the lessened reputation, somewhat later in the fon of Gesco, are reported after this to have lyear; when time to force their obedience

between Rome and Carthage, it was more to confulted with him about this War; and

The great troubles that Hannibal raised in all quarters, to the City of Rome. Posthumius the Roman General, with his whole Army is flain by the Gauls. Philip King of Macedon enters into a League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Romans joyning with the Ætolians, make war upon Philip in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him. the better to intend their business against the Carthaginians.

WE left Hannibal wintering at Capua: where he and his new Confederates unto him. In former times he had found my; by making him mafter of the open field. want of victuals would have compelled him way, where the Carthaginians had got up reople that opened to halfily their gates before them, they drave both men and Ele- unto him, upon the fresh bruit of his glophants head-long, I know not whither for it rious fuccess, would have taken time of deis faid, that there was no way to flye. Out of liberation, and waited perhaps the event fuch a battel, wherein he had loft eight thou- of another battel; if being, either for want fand men, Aftrubal is faid to have escaped; of means to force the City, or of necessary and gathering together his differ fed troops, ries to continue a fiege before it, repelled to have marched toward the Fyrenes, hav- (as might feem) from the walls of Room, he ing fent away his Elephants ere the fight be-

was wanting, unless they would freely yield | or Petilia, by force ; after it had held out it. But this great part of the care and travel fome moneths. He won likewise Consentia. was past, when so many States of Italy were and Croton, that was forsaken by the Inhabecome his: the year following, the sam- bitants. Also the City of Locri, which was nites, and other old enemies of Rome, were of great importance, yielded unto him : like to receive a notable pleasure of their as did all other places thereabout ; except new alliance with Carthage, by helping to only the Town of Rhegium, over against

winter was passed over joyfully, saving that to be recorded, as a notable testimony of there came not any tidings of the prepara- the good government, under which the Rotions, to second the welcome report of those man subjects lived. As for the Samnites, Cammighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring grew on: and of the bellion may feem to prove the contrary; we promifed fupply there arrived no more, are to confider, That they had lately conthan only the Elephants. How late it was tended with Rome for Soveraignty, and were ere these came, I find not : only we find, now transported with ambition : which that after this he had above thirty of them; reason can hardly moderate, or benefits alwhereas all, fave one, that he brought over lay. The Petilians, in the very beginning of the Alps, had been loft in his journy through their danger, did fend to Rome for help: the Marishes of Hetruria. Very bad excuse where their messengers received answer of this exceeding negligence, they that from the Senate, That the publick misforbrought the Elephants could make unto tunes had not left means, to relieve their Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told Affociates that were fo far diftant. The Petihim truly, what mischiefs the perswasion of lian Messengers (Embassadours they are Hanno wrought among the too niggardly | termed; as were all others, publickly fent Carthaginians. Otherwise, they might per- from Cities of the Roman subjection, that haps inform him, that it was thought a had a private jurisdiction within themfafer, though a farther way about, to pass felves) fell down to the ground, and humbly along through Spain and Gaul, as he him- befought the Fathers, not to give them felf had done; and increase the Army, by away: promising to do and suffer whatsoehyring the Barbarians in the journey; than ver was possible, in defence of their Town, to commit the main strength of their City, against the Carthaginians. Hereupon the Seto the hazzard of the Seas: especially want- nate fell to consultation again: and having ing a commodious Haven, to receive the throughly confidered all their forces re-Fleet that should carry such a number of maining, plainly confessed, that it was not in Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all need-their power to give any relief. Wherefore ful provisions. With these allegations Hanni- these Embassadours were willed to return bal must rest content; and seek, as well as home, and to bid their Citizens provide he can, to fatisfie his Italian Confederates. hereafter for their own fafety, as having al-Therefore when time of the year ferved, he ready discharged their faith to the utmost. took the field: and having finished what All this notwithstanding, the Petilians (as was faid)held out fome moneths: and having striven in vain to defend themselves, when there was no apparent possibility gave to the Carthaginians a bloody victory over them 5 being vanguished as much by famine, as by

The Romans at this time were indeed in fuch ill case, that Hannibal with a little help no to the Lucans: not forgetting at once to from Carthage, might have reduced them unto terms of great extremity. For whereas, til and Sardinia, fince the fiege of Rome must in a great bravery, before their loss at Canneeds be deferred unto another year. Hanno na, they had shewed their high minds, by made an ill journey of it being met or over- entertaining the care of things far off, nottaken, by T. Sempronius Longus: who flew withflanding the great war that lay upon above two thousand of his men; with the them so near at hand: it now fell out miserloss of fewer than three hundred Romans. ably all at once, that their fortune abroad But Himileo fped far better. By help of the was no whit better than at home. L. Posthu-

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o. XII.

lay fiege unto that proud City, which fo | Sicil. long had held them in subjection. Thus the The great faith of the Petilians is worthy rested to be done at Casilinum, sought to make himfelf Mafter of some good Haventown thereabout; that might ferve to entertain the Carthaginian Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same any violence of the Assailants. purpole, and to do what elfe was needful, he fent Himileo unto the Locrians, and Hanaffay all quarters of Italy, yea, the Itles of Si-Brutians, his good friends, he won Petellia, mius Albinus their Prætor they had fent, with an Army of five and twenty thousand, For having affured his affairs in Greece, and into Gaul: to the Illyrian King Pinens they enjoying leifure to look into the doings had fent for their tribute due, whereof the abroad, he fent Embassadours to Hannibal; pay-day was past; willing him, if he defired with whom he made a league, upon these forbearance, to deliver Hoftages for his conditions; That the King in person should performance of what was due; and to Philip come into Italy, and with all his forces, by King of Macedon they had fent, to require, Land and Sea, affift the Carthaginians in the that he should deliver up unto them Deme-Roman war, until it were finished; That trius Pharius their Subject and Rebel, whom Rome, and all Italy, together with all the he had received. But now from all quar- spoil therein to be gotten, should be lest inters they hear tydings, little fuitable to tire unto the State of Carthage; and that aftheir former glorious conceits. Posthumius terwards Hannibal, with his Army, should with all his Army was cut in pieces by the pass into Greece, and there affilf Philip, until he had subdued all his enemies (which ped. The manner of his overthrow was very were the Ætolians, Thracians, King Antiofrange. There was a great Wood, called by the Gauls, Litana; thorow which he was to him the full possession of that Country, and pals. Against his coming, the Enemies had the Isles adjoyning. But such predisposition fawed the trees fo far, that a little force of Kingdomes and Provinces, is lightly would ferve to cast them down. When there-controlled by the divine Providence, which fore Posthumius, with his whole Army, was therein shews It self ; not (as Herodotus fallentred into this dangerous passage, the ly terms it, and like an Askesss envious or Gauls that lay about the Wood, began to malicious, but very just and Majestical in cast down the trees; which falling one upholding that unspeakable greatness of against another, bore all down so fast, that Soveraignty, by which II rules the whole the Romans were overwhelmed, Men and World, and all that therein is. Horses, in such wise, that no more escaped, The first Embassadours that Philip sent, than is faid before. How this tedious work fell into the Romans hands, in their journey of fawing fo many trees, could take defired towards Hannibal: and being examined effect, and neither be perceived, nor made what they were, adventured upon a bold frustrate, either by some wind that might lye, faying, That they were sent from the have blown all down before the Romans King of Macedon to Rome, there to make a entred, or by some other of those many ac- League with the Senate and people, and ofcidents, whereto the device was subject; I do fer his help in this time of great necessity. not well conceive. Yet some such thing may These news were so welcome, that the joy have been done, and what failed in the thereof took away all care of making better ftratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. inquiry. So they were lovingly feasird, and It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as freely difmified with guides that should a monument of the favage condition where- lead them the way, and shew them how to with Lombardie, a Country now so civil, avoid the Carthaginians. But they being thus was infected in elder times, That of Pofthu- infructed concerning their journey, fell urius his skull, being cleansed and trimmed wilfully into the Camp of Hannibal; who up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and entertained them after a better fashion, and confectated in their principal Temple, as an concluded the bufiness about which they holy vessel for the use of the Priest in their came, upon the points before remembred folemnities. Of this great overthrow, when In their return homeward, they happened word was brought to Rome, the amazement again unluckily to be described by the Rowas no less than the calamity. But forrow man Fleet; which mistrusting them to be of could give no remedy to the michief: and the Carthaginian party, gave them chace. manding their duty, as Vassals. The Macedonian troubled them yet a little further. Mafter. The tale was now less credible than

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anger was vain, where there wanted forces They did their best to have ecaped: but torevenge. Tribute from the Illyrians there being overtaken, they fuffered the Romans came none; neither do I find that any was to come aboord; and trufting to the lye that a second time demanded; this we find, That once had served them, aid it again, That ha with Pleuratus, and Scerdiletus, Illyrian ving been fent from King Philip to make a Kings as also with Gentius, who reigned league with the people of Rome, they were within a few years following, the Romans not able by reason of the Carthaginians lydealt upon even terms; entreating their afing between, to get any further than to fistance against Philip and Perseus; not combefore: and (which marred all) Gefco, Boft ar, with fo great flaughter, that they forced and Mago, with their followers, Carthagi-nians that were fent with them from Hanni-The King purposed (as it is said) to have dehaltoratifie the agreement, being prefently parted thence by Sea: but Valerius, coming detected, made the matter apparent. Where- with his Fleet from Oricum, stopped up the fore a little inquisition served to find all mouth of the River, so that he was fain to out: so that at length Hannibals own let- burn his ships (which belike were no betterstoKing Philip were delivered up, and the ter than long boats) and depart ill furnished whole bufiness confected. The Embassadours of carriages by Land. After this Valerius and their followers were fent close prisoners dealt with the Ætolians, a Nation alwayes to Rome; where the chief of them were cast enemy to the Crown of Macedon; and easily into prison, and the rest sold for bond- perswaded them (being so affected, as hath flaves. Yet one of their flips that escaped, else-where been shewed) to make strong carried word into Macedon of all that had war on Philip; wherein he promifed them happened. Whereupon new Embaliage was great affiftance from the Romans. That fent, that went and returned with better which most moved the troublesome spirits of feed; concluding, as was agreed before, the Ætolians, was the hope of getting Acar-

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only with some loss of time.

nania; after which they had gaped long, and The Romans were exceedingly perplexed; whereof the Roman was as liberal in making thinking with what heavy weight this Mace- promife, as if already it had been his own. donian war, in an evil hour, was likely to So a league was made between them; and fall upon them, when their shoulders were afterward solemnly published at Olympia, over-burdened with the load of the Cartha- by the Etolians, and by the Romans in their ginian. Yet they took a noble resolution, Capitol. The conditions were, that from and suitable unto that, whereby they kept | Ætolia to Coregra, in which space Acarnania off the storm, that else would have beaten was contained, all the Country should be upon them from spain. They judged it more subdued, and left unto the Atolians, the easie with small forces to detain Philip in pillage only to be given to the Romans. And Greece, than with all their strength to refist that if the Etolians made peace with Phihim in Italy. And herein they were in the lip, it should be with Provision, to hold no right. For that the very reputation of a King longer than whilft he abstained from doing of Maccdon, joyning with Hannibal in such injury to the Romans, or their Associates. a time, would have sufficed to shake the al- This was indeed the only point whereat Valegiance, not only of the Latines, and other, lerius aimed, who promifed as much on the their most faithful Subjects, but even of the Romans behalf, That they should not make Roman Colonies, that held all priviledges peace with the Macedonian, unless it were of the City, it will appear by the following with like condition of including the Ætofuccess of things. M. Valerius the Prætor lians. Into this league was place reserved for with twenty Quinquereme Gallies, was ap- the Laced emonians and Eleans, as to those pointed to attend upon the Macedonian, and that had made or favoured the fide of Cleato let on foot some commotion in Greece, or menes against the Macedonian, to enter at to nourish the troubles already therein be- their pleasure. The like regard was had of gun. Philip was busie about the Sea Towns, | Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiletus: the first that looked towards Italy, fetting upon of which reigned at Pergamus in Asia the Apollonia; and thence falling upon Oricum, less, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken which he won, and so returned to Apollo of, the other two held some part of Illyria, mia again. The Epirots craved help of M.Va- about which the Romans were to far from lerius; or rather accepted his kind offers; continding with them, that gladly they who had none other business to do. The sought to get their friendly acquaintance. Garrison that Philip had left in Oricum, was But the names of these Associates are thrust strong enough to hold the Towns-men in into the Treaty, rather to give it countegood order, but not to keep out the Romans; nance, than for any readiness which they disof whose daring to attempt any thing close to enter thereinto. The Atolians alone, against him, on that side the Sea, Philip as and chiefly Scopas their Prætor, with then had no suspition. Valerius therefore ea- Dorymachus and others, are yet a while the fily regained the Town, and fent thence a only men, of whom the Roman Generals thousand men, under Nevius Crispus, an un- must make much; as the late French King, dertaking and expert Captain, which got Henry the fourth, when he had only the by night into Apollonia. These made a no- title of Navarre, was said to court the Majors table fally, and brake into Philip's Trenches of Rochel. Philip was not idle, when he heard

whereunto the Ætolians tended. He repair- Hereupon, these his troublesome neighbours ed his Army, made a countenance of war defired peace of him, and used their best upon the Illyrians, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infest the Kingdom of Macedon; wasted the Country about Oricum and Apollonia, and overrunning the Pelagonians, Dardanians, and rable conditions, as ill befeemed vanquished others, whom he held suspected, came down men to offer; and might therefore well teinto The flaty, whence he made thew as if he stiffie, that their minds were altered. It was would invade Ætolia. By the fame of this not any love of peace, but fear of being be-Expedition, he thought to ftir up all the fieged in their own Towns, that had made Greeks adjoyning, against the Ætolians; them desirous of composition. This sear bewhom they generally detefted as a neft of ing taken away, by the incouragements of Robbers, troubleleme to all the Country. Attalus and the Romans, they were as fierce To which purpose, and to hinder the Æto- as ever; and thrust a Garrison of their own. lians from breaking into Greece, he left Per- and some Roman friends into Elis; which feus, his Son and Heir, with four thousand threatned Achaia, wherein Philip then lav. men, upon their borders: with the rest of The Romans, making a cut over the straight his Army, before greater business should from Nanpatius, wasted the Country in a overtake and intangle him, he made a long terrible bravery; wherein Philip required journey into Thrace, against a people called him, coming upon them in great haste from the Medes, that were wont to fall upon Ma- the Nemaan Games (which he was thencecedon, whenfoever the King was ablent. The lebrating) and fending them fafter away, Ætolians hearing of his departure, armed but nothing richer than they came. as many as they could against the Acarnanians; in hope to subdue those their daily of Bithynia, fearing the growth of Attalus. enemies, and win their little Country, ere no less than Attalus held suspected the power he should be able to return. Hereto it much of Philip, fent a Navy into Greece, to affist availed, that the Romans had already taken the Macedonian party. The like did the Ocniada and Naxos, Acarnanian Towns, con- Carthaginians; and upon greater reason, as veniently fituated to let in an Army; and being more interessed in the success of his configned them unto the Atolians, accord- affairs. Philip was too weak by Sea: and ing to the tenour of the contract lately made | though he could man fome two hundred with them. But the front resolution of the ships, yet the vessels were such, as could not Arcananians, to dye (as we fay) every Mo- hold out against the Roman Quinqueremes. thers Son of them, in defence of their Coun- Wherefore it behoved him to use the help try; together with the great haste of the of his good friends the Carthaginians, But Macedonian (who laid afide all other busi- their aid came somewhat too late; which nefs) to succour these his friends; caused the | might better at first have kept those Ene-Ætolians to forsake their enterprise. When mies from fastening upon any part of Greece, this Expedition was given over, the Romans | than afterward it could ferve to drive them and Etolians fell upon Ancyra, which they out, when they had pierced into the bowels took: the Romans affailed by Sea, the Eto- of that Country. Ere Philip could attempt lians by Land. The Ætolians had the Town, any thing by Sea, it was needful that he and the Romans the spoil.

chosen Consul at Rome; and P. Sulpitius sent But in assailing their Town, he was encounin his flead, to keep the war on foot in tred by the Atolian and Roman garrison, Greece. But besides the Roman help, Attalus | which drave him back with some loss. In out of Asa came over to affist the Atolians. Such cases, especially where God intendeth He was chiefly moved by his own jealousie a great conversion of Empire, Fame is very of thalips greatness; though somewhat also powerful in working. The King hadreceltickled with the vanity of being chosen by ved no great detriment in his retrait from the Etolians their principal Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titulary, he took in very loving part. Against the forces which Attalus and the Romans also soon after taken a great multitude of had sent, being joyned with the main power the Eleans, to the number of four thousand, of Ætolia, Philip tried the fortune of two with some twenty thousand head of Cattel, battels; and was victorious in each of them. which they had brought together in a place

means to get it. And when the day appointted for the conclusion therefore, was come: their Embassadours, in stead of making fubmission, proposed unto him such intole-

In the heat of this contention, Prusias King should correct the Eleans, bad neighbours For these good services M. Valerius was to the Achaians his principal Confederates. Elis: rather he had given testimony of his personal valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horse was slain under him. He had

of fafety, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had hapned, that port of Cleomenes his death in Egypt, went in his pursuit of the Roman forragers about about to chuse two new Kings, and to consicyon, his horse running hastily under a form themselves to their old manner of golow tree, had torn off one of the horns, vernment. But their estate was so far out which (after the fashion of those times) the of tune, that their hope of redressing things King wore in his Creft. This was gathered within the City, proved no less unfortunate, up by an Ætolian, who carried it home, and than had been their attempts of recovershewed it as a token of Philip's death. The ling a large dominion abroad. Lycurgus a horn was well known, and the tale believed. Tyrant role up among them: upon whom All Macedon therefore was in an uproar; succeeded this Machanidas, and shortly afand not only the boderers, ready to fall up- ter came Nabis, that was worse than both on the Country, but some Captains of Philip of them. They held on the Ætolian and Roeafily corrupted; who thinking to make man fide, for fear of the Acheans, that were themselves a fortune in that change of the chief Confederates of Philip, and hated things, ran into fuch treason, as they might extremely the name both of Tyrant and better hope to make good, than to excuse. Lacedemonian. But of these we shall speak Hereupon the King returned home, leaving more hereafter. not three thousand men to affist his friends the Acheans. He also took order, to have Bea- presence had brought the contentment of conserected, that might give him notice of affurance to that Country; spake brave the enemies doings, upon whom he meant words to the Assembly of their States, sayshortly to return. The affairs of Macedon, ling, That he had to do with an Enemy his presence quickly established. But in that was very nimble, and made war by Greece all went ill-favouredly; especially in running away. He told how he had folthe Isle of Eubwa, where one Plator betrayed lowed them to Chalcis, to Orcum, to Opus, to Attalus and the Romans, the Town of and now into Achaia; but could no where Oreum, ere Philip could arrive to help it: find them, fuch hafte they made, for fear of where also the strong City of Chalcis was being overtaken. But flight, he said, was not likely to have been lost, if he had not come alwaies prosperous: he should one day the sooner. He made such hasty marches, light upon them; as ere this he sundry that he had almost taken Attalus in the City times had done, and still to their loss. The of Opus: This City, lying over against Eu- Achaians were glad to hear these words; bea, Attalus had won more through the and much the more glad, in regard of his cowardize of the people, than any great good deeds accompanying them. For he reforce that he had used : now because the Ro- Itored unto their Nation some Towns that man Souldiers had defrauded him in the were in his hand, belonging to them of old. fack of Oreum, and taken all to themselves; it | Likewise to the Megalopolitans their Confewas agreed, that Attalus should make his best derates, he rendred Aliphera. The Dyprofit of the Opuntians, without admitting means, that had been taken by the Rothe Romans to be his sharers. But whilst he mans, and fold for slaves, he sought out, was busie, in drawing as much mony as he ransomed, and put in quiet possession of could out of the Citizens: the fudden ty- their own City. Further, paffing over the dings of Philip's arrival, made him leave all | Corinthian Gulf, he fell upon the Etolians; behind him, and run away to the Sea-fide, whom he drave into the mountains and Romans gone before, upon the like fear.

The Lacedamonians, hearing certain re-

Philip entring into Achaia, and feeing his where he got aboord his ships, finding the wood, or other their strongest holds, and wasted their Country. This done, he took Either the indignity of this misadventure, leave of the Acheans, and returned home or tydings of Prusias the Bithy nian his inva- by Sea, visited the people that were his subfion upon the Kingdom of Pergamus; made | jects, or dependants; and animated them fo Attalus return home, without staying to well, that they rested searless of any threattake leave of his friends. So Philip reco- ning danger. Then had he leifure to make vered Opus, won Torone, Tritonos, Drymus war upon the Dardanians, ill neighbours to and many small Towns in those parts; per- Macedon: with whom nevertheless he was forming likewise some actions, of more bra- not so far occupied, but that he could go in very than importance, against the Ætolians. hand with preparing a Fleet of an hundred In the mean feason, Machanidas, the Tyrant Gallies, whereby to make himself Master of Lacedamon, had been busie in Peloponne- of the Sea; the Romans (since the depar-Jus; but hearing of Philip's arrival, was re- ture of Attalus) having not dared to meet or purfue him, when he lately ran along the

This good fuccess added much reputati- the Carthaginians unto a fafe and thrifty on to the Macedonian, and emboldened him course: which was, not to admit into the felto make strong war upon the Ætolians, at lowship of their Italian wars so mighty a their own doors. As for the Romans either Prince; whom change of affection might fome displeasure, conceived against their make dangerous to their Empire; or his Confederates, or some fear of danger at much affection unto Hannibal, more dangehome, when Afdrubal was ready to fall upon rous to their liberty. Rather they should Italy; caused them to give over the care of do well to save charges, and feed the Macethings in Greece, and leave their friends donian with hopes; by making many prothere to their own fortunes. The Ætolians miles of fending a fleet and some other suctherefore being driven to great extremity, cours. This would cost nothing, yet would were fain to fue for peace unto Philip; and it ferve to terrifie the Romans, and compell accept it, upon what ever conditions it best them to send part of their forces from home, pleased him. The agreement was no sooner that might find this Enemy work abroad. made, than P. Sempronius with ten thousand | So should the Roman Armies be lessened in foot, a thousand horse, and thirty five gal- | Italy; and Philip, when once he was ingaged lies, came over in great hafte (though some- in the war, be urged unto the profecution, what too late) to trouble it. Hearing how by his own necessity: putting the Carthathings went in Ætolia, he turned alide to ginians to little or no charges 3 yea, scarce to Dyrrhacchium and Apollonia, making a great the labour of giving him thanks. Now ifit noise, as if with these his own forces he might come to pals, as Hannibal every day would work wonders. But it was not long ere did promife, that Rome, and all Italy should Philip came to visit him, and found him tame within a while be at the devotion of Carenough. The King prefented him battel, but | thage: better it were, that the City should he refused it : and fuffering the Macedoni- be free, to as the troublesome Greeks might ans to waste the Countrey round about, be- address their complaints unto the Carthagifor his eyes, kept himself close within the vians, as competent Judges between them wals of Apollonia, making some overtures of and the Macedonian, than that Hamibal. peace: which caused Philip to return home with the power of Africk, should wait upquietly. The Romans had not so great cause on Philip, as his Executioner, to fulfill his to be displeased with the Atolians, as had will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as Philip to take in evil part the demeanor of would both make the name of a Carthaginithe Carthaginians. For notwithstanding the an hateful in Greece, and oblige Philip to be royal offer that he made them, to serve their no less impudent, in fulfilling all requests of turn in Italy, and affilt them, in getting their Hannibal. Whether the counsel of Hanno hearts defire, before he would expect any and his fellows were fuch as this, or wherequital: they had not fent any ficet, as in ther the Carthaginians, of their own disposireason they ought, and as (considering his tion, without his advice, were too sparing, want of sufficient ability by Sea) it is likely and careless, the matter (as far as concerned they were bound either to secure the tran- | Philip) came to one reckoning. For they did sportation of his Army, or to free his coast him no manner of good, but frather dodged from the Roman and Ætolian Piracies. Only with him, even in their little courtesse which his own Navy, durst boldly pass by Sea, make Monarchs, and alter the affairs of the he had wilfully entred into trouble for their

coast of Greece, fast by them where they world at pleasure. Therefore he had reafon, fuch as envy could fuggeft, to perfwade once they came to his help, which was at his they most pretended. And this perhaps was last journey into Achaia. But they were gone part of the reason, why he began the again before his arrival: having done no- building of an hundred Gallies, as if he thing, and pretending fear of being taken by would let them and others know, whereto the Romans, even at such time as Philip with his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainly given credit to faithless proand found none that durst oppose him. This mises. When therefore the Etolians had wretchless dealing of the Carthaginians, may submitted themselves already: and when the therefore seem to have been one of Hanno Romans desired his friendship, as might be his tricks, whereof Hannibal so bitterly com- thought, for very fear of him, with repuplained. For it could not but grieve this ma- tation enough, and not as a forfaken Client licious man exceedingly to hear that so of the Carthaginians, but a Prince able to great a King made offer to serve in person have succoured them in their necessity, he under Hannibal, and required the affiftance might give over the war, and, without reof the same Hannibal, as of a man likely to prehension, leave them to themselves. For

fakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrel were meerly his own, and he unable to manage it.

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The vanity of which their conceits would appear unto them, when they should see. that with his proper strength he had finished the War, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year follow-ing it was agreed, by the mediation of that embracing fo many enterprises at conditions somewhat to their loss.

ferve to follow it.

s. XIII.

How the Romans began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieving the publick Necesfities of their Common-weal.

the Epirots, Acarnanians, and others, once, they followed all by the halves; and That the Romans should retain three or wasted more men and mony to no purpose, four Towns of Illyria, which they had than would have served (if good order had recovered in this War, being part of been taken) to finish the whole War, in their old Illgrian Conquest: Places no far shorter space; and make themselves way belonging to the Macedonian; and Lords of all that the Romans held. This error therefore perhaps inferted into the Cove- had become the less harmful, if their care nants, that somewhat might seem to have of Haly had been such as it ought. But they been gotten. On the other fide, the fuffered Hamibal to weary himfelf with ex-Atimanes were appointed to return under pectation of their promifed supplies; which the obedience of Philip: who, if they being still deferred from year to year, cauwere (as Ortelius probably conjectures) fed as great opportunities to be loit, as a Conthe people of the Country about Apollo- querour could have defired. The death of nia, then did the Romans abandon part Posthumins, and destruction of his whole Arof their gettings; whereby it appears, that my in Ganl; the begun rebellion of the Sarthey did not give peace, as they would dinians; the death of Hiero their friend in feem to have done, but accepted it, upon Syracuses, with great alterations much to their prejudice, in the whole Ille of sicil; as al-The Confederates and Dependants of lothat War, of which we last spake threatthe Macedonian, comprehended in this ned from Macedon, happening all at one time; Peace, were Prulias King of Bithynia, the and that so nearly after their terrible over-Acheans, Beotians, Theffalians, Acarnani- throw at Canna, among fo many revolts of ans, and Epirots. On the Roman fide their Italian Confederates; would utterly were named, first, the people of Ilium, have funk the Roman State; had the Carthaas an honourable remembrance of the ginians, if not the first year, yet at least the Romans descent from Troy; then, Attalus second, sent over to Hannibal the forces that King of Pergamus; Fleuratus an Illyrian was decreed. It is not to be doubted, that Prince; and Nabis the Tyrant of Lacede- even this diversity of great hopes, appearing mon; together with the Eleans, Messeni- from all parts, administred matter unto Hanand, and Athenians. The Ætolians were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the Eleans and Carthage, to perform all that was decreed for Melfenians, followers of the Etolians, Italy; yet could not that prohibition hold, (and by them, as is most likely, compri- when so many new occurrences brought prifed in their league with Philip) were each along with them their new care; and also inserted by the Romans; that were required their several Armies. This had not never flow in offering their friendship to been a very bad excule, if any one of the mafmall and feeble Nations. As for the ny occasious offered had been throughly Athenians; they flood much upon their profecuted: though it flood with bestreaold honour; and loved to bear a part, fon, that the foundation of all other hopes though they did nothing, in all great acti- and comforts, which was the prosperity of ons. Yet the fetting down of their names | Hannibal in his Italian war, should have been in this Treaty, ferved the Romans to strengthened; whatsoever had become of good purpole: forasmuch as they were a the rest. But the slender Troops, wherewith busie people, and ministred occasion to the Carthaginians fed the War in Spain; renew the War, when means did better the lingring aid which they fent to uphold the Sardinian rebellion, when it was already well-near beaten down; their triffing with Philip; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hafty catching at sicil: little deferved to be thought good reasons of negle-

cting the main point, whereto all the rest Marcellus therefore gave over the places and had reference. Rather every one of these Q. Fabius Maximus, the late famous Dista-Actions, confidered apart by it felf, was no tor, was substituted in his room. But Fabius coherwife to be allowed, as differently undertaken or fubftantially fellowed; than by religion or fuperfittion: wherewith Rome making supposition, That the care of Italy was commonly, especially in times of danger, made the Carthaginians more negligent in very much troubled. So Gracehus alone, all things elfe. Yet if these allegations would with a Consular Army, waited upon Haminot serve to content Hannibal, then must be bal among the Campans: not able to meet patiently endure to know, that his own Ci- the enemy in field; yet intentive to all octizens were jealous of his Greatness, and casions, that should be presented. The Vodurst not trust him with so much power, as lones, or Slaves, that lately had been armed, thould enable him to wrong the State at were no fmall part of his followers. These,

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feed his Italian friends with hopes 3 and to keep it from quarrels that might arise by trifle away the time about Nola, Naples, Cume, upbraiding one another with their base conand other places: being loth to fpend his dirions. Army in an hard fiege, that was to be referved for a work of more importance. Many ternum, the Senators of Cume fent him offers he made upon Nola, but alwayes with word of all that had passed between them badfuccess. Once Marcellus fought a battel and the Capuans. It was a good occasion to with him there, yet under the very Walls of flesh his men, and make them confident the Town; having the assistance of the Citizens, that were grown better affected to the Roman fide, fince the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men Hannibal in that fight lost: which was no great marvel; his forces being then divided, and imployed in fundry led Hame: three miles from Cume. There parts of Haly at once. Naples was even in those dayes, a strong City; and required a pua, with source thousand men; not years work to have taken it by force. Wher- wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to fore the earnest desire of Hannibal to get it, any danger that might interrupt it; buttawas alwayes frustrate. Upon the Town of ther devising how to surprize others, than Cuma they of Capua had their plot, and were fearing himself to be assailed. The Consul in hope to take it by cunning. They fent to therefore, suffering none to go forth of Came, the chief Magistrates of the Cumans, desiring that might bear word of him to the enemies, them (as being also Campans) to be present issued out of the Town when it grew dark: at a folemn facrifice of the Nation, where his men being well refreshed with meat they would consult about their general and sleep, the day before, that they might good: promising to bring thither a suffici- hold out the better in this nights service. So ent guard, to affure the whole Affembly from he came upon the Capuans unawares, and any danger that might come by the Romans. Ilew more than two thousand of them, toge-This motion the Cumans made shew to enther with their Commander, losing not tertain; but privily fent word of all to above a hundred of his own men. Then

a time. His Colleague should have been greater loss, than he had brought upon the Posthumius Albinus, that was lately flain by Enemies. For when Hannibal was information the Gauls: after whose death Marcellus was ed how things went at Hame, forthwithin chosen, as being judged the fittest man to en marched thither; hoping to finde those counter with Hannibal. But the Roman Au-young fouldiers, and flaves, bufied in making gures either tound fome religious impediipoil, and loading themselves with the boots. ment that nullified the election of Marcellus; But they were all gotten fafe within Came? or at least they fained to to have done, be- which partly for anger, partly for defired cause this was the first time, that ever two gaining it, and partly at the urgent en-Pleberan Confuls were chosen together. treaty of the Capuans, Hannibal affailed the

Whatfoever he heard or thought, Hanni- ed; and had not a greater care to make his bal was glad to apply himself to Necessity, to Army skilful in the exercises of war, than to

The fifth Book of the first Part

Whilst the Consul was thus busied at Linagainst the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. Gracehus therefore put himself into Cuma: whence he issued at fuch time, as the Magistrates of that City were expected by the Campans. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place cal-T. Sempronius Gracchus, the Roman Consul. Camp he took; but tarried not long to rifle Gracehus was a very good man of war, it, for fear of Hannibal, who lay not far and happily chosen Consul in so dangerous off. By this his providence, he escaped a the next day. Much labour, and with ill fuctheir revolt.

strong in the field. Wherefore Hannibal, of war: and instead of making (as formerdaily more commodious to the enemy, than Samnites was grievoully wasted by Marcellus, in the absence of Hannibal; as also was Campania, by Fabius the Consul; when Hannibal having followed Marcellus to Nola, and received there the loss before mentioned, was gone to winter in Apulia. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the Carthaginian Empire, as in former times they had done, when they contended with the Romans, in their own behalf, to get the Soveraignty. They held it reason, that they should be protected by fuch as thought to have dominion over them: whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; and gave unto theirold, the more easie means to take revenge of their defection.

The people of Rome were very intentive cels, the Carthaginians and their fellows as necessity constrained them, to the work front about this town. They raised a wooden that they had in hand. They continued Fa-Tower against it; which they brought bins in his Consulship; and joyned with him close unto the wals; thinking thereby to Marcus Claudius Marcellus; whom they had force an Entry. But the Defendants, on the appointed unto that honour the year beinfide of the wall, raifed against this an high fore. Of these two, Fabius was called the Tower; whence they made refistance, and Shield : and Marcellus, the Roman Sword. In found means at length to confume with fire Fabius it was highly, and upon just reason. the work of their Enemies. While the Car- commended, That being himself Consul, and thaeinians were busie in quenching the fire, holding the Election, he did not stand upthe Komans, fallying out of the Town at on nice points of formality, or regard what two gates, charged them valiantly, and men might think of his ambition, but caused drave them to their Trenches, with the himself to be chosen with Marcellus; knowflaughter of about fourteen hundred. The ing in what need the City flood of able Conful wifely founded the Retreat, ere his Commanders. The great name of these men were too far engaged, and Hannibal in Confuls, and the great preparations which a readiness to requite their service. Neither the Romans made, served to put the Campans would he in the pride of his good success, in fear, that Capua it self should be besieged. adventure forth against the Enemy; who To prevent this, Hannibal, at their carnest presented him battel the day following, near entreaty, came from Arpi (where he lay, unto the wals. Hannibal therefore, feeing no hearkening after news from Tarentum) and likelihood to prevail in that which he had having with his prefence comforted these his taken in hand, brake up the fiege, and re- friends, fell on the fudden upon Puteoli, a turned to his old camp at Tifata. About Sea-town of Campania; about which he thele times, and shortly after, when Fabius | spent three dayes in vain, hoping to have the other Conful had taken the field; fome | won it. The garrifon in Puteoli was fix thousmall Towns were recovered by the Ro- | fand strong: and did their duty so well, mans, and the people severely punished for that the Carthaginian, finding no hope of good fuccefs, could only fliew his anger up-The Carthaginian Army was too small, to on the fields there, and about Naples; which fill with garrifons all places that had yield- having done, and once more (with as ill ed; and withal to abide (as it must do) successas before) assailed Nola, he bent his course to Tarentum: wherein he had very attending the supply from home, that should great intelligence. Whilest he was in his enable him to strike at Rome it self, was progress thither, Hanno made a journey driven in the mean time to alter his course against Beneventum : and T. Gracchus, the last years Conful, hafting from Nuceria, met ly he had done) a general invasion upon him there; and fought with him a battel. the whole Country, to pass from place to | Hanno had with him about seventeen thouplace; and wait upon occasions, that grew | fand foot, Brutians and Lucans for the most part: befides twelve hundred horfe; very few to him. The Countrey of the Hirpines and of which were Italians, all the rest Numidians and Moors. He held the Romans work four hours, ere it could be perceived to which fide the victory would incline. But Gracebus his fouldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed flaves, had received from their General a peremptory denunciation. That this day or never they must purchase their liberty, bringing every manfor price thereof, an enemies head. The fweet reward of liberty was fo greatly defired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vain labour imposed by their General, of cutting off the flain enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the fervice by imployment of fo many hands in a work fo little concerning the victory. Gracehus there-

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fore finding his own errour, wifely correct- worse do than before; as living upon the ed it : proclaiming aloud, That they should fame trade, and subject to the same inconvecalt away the heads, and frare the trouble kiencies, which enfecbled Rome it felf. sieil of cutting off any more; for that all should and sardinia, that were wont to yield great have liberty immediately after the battel, if profit, hardly now maintained the Roman they wonn the day. This encouragement Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold made them run head-long upon the Enemy; them fafe, and in good order. As for the Ciwhom their desperate sury had soon over tizens of Kome, every one of them suffered thrown, if the Roman-horse could have his part of the detriment, which the Commade their part good against the the Numi- mon-wealth sustained, and could now do dian. But though Hanno did what he could, least for his Country, when most need was: and prefled to hard upon the Romans bat- as also the number of them was much detel, that four thousand of the slaves, (for creased; so as if mony should be raised fear either of them, or of the punishment upon them by the Pell, yet must it be far less which Gracebus had threatned before the than in former times. The Senate therefore battel unto those that should not valiantly diligently considering the greatness of the behave themselves) retired unto a ground war within the bowels of Baly, that could of ftrength; yet was he glad at length to not be thence expelled, without the exceedfave himself by hight, when the Groß of his ing charge of many good Armies; the peril, Army was broken; being unable to remedy wherein Sicil and Sardinia flood, both of the lofs. Leaving the field, he was accome the Carthaginians, and of many among the panied by no more than two thouland, most Naturals declining from the friendflip or of which were horse; all the rest were either subjection of Rome; the threats of the Macflain or taken. The Roman General gave donian, ready to land in the Eastern parts of unto all his fouldiers that reward of liberty | nah, if they were not at the coft to find him which he had promifed: but unto those work at home; the greater threats of Africant four thouland, which had recoyled unto bal, to follow his Brother over the Alps, as the Hill, he added this light punishment; foon as he could rid himself of the scipios That as long as they served in the wars, they in spain; and the poverty of the Commonfhould neither eat nor drink otherwife than wealth, which had not mony for any one of franding, unles fickness forced them to these mortal dangers; were driven almost break his order. So the victorious Army even to extream want of counsel. But being returned to Beneventum: where the newly urged by the violence of fwift necessity, figenfranchifed Souldiers were feasted in publified in the letters of the two Scipio's from lick by the Towns-men; fome fitting, fome standing, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the custom of flaves manu- subfifted. mised) with caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feaft (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterward hung up in a Table open the publick wants; and plainly faid, by Gracehus, in the Temple of Liberty; which his Father had built and dedicated. of mony for victuals, weapons, apparel, or This was indeed the first battel, worthy of the like things needful to the Souldiers; great note, which the Carthaginians had loft but that fuch as had ftuff, or were Artificers, fince the coming of Hannibal into Haly: the must trust the Common-wealth with the victories of Marcellus at Nola, and of this Loan of their commodities and labors until Gracehus before at Hame, being things of the war were ended. Hereunto he fo effectufmall importance.

little and little,repaired the great Breach in mer times had lived upon their dealing in their Estate, which Hamnibal had made at the common Revenues, that the charge was Canne. But all this while, and long after undertaken by private men; and the Army this, their Treasury was so poor, that no in in Spain, as well supplyed, as if the Treasury dustry nor art could ferre to help it. The had been full. Shortly after this, March fruits of their grounds did only (and per- Attilius Regulus, and Publius Furius Philus, haps hardly) ferve to feed their Towns and the Roman Cenfors; taking in hand the re-Armies, without any furplulage, that might dress of dilorders within the City, were be exchanged for other needful commodi- chiefly intentive to the correction of those, ties. Few they were in *Haly* that continued that had mif-behaved themselves in this preto pay them tribute: which also they could sent war. They began with L. Cealing

Spain; they resolved upon the only course, without the which the City could not have

They called the people to affembly; wherein Quintus Fulvius the Prætor laid That in this exigent, there must be no taking ally exhorted all men, especially the Publi-Thus the Romans, through industry, by cans or Customers, and those which in for

the note of the Cenfors at this time (as other- undertake fuch pieces of work, offered now wife it had used to be) hurtful only in re- themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if putation: but greater weight was added there had been no fuch want : promifing lithereunto, by this Decree of the Senate, fol- berally their cost and travel; without exlowing; That all fuch as were noted with in- | pectation of any payment, before the end of famy by these Censors, should be transported in- the War. In like fort, the Masters of those to Sicil, there to serve until the end of the War, Ilaves, that lately had been infranchised by under the same hard conditions, that were Gracehus, were very well contented to forimposed upon the Remainder of the Army bea- bear the price of them, until the City were ten at Cannæ. The office of the Cenfors was, in better case to pay. In this general inclito take the List and accompt of the Citizens; nation of the Multitude, to relieve, as far to chuse or displace the Senatours; and to forth as every one was able, the common fet notes of diffrace (without further pu- necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of nilhment) upon those, whose unhonest or Widows living under Patronage, were unfeemly behaviour fell not within the brought into the Treasury; and there the compass of the Law. They took also an ac- Questor kept a Book of all that was laid out count of the Roman Gentlemen: amongst | for the sustenance of these Widows and Orwhom they distributed the publick Horses phans: whilst the whole stock was used by of service, unto such as they thought meet; the City. This good example of those which or took them away for their mif-behaviour: remained in the Town, prevailed with the Generally, they had the overfight of mens | Souldiers abroad : fo that (the poorer fort tended no further, than to putting men out when their Country was in fo great want. of rank; or making them change their

Metellus; who, after the battel at Canne, | small help to conserve the dignity of the had held discourse with some of his Compa- Senate: the commonalty being obnoxious nions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if unto the Cenfors; which were alwayes of Rome, and all Italy, had been no better than that Order, and careful to uphold the reloft. After him they took in hand those, putation thereof. But the Common-weal that having brought to Rome the message of being now impoverished by War, and having their fellows made prisoners at Canna, re- small store of Lands to lett, or of Customs turned not back to Hannibal, as they were that were worth the farming; Regulus and bound by oath; but thought themselves Philus troubled not themselves much with thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they perusing the Temples, or other decayed plahad stepped once back into his Camp, with ces, that needed reparations: or, if they took pretence of taking better notice of the a view of what was requifite to be done in Captives names. All these were now pro- this kind; yet forbore they to set any thing nounced infamous by the Cenfors: as also in hand, because they had not wherewith were a great many more; even whofoever to pay. Herein again appeared a notable had not served in the wars, after the term generosity of the Romans. They that had which the Laws appointed: Neither was been accustomed in more happy times, to lives and manners : and their censure was excepted) they refused to take pay; and much reverenced and feared; though it ex- called those Mercenaries, that did accept it,

The twelve hundred Talents wrongfully Tribe; or (which was the most that they extorted from the Carthaginians; nor any could do) caufing them to pay some Duties injuries following, done by the Romans in to the Treasury, from which others were the height of their pride; yielded half so exempted. But, besides the care of this ge- much commodity, as might be laid in balneral Tax, and matters of Morality, they lance against these miseries, whereinto their had the charge of all publick Works; as Estate was now reduced. Nevertheless if mending of High-wayes, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, this War did rather inable Rome to deal Porches, and such other buildings. If any with those Enemies, whom she forthwith man incroached upon the Streets, High- undertook, than abate or flacken the growth wayes, or other places that ought to be com- of that large Dominion, whereto she atmon; the Cenfors compelled him to make tained, ere the youngest of those men was amends. They had also the letting out of dead, whose names we have already men-Lands, Customs, and other publick Revel tioned. For by this hammering, the Roman nues to farm: fo that most of the Citizens metal grew more hard and solid: and by of Rome were beholding unto this office; as paring the branches of private fortunes, the maintaining themselves by some of the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was Trades thereto belonging. And this was no corroborated. So grew the City of Athens,

when Xerxes had burnt the Town to ashes , and taken from every particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which The Romans win some Towns back from Hanrested in the common happiness of the universality. Certain it is, (as Sir Francis Bacon hath judiciously observed) That a State, whole dimension or stem is small, may aptly ferve to be foundation of a greatMonarchy: which chiefly comes to pass, where all regard of domestical prosperity is laid aside; and every mans care addressed to the bene- the War: so their Generals abroad omitted fit of his Country. Hercof I might fay that no part of industry, in feeking to recover our Age hath seen a great example, in the what had been lost. The Town of Cossiline, united Provinces in the Netherlands; whose Fabius befieged. It was well defended by present riches and strength grew chiefly the Carthaginian Garrison; and likely to from that ill affurance, which each of their have been relieved by those of Сприа, if Towns, or almost of their Families, percei- Marcellus from Nola, had not come to the ved it selfto hold, whilst the generality was affistance of his Colleague. Nevertheles, oppressed by the Duke of Alva; were it so, the place held out so obstinately, that Fathat the people had thereby grown as war- bins was purposed to give it over: saying, like, as, by extreme indultry, and straining that the enterprise was not great; yet as difthemselves to fill their publick Treasury, they ficult, as a thing of more importance. But are all grown wealthy, ftrong at Sea, and able Marcellus was of a contrary opinion. He to wage great Armies for their fervices by faid, That many fuch things, as were not at Land. Wherefore if we value at such a sirst to have been undertaken by greatComrate as we ought, the patient refolution, con- manders, ought yet, when once they were taformity to good Order, obedience to Magi- ken in hand, to be profecuted unto the best ftrates, with many other Vertues, and above effect. So the fiege held on ; and the Town all other, the great love of the Common- was pressed so hard, that the Campans dwelweal, which was found in Rome in these dan- ling therein, grew fearful, and craved pargerous times: we may truly fay, That the City was never in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed other-pleased. Whilst they were thus treating of wife, than that if the same affections of conditions: or whill they were ish the people had lafted, when their Em- ing forth, according to the composition alpire, being grown more large and beau-ready made; (for it is diverfly reported) tiful, should in all reason have been more | Marcellus seizing upon a Gate, cutred with dear unto them; if the riches and delicacies his Army, and put all to fword that came in of Asia had not infected them with sensuali- their way. Fifty of those that were first got-

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nibal. Hannibal wins Tarentum. The flege of Capua. Two Victories of Hannibal. The Journey of Hannibal to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.

As the people of Rome strained them-felves to the utmost, for maintaining ty, and carryed their appetites mainly ten out, ran to Fabius the Conful, who faved to those pleasures, wherein they thought them, and sent them to Capua in safety; all their well-being to confift; if all the Ci- the rest were either slain, or made prisotizens and subjects of Rome could have be- ners. If Fabius deserved Commendations, lieved their own interest to be as great, in by holding his word good unto these fifty; I those wars which these latter Emperours know not how the slaughter of the rest, or made for their defence, as in these which imprisonment afterward of such as escaped were managed by the Confuls: the Em- the heat of execution, could be excused by pire, founded uponto great vertue, could Marcellus. It may be that he helped himnot have been thrown down by the hands | felfatter the Roman fashion, with some aquiof rude Barbarians, were they never fo vocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In many. But unto all Dominions God hath like fort was Mount Marfam in Gafeogutafet their periods: Who, though he hath ken by the Marshall Monluc, when I was a given unto Man the knowledge of those young man in France. For whilst he enterwayes, by which Kingdoms rile and fall; tained parley about composition; the beyet hath left him subject unto the affections, slegged rann all from their several guards, which draw on these fatal changes, in their times appointed.

The Marshall the conditions proposed. The Marshall the conditions proposed. therefore discovering a part of the Walls unguarded, entred by Scalado, and put all fave the Governour unto the fword. Herein

ted two gross errours; the one, in that he the Consul, suffered him, in regard of due gave no order for the Captains and Com- reverence, to pass by them on horse-back, panies, to hold themselves in their places; which was against the custom. But the Son the other, in that he was content to parlee perceiving this, commanded the last of his without Pledges for affurance given and re- Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the ceived. Some such oversight the Governour old Fabius alight, and come to the Consul of Casiline seemeth to have committed; yet on his feet. The Father chearfully did so; neither the advantage taken by Marcellus, faying, It was my mind, Son, to make tryal, or by Monluc, was very honourable. When whether thou didft understand thy self to be this Work was ended, many small Towns of Conful. Calfius Altinius a wealthy Citizen of the Samnites, and some of the Lucans of Arpi, who, after the battel at Canna, had and Apulians, were recovered: wherein holpen the Carthaginian into that Town, were taken or flain, about five and twenty feeing now the fortune of the Romans to thouland of the Enemies; and the Country amend, came privily to this Conful Fabius; grievously wasted by Fabius, Marcellus ly- and offered to render it back unto him, if

ing fick at Nola.

down the Country.

ship, we will speak hereafter.

him: eleven of the twelve Lictors, which they had been betrayed by their Princes; and

that Governour of Mount Marfam commit- | carried an Axe with a bundle of Rods before he might be therefore well rewarded. The Hannibal in the mean while was about Consul purposed to follow old examples; Tarentum, waiting to hear from those, that and to make this Altinius a pattern to all had promifed to give up the Town. But Traitors; using him as Camillus and Fabricius M. Valerius the Roman Propretor had thrust had done those that offered their faithful fo many men into it, that the Traitors durst service against the Falisci, and King Pyrrhus. not stir. Wherefore the Carthaginian was But Q. Fabius the Father, was of another fain to depart, having wearied himself in opinion: and faid, it was a matter of danvain with expectation. Yet he wasted not gerous consequence, That it should be the Country, but contented himself with thought more safe to revolt from the Rohope, that they would please him better in mans, than to turn unto them. Wherefore time following. So he departed thence to- it was concluded, that he should be sent to ward salapia, which he chofe for his win-tring-place; and began to victual it when ner; until they could better resolve, what Summer was but half past. It is said, that he to do with him, or what use to make of was in love with a young Wench in that him. Hannibal understanding that Altinius Town, in which regard, if he began his Win- was gone, and among the Romans, took it ter more timely than otherwise he required, not forrowfully; but thought this a good oche did not, like the Romans; whom necessis- casion to seize upon all the mans riches, ty inforced, to make their Summer last as which were great. Yet that he might seem long as they were able to travel up and rather fevere, than covetous, he fent for the wife and children of Altinius into his Camp: About this time began great troubles in where having examined them by torment, Sicil, whither Marcellus the Conful was partly concerning the departure and intenfent, to take such order for the Province, as tions of this sugitive, partly, and more strictneed should require. Of the doings there, ly, about his riches, what they were, and which wore out more time than his Conful- where they lay, he condemned them as partakers of the treason, to be burnt alive; and The new Consuls, chosen at Rome, were took all their goods unto himself. Fabius 2. Fabius the Son of the present Consul, the Consul shortly after came to Arpi: which and T. Sempronius Gracchus the second time. he wonn by Scalado, in a stormy and rainy The Romans found it needful for the pub- night. Five thousand of Hannibal's Soullick service, to imploy oftentimes their best diers lay in the Town; and of the Arpines ablemen: and therefore made it lawful, themselves, there were about three thouduring the war, to recontinue their Officers, | fand. These were thrust formost by the Carand chuse such as had lately held their pla- thaginian Garrison; when it was understood, ces before; without regarding any distance that the Romans had gotten over the Wall, of time, which was otherwise required. The and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers old Fabius became Lieutenant unto his held the Towns-men suspected; and there-Son: which was perhaps the respect, that fore thought it no wildom to trust them at most commended his Son unto the place. It their backs. But after some little resistance, is noted, That when the old man came into the Arpines gave over fight, and entertained the Camp, and his Son rode forth to meet parley with the Romans: protesting, they

were become subject to the Carthaginians, where they suffered death as Traitors, Bu against their wills. In process of this dif- reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people course, the Arpine Prætor went unto the of Tarentum grew to hate the Romans more Roman Confid: and receiving his faith for generally and earneftly than before. As for fecurity of the Town, prefently made head the Confpirators, they followed their bufiness against the Garrison. This notwithstanding, the more diligently, as knowing what relike it is that Hannibals men continued to ward they were to expect, if their intention make good refistance. For when almost a should happen to be discovered. Wherefore thousand of them that were Spaniards, of- they fent again to Hannibal; and acquaintfered to leave their companions, and ferve ing him with the manner of their plor. on the Romans fide, it was yet covenanted, made the fame composition with him for that the Carthaginians should be suffered to the Tarentines, which they of Capua had pass forth quietly, and return to Hannibal. made before. Nico and Philomenes, two of This was performed: and to Arpi became the chief among them, used much to go forth Roman again, with little other loss, than of of the Town on hunting by night; as if they him that had betrayed it, About the same durst not take their pleasure by day for fear time Cliternum was taken by Sempronius Tu- of the Carthaginians. Seldom or never they ditanus, one of the Prators: and unto Cnews missed of their game: for the Carthaginians Fulvius, another of the Prators, an hundred | prepared it ready for their hands, that they and twelve Gentlemen of Capua offered their might not feem to have been abroad upon fervice; upon no other condition, than to other occasion: From the Camp of Hannibal have their goods restored unto them, when it was about three dayes journey to Tarentheir City should be recovered by the Ro- tum; if he should have marched thither with mans. This was a thing of finall importance: his whole Army. This caused his long abode but confidering the general hatred of the in one place the less to be suspected : as also, Campans towards Rome, it served to disco- to make his enemies the more secure, he ver the inclination of the Italians in those caused it to be given out, that he was sick. times; and how their affections recoyled But when the Romans within Tarentum, from Hannibal, when there was no appea- were grown careless of such his neighbourrance of those mighty succours, that had hood, and the Conspirators had set their bubeen promised from Carthage. The Confen- finess in order; he took with him tenthoutines also, and the Thurines, people of the fand the most expedite of his horse and foot; Brutians, which had yielded themselves to and long before break of day, made all speed Hannibal, returned again to their old alle- thitherward. Fourfcore light horse of the giance. Others would have followed their Numidians ran a great way before him, example, but that one L. Pomponius, who of beating all the wayes, and killing any that a Publican had made himfelf a Captain, and they met, for fear left he, and his troop folgotten reputation by some petty exploits in lowing him, should be discovered. It had forraging the Country, was flain by Hanno ; been often the manner of fome few Numiwith a great multitude of those that fol- | dian horse, to do the like in former times. lowed him. Hannibal in the mean while had Wherefore the Roman Governour, when all his care bent upon Tarentum; which if he he heard tell in the evening, that some Nucould take, it feemed that it would frand midians were abroad in the fields, took it him in good flead, for drawing over that for a fign, that Hannibal was not as yet difhelp out of Macedon, which his Carthagini- lodged; and gave order, that some compaans failed to fend. Long he waited ere he nies should be sent out the next morning, to could bring his defire to pass: and being strip them of their booty, and fend them loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to prevail by intelligence; he contented him-left with taking in fome poor Towns of the Town: where, according to the tokens Salentines. At length, his Agents within agreed upon, making a light to shew his ar-Tarentum, found means to accomplish their rival; Nico, that was within the Town, anpurpose, and his wish. One Phileas, that was | swered him with another light, in sign that of their conspiracy, who lay at Rome as Em- he was ready. Presently Nico began to set baffadour, practifing with the Hoftages of upon one of the Gates, and to kill the the Tarentines, and fuch as had the keeping watch-men. Philomenes went toward anoof them, conveyed them by night out of the ther gate: and whiftling (as was his man-City. But he and his company the next day | ner)called up the Porter; bidding him make were fo closely pursued, that all of them haste, for that he had killed a great Bore, so were taken, and brought back to Rome, heavy, that scarce two men could stand

mans, as tyrannous oppressours; and spake busied, than his affairs required. what else he thought fit for the present. This Thus with mutual loss on both sides, the done, and having gotten fuch spoil as was time passed: and the Roman forces, growto be had of the Souldiers goods in the ing dayly stronger, 2. Julium Flaccus, with Town, he addressed himself against the Ci- Appins Claudius, lately chosen Consuls, pretadel; hoping that if the Garrison would pared to besiege the great City of Capua. fally out, he might give them such a blow, Three and twenty Legions the Romans had as should make them unable to defend the now armed. This was a great and hafty Piece. According to his expectation it partly growth from that want of men, and of all fell out. For when he began to make his ap- | necessaries, whereinto the loss at Canna had proaches, the Romans in a bravery fallying reduced them. But to fill up these Legions, forth, gave charge upon his men: who fell they were fain to take up young Boyes that back of purpose according to direction, till were under seventeen years of age: and to they had drawn on as many as they could, fend Commissioners above fifty miles round, and so far from their strength, as they durst for the tecking out of such Lads as might adventure. Then gave Hamibal a fign to appear serviceable, and pressing them to the his Carthaginians, who lay prepared ready Wars; making yet a Law, that their years for the purpose: and siercely setting upon the of service, whereinto they were bound by Enemy, drave him back with great flaugh- order of the City, should be reckoned, for ter, as fast as he could run; so that after- their benefit, from this their beginning so wards he durst not issue forth. The Citadel young, as if they had been of lawful age. stood upon a Demi-Island, that was plain Before the Roman Army drew near, the

under it. So the Porter opened the wicket: | bal intended to fortifie in like fort against the and forthwith entred two young men, loa- Citadel; to the end that the Tarentines might den with the Bore; which Hannibal had pre- be able, without his help, to keep thempared large enough, to be worthy the look- selves from all danger thence. His work in ing on. While the Porter flood wondring at few dayes went fo well forward, without the largeness of the beast. Philomenes ran him impediment from the besieged, that he conthrough with his Bore-spear: and letting in ceived hope of winning the piece it self, by fome thirty armed men, fell upon all the taking a little more pains. Wherefore he watch; whom when he had flain, he entred made ready all forts of engines, to force the the great gate. So the Army of Hannibal en- place. But whilft he was buffed in his works, tring Tarentum at two Gates, went directly there came by fea a strong supply from Metoward the Market place, where both parts tapontum: which took away all hope of premet. Thence they were distributed by their vailing; and made him return to his former General, and sent into all quarters of the Ci- counsel. Now for a smuch as the Tarentine fleet ty, with Tarentines to be their guides. They lay within the haven, and could not pass were commanded to kill all the Romans, and forth, whileft the Romans held the Citadel: not to hurt the Citizens. For better perfor- it feemed likely that the Town would fuffer mance hereof, Hannibal willed the Conspira- want, being debarred of accustomed trade tors, that when any of their friends appear- and provisions by Sea : whilest the Roman ed in fight, they should bid him be quiet, garrison by help of their shipping, might eaand of good chear. All the Town was in fily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Aan uproar: but few could tell what the mat- gainst this inconvenience, it was rather wishter meant. A Roman trumpet was unskilfully ed by the Tarentines, than any way hoped, founded by a Greek in the Theater: which that their fleet could get out of the haven; to helped the fulpition, both of the Tarentines, | guard the mouth of it, and cut off all fupply that the Romans were about to spoil the from the Enemy. Hannibal told them, that Town; and of the Romans, that the Citi- this might well be done: for that their Town zens were in commotion. The Governour standing in plain ground, and their streets fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into being fair and broad, it would be no hard the Citadel, that stood in the mouth of the matter to draw the Callies over land, and Haven; whence he might eafily perceive lanch them into the Sea without. This he the next morning, how all had passed. Han- undertook, and effected: whereby the Ronibal assembling the Tarentines, gave them man garrison was reduced into great necessito understand, what good affection he bore my; though with much patience it held out, them; inveighed bitterly against the Ro- and found Hannibal oftentimes otherwise

ground; and fortified only with a Ditch Campans felt great want of victual, as if they and Wall against the Town, whereunto it had already been besieged. This happened was joyned by a cawsey. This cawsey Hanni- partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the

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great waste and spoyl, which the Romans some of his men had gotten over the enehad in foregoing years made upon their mies Rampart. There was great booty; or grounds. They fent therefore Emballadours (which was all one to the Souldier) an opito Hannibal; desiring him to succour them nion of much that might be gotten in that ere they were closed up, as they feared to Camp. Wherefore some Enfign-bearers be shortly. He gave them comfortable threw their Ensignes over the Rampart, words, and fent Hanno with an Army to supply their wants. Hanno appointed them a they would endure the flame and difficday; against which they should be ready nour following such a loss Fear of such ignowith all manner of carriages, to ftore them- miny(than which nothing could be greater) felves with victuals, that he would provide. made the Souldiers adventure fo desperate Neither did he promife more than he per- ly, that Fulcing, perceiving the heat of his formed. For he caused great quantity of men, changed his purpose, and incouraged grain, that had been laid up in Cities round those that were somewhat backward, to about, to be brought into his Camp, three follow the example of them that had alreamiles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed, came no more than forty Carts Camp was won: in which were flain above or Wagons, with a few pack-horfes, as if fix thousand; and taken above feven thouthis had been enough to victual Capua. Such and, besides all the store of victuals, and was the retchlefines of the Campans. Hanno carriages, with abundance of booty, that was exceeding angry hereat: and told them Hanno had lately gotten from the Roman they were worse than very beasts; fince Consederates. This misadventure, and hunger could not teach them to have greathen earer approach of both the Confuls, ter care. Wherefore he gave them a longer made them of Capua fend a pitiful Embafday; against which he made prevision to fage to Hannibal; putting him in mind of ftore them throughly Of all their doings all the love that he was wont to protestunword was fent to the Roman Confuls, from to their City; and how he had made flew the Citizens of Beneventum. Therefore 2. to affect it no less then Carthage. But now, Fulvius the Conful, taking with him fuch they faid it would be loft, as Arpi was lately, strength as he thought needful for the fer- if he gave not strong and speedy succour. vice, came into Beneventum by night; where Hannibal answered with comfortable words with diligence he made inquiry into the be- and fent away two thousand horse, to keep haviour of the Enemy. He learned, that Han their grounds from spoil, whilest he himself no with part of his Army was gone abroad to Awas detained about Tarentum, partly by make provisions; that some two thousand hope of winning the Citadel, partly by the Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and disposition, which he saw in many Towns other Varlets, lay among the Carthaginians acijoyning, to yield unto him. Among the in their Camp; fo that little good order was Hoftages of the Tarentines, that lately had kept: all thought being fet upon a great fled out of Rome, and, being overtaken, harveft. Hereus on the Conful bade his men fuffered death for their attempt; were ome prepare themselves to aslail the enemies of the Metapontines, and other Cities of the Camp: and leaving all his impediments Greeks, inhabiting that Eastern part of Italy, within Beneventum, he marched thither- which was called of old, Magna Gracia. ward fo early in the morning, that he was These people took to heart the death of there with the first break of day. By com- their Hostages, and thought the punishment ing so unexpected, he had well near forced greater than the offence. Wherefore the the Camp on the sudden. But it was very Metapontines, as soon as the Roman garrison strong, and very well defended: so that the was taken from them to defend the Citadel longer the fight continued, the less desire of Tarentum, made no more ado, but openhad Fulcius to lose more of his men in the ed their gates to Hannibal. The Thurings attempt; feeing many of them cast away, would have done the like, upon the like and yet little hope of doing good. There- realon, had not some companies layn in their fore he faid, that it were better to go more Town; which they feared that they should leisurely and substantially to work; to send not be able to master. Nevertheles, they hele for his fellow-Conful, with the reft of their ped themselves by cunning inviting to their Army 3 and to lye between Hanno and home 5 that neither the Campans should hand: against whom whilest they profiered hand: against whom whilest they profiered depart thence, nor the Carthaginian be able their fervice to Atinius the Roman Captain, to relieve them. Being thus discourfing, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling and about to found the retrait; he faw that from him, closed up their gates. A little

the enemy should break in together with the ling in such a time, to reject the vertue of Romans, in faving Atinius himself, and fend- any good Souldier, how mean soever his ing him away by Sea; as also in consulting condition were. Wherefore they gave him a small while (because perhaps many of their the charge of eight thousand: and he himchief men were unacquainted with the pra- self being a proper man, and talking bravecrice) whether they should yield to the car- ly, gathered up so many voluntaries, as althaginian or no. But this disputation lasted most doubled his number. But meeting not long: for they that had removed the thus with Hannibal, he gave proof of the chief impediment, easily prevailed in the difference between a stout Centurion, and rest; and delivered up the Town to Hanno one able to command in chief. He and his and Mago. This good fuccess, and hope of fellows were all (in a manner) flain, scarce the like, detained Hannibal in those quar- a thousand of them escaping. Soon after ters, whileft the Confuls fortifying Beneven- this, Hannibal had word, that Cneus Fulvius tum to secure their backs, addressed them- a Roman Prætor with eighteen thousand

felves to the fiege of Capua. he thought good, as if they had been dif- hind him. charged by the decease of their Leader; so These two great blows, received the one

formality they used in pretending fear, left thousand men. The Fathers were unwilmen was in Apulia, very careless, and a man Many difasters befell the Romans, in the infusficient for the charge which he held. beginning of this great enterprise. T. Sempro- | Thither therefore he hasted to visit him: nius Gracelus, a very good man of War, that hoping to deal the better with the main had of late been twice Conful, was flain, strength of Rome, which pointed at Capua, either by treachery of some Lucans, that when he should have cut off those forces, drew him into ambush, or by some Carthagi- that lay in the Provinces about, under men nian stragglers, among whom he fell una- of small ability. Coming upon Fulvius, he wares. His body, or his head, was very ho- found him and his men fo jolly, that needs nourably interred, either by Hannibal him- they would have fought the first night, felf, or (for the reports agree not) by the Ro- Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what mans; to whom Hamibal lent it. He was ap-pointed to lie in Beneventum, there to secure stowed Mago with three thousand of his the back of the Army that should befiege lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit Capua. But his death hapned in an ill time, to for ambush. Then offering battel to Fulvius. the great hinderance of that business. The he soon had him in the trap: whence he Volones or Slaves lately manumifed, for fook made him glad to escape alive; leaving all. their Enfigns, and went every one whither fave two thousand of his followers, dead be-

that it asked some labour to seek them out, presently after the other, much astonished and bring them back into their Camp. Ne-the Romans. Nevertheles, all care was taken, vertheles, the Consuls went forward with to gather up the small reliques of the broken their work, and drawing near to Capua, did Armies: and that the Confuls should go allacts of hostility, which they could. Mago substantially forwards with the siege of the Carthaginian, and the Citizens of Capua Capua: which was of great confequence. gave them an hard welcome, wherein above both in matter of reputation, and in many fifteen hundred Romans were lost. Neither other respects. The two Consuls sate down was it long ere Hannibal came thither, who before the Town, and C. Claudius Nero, one fought with the Confuls, and had the better; of the Prætors, came with his Army from insomuch, that he caused them to dislodge. | Suessula, to their affistance. They made Pro-They removed by night, and went feveral clamation, That who oever would iffue out waies: Fulvius towards Canna, Claudius into of Capua before a certain day prefixed, should Lucania. Hannibal followed after Claudius, have his pardon, and be fuffered to enjoy all who having led him a great walk, fetcht a that unto him belonged: which day being compals about, and returned to Capua. It past, there should be no grace expected. This lo fell out, that one Marcus Centenius Penula, offer was contumeliously rejected; the Caa flout man, and one that with good com- puans relying on their own strength, and the mendations had discharged the place of a succours attended from Hannibal. Before Centurion, lay with an Army not far from the City was closed up, they sent messengers thence, where Hannibal rested, when he was to the Carthaginian; which found him at weary of hunting after Claudius. This Penu- Brundusum. He had made a long journey in la had made great vaunts to the Roman Se- hope of gaining the Tarentine Citadel: of nate, of wonders which he would work, if which expectation failing, he turned to Brunhe might be trusted with the leading of five dustum, upon advertisement that he should

him of their danger with earnest words; and fended his Trenches against them; and so well were with words as bravely re-comforted. repressed them, that he drave them at He bade them confider, how, a few dayes fince he had chased the Confuls out of their pursuing them to their gates, he received a fields; and told them, that he would prefently come thither again, and fend the Romans after to his grave. Q. Fulvius was held hargoing as fast as before. With this good ander to this talk by Hannibal, and the Carthafiver the Mellengers returned, and hardly ginian Army. The Roman Camp was even at could get back into the City; which the Ro- point to have been loft; and Hannibal his mans had almost intrenched round. As for Elephants, of which he brought three and Hannibal himfelf, he was of opinion, that Capua, being very well manned, and heartily part, or else (for the report varies) being devoted unto his friendthip, would hold out | fome of them flain upon it, fell into the ditch, a long time, and thereby give him leifure to and filled it up in fuch fort, that their bodies do what he thought requifire among the Tarentines, and in theic Eaftern parts of Haly; faid, that Hannibal in this tumult caused whilst the Roman Army spent it self in a te- some fugitives that could speak Latine well, dious fiege. Thus he lingred, and thereby to proclaim aloud as it were in the Confuls gave the Confuls time both to fortifie them name, That every one of the Souldiersthould felves at Capua, and to dispatch the election | thift for himself, and flye betimes unto the of new Magistrates in Rome; whilst he himfelf purfued hopes that never found fue- ready loft. But all would not ferve. The

claudius and Fulvius, when their term of office was expired, were appointed to continue the fiege at Capua; retaining the fame Armies, as Proconfuls. The Towns-men often fallied out, rather in a bravery, than likelihood to work any matter of effect; the Enemy lying close within his Trenches, as it felf: and now his defire of winning the Taintending without other violence, to subdue rentine Citadel, had well-near lost Capua; them by famine. Yet against the Campan in respect of which, neither the Citadel, nor horse (for their foot was easily beaten) the the City of Tarentum were to have been Romans used to thrust out some troops, that much regarded. Falling therefore into a defhould hold them fkirmish. In these exercifes the Campans ulually had the better, to tune, that of fo many great victories he had the great grief of their proud Enemy; who made no greater use : on the sudden heenfcomed to take foil at the hands of fuch Re- terrained an haughty resolution, even to set bels. It was therefore devised, that some upon Rome; and carry to the walls of that active and couragious young men should proud City, the danger of War that threatlearn to ride behind the Roman men at arms; ned Capua. This, he thought, would be a leaping up, and again difmounting lightly, as mean, to draw the Roman Generals, or one occasion served. These were furnished of them at least, unto the defence of their like the Velites, having each of them three own home. If they role from the fiege with or four fmall darts: which alighting in time their whole Army, then had he his delire: If of conflict, they discharged thick upon the they divided their forces, then was it likely, Enemies horse; whom vanquishing in this that either he or the Campans, should well kind of fervice, they much diffeartened in enough deal with them apart. Neither did the main. The time thus passing, and sale he despair, that the terrour of his coming mine daily increasing within the City, Han- might so astonish the multitude within nibal came at length, not expected by the Rome, as he might enter fome part or other Romans: and taking a Fort of theirs, called of the City. His only fear was, left the Can-Galatia, fell upon their Camp. At the same pans, being ignorant of his purpose, should time the Capuans iffued with their whole think he had for faken them; and thereupon power, in as terrible manner as they could forthwith yield themselves to the Enemy. devile: fetting all their multitude of unser- To prevent this danger, he sent letters to viceable people by the walls, which with a Capua by a subtle Numidian; who running as loud noise of Pans and Basons, troubled those a fugitive into the Roman Camp, conveyed that were occupied in fight. Appius Claudius himself thence over the innermost Trenches

be let in. There the Capuans met him, told opposing himself to the Campans, easily delength back into their City. Nethertheles, in wound that accompanied him in short space thirty, were either gotten within the ramnext hills, for as much as the Camp was alfraud was detected; and the Army having fitten there fo long, had at good leifure strongly intrenched it felf, so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extremely perplex the Carthagiginian. The purchase of Capua had (as was thought) with-held him from taking Rome sperate anger with himself and his hard forto be performed with great celerity: no The Messengers of these news came apace, small hope of good success resting in the one after another into the City; some few fuddenness of his arrival there. Wherefore bringing true advertisements; but the most dayes victuals; and prepared as many boats, fear. All the Streets and Temples in Rome as might in one night transport his Army were peftred with women, crying, and prayover the River Vulturmus. This could not be ling, and rubbing the Altars with their hair, done so closely, but that the Roman Gene- because they could do none other good. The rals, by some fugitives, had notice of his pur- | Senators were all in the great Market, or pose. With this danger therefore they ac- place of Assembly; ready to give their adquainted the Senate; which was therewith vice, if it were asked, or to take directions affected, according to the diversity of mens given by the Magistrates. All places of opinions, in a case of such importance. Some | most importance were stuffed with souldiers: gave counsel to let alone Capua, yea, and all it being uncertain, upon which part Hanni-Rome into peril of being taken by the ene- dation, there came news that Quintus Fulmy. Others were fo far from allowing of vius, with part of the Army from Capua, was this, as they wondred how any man could halting to the defence of the City. The Ofthink, that Hannibal, being unable to relieve fice of a Proconful did expire, at his return Capua, should judge himself strong enough home, and entring into the Gates of Rome. to win Rome; and therefore flourly faid, Wherefore, that Fulvius might lose nothing That those Legions, which were kept at by coming into the City, in time of such home for defence of the City, would ferve need, as Act was passed, That he should have the turn well enough, to keep him out and equal power with the Confuls during his fend him thence, if he were founwise as to abode there. He and Hannibal arrived at come thither. But it was finally concluded, Rome, one foon after another: Fulvius hathat Letters should be fent to Fulvius and ving been long held occupied in passing over Claudius, acquainting them perfectly with Vulturnus; and Hannibal receiving impedithe forces, that at the prefent were in Rome: ment in his Journey, as much as the Counwho, fince they knew best what the strength try was able to give. The Consuls, and Fulwas which Hannibal could bring along with vius, incamped without the Gates of Rome, him, were best able to judge, what was need- attending the Carthaginian. Thither they ful to oppose him. So it was referred unto called the Senate: and as the danger grew the discretion of these Generals at Capua, to nearer and greater; so took they more caredo as they thought behoveful: and if it ful & especial order against all occurrences. their fiege, nor yet to put the City of Rome three miles from the Town; whence he adinto much adventure. According to this De- vanced with two thousand horse, and rode cree of the Senate, 2. Fulvins took fifteen along a great way under the Walls, viewing thouland foot, and a thouland horse, the the fight thereof, and considering how he wound, to continue the fiege at Capua.

ling or taking multitudes of all forts and not from the followers of Hannibal; bred

into the City. The Journey to Rome was ages, that fled out of all parts round about. he caused his men to have in a readinessten of them reporting the conceits of their own places else, rather than to put the Town of bal would fall. In the midst of this trepimight conveniently be, neither to raise | Hannibal came to the River Anio, or Anien, choice of his whole Army; with which he might best approach it. But he either went, hasted toward Rome; leaving App. Claudius, or (as the Roman Story faith) was driven who could not travel by reason of his away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the Hannibal having passed over Vulturnus, people; but were suppressed by the care and burnt up all his boats, and left nothing that | diligence of the Senators. Above the reft, might transport the Enemy, in case he should one accident was both troublesome, and not offer to purfue or coast him. Then hasted without peril. Of Numidians that had shifthe away toward Rome, staying no longer in ed aside, and fallen (upon some displeasures) any one place, than he needs must. Yet from Hannibal to the Romans, there were found he the Bridges over Liris broken some twelve hundred then in Rome; which down by the people of Fregella: which, as it were appointed by the Consuls, to pass stopped him a little on his way; so it made thorow the Town, from the Mount Avenhim the more grievously to spoil their tine, to the Gate Colliatna, where it was Lands, while the Bridges were in mending thought that their service might be useful, The nearer that he drew to Rome, the grea- among broken wayes, and Garden-walls lyter waste he made: his Numidians running ing in the suburbs. The faces of these men, before him; driving the Country, and kil- and their furniture, wherein they differed

fuch miltaking, as caused a great uproar who had sent the As into the Camp. But in among the people : all crying out that Aventine was taken, and the Enemy gotten within the walls. The noise was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the ftreets were fo full of cattel, and hufbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoyning, that the passage was stopt up: and the poor Numidians pitifully beaten from the house tops, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would have run out at the Gates, had it not been certain how little they esteemed him. To this purwho lay under the Walls. To remedy the like inconveniences, it was ordained, That all which the Carthaginian lay encamped, was which had been Diffators, Confuls, or Cen-fold in Rome: and fold it was nothing under fors, should have authority as Magistrates, till the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had he Enemy departed. The day following Han- been in time of peace. This indignity comnibal passed over Anien, and presented bat- ing to his ear, incensed Hannibal so much, tel to the Romans, who did not wifely if that he made port-fale of the Silver-fmiths they undertook it. It is said, that a terrible shops, which were near about the Market or showre of rain, caused both Komans and Carthaginians to return into their feveral to the houses within the Town were no Camps, and that this happened two dayes together, the weather breaking up and clearing as foon as they were departed afunder: raifed his Tent. But this counter-practice certain it is, that Hannibal, who had brought was nothing worth. The Komans did feek to along with him no more than ten dayes provilion, could not endure to fray there, until had conceived; Hannibal, to make flew of his victuals were all fpent. In which regard continuing in an hope, which was already the Romans, if they fuffered him to waste his past. His victuals were almost spent: and time and provisions, knowing that he could of those ends, that he had proposed unto not abide there long, did as became well himself, this Journey had brought forth none advised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is faid) by some accident of weather, the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terrour of Hannibals coming to in wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a the City, how great foever it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice ta- the Eastern Sea so fast, that he had almost ken of their forces, which appeared less than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and foon abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the fame time the Supply appointed for spain, after the death of the two Scipio's, were fent out of the Town, and went forth at the Gate, whilst one Carthaginian lay before another. In all Pnick terrours, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause known, or no cause answerable to the it. This, and the very return of Fulvin, greatness of the fudden consternation; it is a without any more appearance of Hamibal, good remedy to do somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such as men have fashioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did Alexander cause his fouldiers to disarm themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great fear of saint hope was given, by Hanno and Eostar, they wist not what. And thus did Clearchus pacifie a foolish uproar in his Army, by proclaming a reward unto him that could tell again, if means could only be found, how

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this present example of the Romans, appears withall a great magnanimity; whereby they fustained their reputation, and augmented it no less, than by this bold attempt of Hannibal it might feem to have been diminished. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their enemie, and taken away the difgrace of that fear, which clouded their valour at his first coming; than by making fuch demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit . pose therefore that very piece of ground, on Common place in Rome; as if his own title whit worfe, than any Roman Citizens could manifest that assurance which they justly other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore he brake up his Camp: and doing what spoil he could to the Roman Territory, without sparing religious places, wheretempest over the Country, and ran toward taken the City of Rhegium before his arrival was feared or suspected. As for Capua, he gave it loft: and is likely to have curfed the whole faction of Hanno, which thus disabled him to relieve that fair City, fince he had no other way to vent his grief.

2. Fabius returning back to Capua, made Proclamation anew, that whole would yield before a certain day, might fafely do gave the Capuans to understand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the Roman pardon proclaimed, every mans conscience of his own evil deserts, told him, that it was a vanity: and some Captains of the Carthaginian Garrison within the Town, that Hannibal should come to convey such Letters unto him as they should set them free from that cruel reof Bostar and his fellow.

they curse their own malice, which had cast | which he struck off their heads. them into this remediless necessity. How-

would write. The carriage of the Letters venge, which the Enemies fought upon was undertaken by fome Numidiaus; who their bodies. About seven and twenty of running as fugitives, out of the Town into the Senators there were, that liking well the Roman Camp, waited fit opportunity to of this motion, ended their lives together by make an escape thence with their packets. drinking poyson. All the rest hoping for But it happened ere they could convey more mercy than they had deferved, yielded themselves away, that one of them was de-simply to discretion. So one of the Towntected by an harlot following him out of gates was fet open; whereat a Roman Legithe Town; and the Letters of Bostar and on, with some other Companies, entring, dif-Hanno were taken and opened, containing a armed the Citizens; apprehended the Carvehement entreaty unto Hannibal, that he thoginian Garrison; and commanded all the would not thus forfake the Capuans and Senators of Capuato go forth into the Rothem. For (faid they) we came not hitherto man Camp. At their coming thither, the Promake War against Rhegium and Tarentum, consuls laid Irons upon them all, and combut against the Remans; whose Legions, manding them to tell what store of gold and wherefoever they lye, there also should the silver they had at home, sent them into safe Carthaginian Army be ready to attend custody; some to Cales, others to Theanum, them; and by taking of fuch a course, have Touching the general multirude, they were we gotten those victories at Trebia, Thrasy- reserved unto the discretion of the Senate; mene, and Canna. In fine, they belought him, yet fo hardly used by Fulvius in the mean that he would not dishonour himself, and while, that they had little cause of hope or betray them to their enemies, by turning comfort in this adversity. Ap. Claudius was another way; as if it were his only care, that the City should not be taken in his full wound which he had lately received; yet view; promiting to make a desperate fally, was he not inexorable to the Campans; as haif he would once more adventure to fet up- ving loved them well in former times, and on the Roman Camp. Such were the hopes having given his Daughter in marriage to that Pacuvius, of whom we spake before. But But Hannibal had already done his best; this facility of his Colleague, made Fulvius and now began to faint under the burden the more hasty in taking vengeance; for of that War, wherein as afterward he pro- fear, left upon the like respects, the Roman tested he was vanquished by Hanno and his Senate might prove more gentle, than he Partifans, in the Carthaginian Senate, rather thought behoveful to the common fafety, than by any force of Rome. It may well be, and honour of their State. Wherefore he as a thing incident in like cases, that some took the pains to ride by night unto Theof those which were besieged in Capua, had amum, and from thence to Cales; where been sent over by the Hannonians, to ob- he caused all the Campan prisoners to suffer serve the doings of Hannibal, and to check death; binding them to stakes, and scourghis proceedings. If this were fo, justly might | ing them first a good while with rods; after

This terrible example of vengeance, foever it were, the Letters directed unto which the Carthaginians could not hinder, Hannibal, fell (as is shewed) into the Ro- made all Towns of Haly the less apt to follow man Proconfuls hands; who cutting off the vain hope of the Campans; and bred a the hands of all fuch counterfeit fugitives, general inclination, to return upon good as carried fuch messages, whipt them back conditions to the Roman side. The Atellans, into the Town. This miserable spectacle Calatines and Sabatines, people of the Cambrake the hearts of the Campans, fo that the pans, that in the former change had followmultitude crying out upon the Senate, with ed the fortune of Capua, made also now the menacing terms, caused them to assemble like submission, for very fear and want of and confult, about the yielding up of Capua ability to refift. They were therefore used unto the Romans. The bravest of the Se- with the like rigour, by Fulvius; who dealt nators and fuch as a few years fince, had foextremely with them all, that he brought been most forward in joyning with Hanni- them into desperation. Wherefore some of bal, understood well enough whereunto the their young Gentlemen burning with fire of matter tended. Wherefore one of them in- revenge got into Rome; where they found vited the rest home to supper; telling them, means by night-time, to set on fire many that when they had made good chear, he houses, that a great part of the City was like would drink to them such an health, as to have been consumed. The beginning of the fire in divers places at once, argued that it mighty men in that Island, were the Ringwas no casualty. Wherefore liberty was pro- leaders; being incited by Hanno a Carthagiclaimed unto any flave, and other fufficient mian, that promifed the affiftance of his reward to any free-man, that should disco-country. Neither were the Carthaginian in ver who those Incendiaries were. Thus all this enterprise so careless, as in the rest of came out; and the Campans being detected their main undertakings, about the same by a flave of their own (to whom, above his time. Yet it had been better if their care liberty promifed, was given about the fumm had been directed unto the profecution of of an hundred marks) had the punishment that main business in *Haly*; whereon this answerable to their deferts. *Fulvius* hereby and all other hopes depended. For it would being more and more incenfed against this have sufficed, if they could have hindred wretched people, held them in a manner as the Romans from fending an Army into Sarprisoners within their Walls: and this ex- dinia. Harsicoras with his followers might treme severity caused them at length to be- well enough have served to drive out Quincome Suppliants unto the Roman Senate; that tus Mutius the Prætor; who lay fick in the some period might be set unto their miseries. Province; and not more weak in his own That whereupon the Senators refolved in body, than in his train. But whilft they the end, was worfe than all that which they fought revenge of that particular injury, had fuffered before. Only two poor women whereof the fense was most grievous; they in Capua (of which one had been an harlot) neglected the opportunity of requiting were found not guilty of the late rebellion. those that had done them wrong, and of The rest were, some of them, with their the securing themselves from all injuries in wives and children fold for flaves, and their the future. Their fortune also in this engoods conficated; others laid in prifon and terprife was fuch, as may feem to have enreferved to further deliberation: but the ge- couraged them from being at the like nerality of them, commanded to depart out charge, in cases of more importance. For, of Campania by a certain day, and confined whereas they fent over Aldrubal, furnamed unto feveral places, as best liked the angry the Bald, with a competent Fleet and Army, victors. As for the Town of Capua, it was affifted in this expedition by Hanno the Aufuffered to stand, in regard of the beauty thor of the rebellion, and by Mago a Gentleand commodious fight: but no corporation man of the Barchine house, and near kinsor form of polity was allowed to be therein; man to Hannibal: it fo fell out, that the only a Roman Provost was every year sent whole Fleet, by extremity of soul weather, to govern over those that should inhabit it, was cast upon the Baleares; so beaten, and and to do justice. This was the greatest act, in such evil plight, that the Sardinians had and most important, hitherto done by the even spent their hearts, and were in a manpeople of Rome, after many great loss in ner quite vanquished, ere these their friends the present War. After this, the glory of could arrive to succour them. Hannibal began to shine with a more dim Titus Manlius was fent from Rome with light than before: his oyl being far spent; two and twenty thousand foot, and twelve and that which should have revived his hundred horse, to settle the estate of that flame, being unfortunately flied; as shall be Island, which he had taken in, and annexed told in place convenient.

ø. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a party in reputation of those men, and their families,

sicil by the Carthaginians and their friends, race after him, were the most ready and best were brought to a quiet and happy end by approved means, to procure the benefit of the industrious valour of the Romans. The the people subdued. Hereby the Romans Sardinian rebellion was great and sudden: held very sure intelligence in every Proabove thirty thousand being up in arms, ere vince, and had alwayes in readiness fit men the Roman forces could arrive there to sup- to reclaim their subjects, if they fell into any

unto the Roman Dominion, long before this, in his Confulship. It was a laudable cuftom of the Romans, to preserve and uphold in their several Provinces, the greatness and Sardinia and Sicil, held War against the by whom each Province had been first sub-Romans in those Islands, and were over- dued unto their Empire. If any injury were done unto the Provincials, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate, or 7 Hilft things passed thus in 11aly, the whatsoever accident required the affistance commotions raised in Sardinia and of a Patron; the first Conquerour, and his press it. One Harsicorus with his Son H50stus, such disorder, as would otherwise have

coming of Manlius retained in obedience that had rebelled, followed the example of all that were not already broken too far out. Cornus, and yielded unto the Roman ; who, Yet was Harficoras fo strong in field, that imposing upon them such increase of tribute. Manlius was compelled to arm his Mariners: or other punishment, as best forted with the without whom he could not have made up nature of their feveral offences, or their that number of two and twenty thousand, ability to pay returned back to Calaris with wherof we have spoken before: he landed a great booty, and from thence to Rome leaat Calaris, or Carallis, where mooring his ving Sardinia in quiet. thips, he passed up into the Country, and The war in sicil was of greater length, fought out the Enemy. Hyoftus, the Son and every way more burdenlome to Rome : of Harlicoras, had then the command of the as also the victory brought more honour Sardidian Army left unto him by his Father, and profit, for that the Romans became who was gone abroad into the Country, to thereby, not only favers of their own, as in draw in more friends to their fide. This Sardinia, but Lords of the whole Country. young Gentleman would needs adventure by annexing the City and dominion of syrato get honour, by giving battel to the Ro- | cufe, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon mans at his own differetion. So he rashly ad- after the battel of Canne, the old King of Syventured to fight with an old Souldier; by racuse died; who had continued long a stedwhom he received a terrible overthrow; fast friend unto the Romans, and greatly reand lost in one day above thirty thousand of lieved them in this present war. He left his his followers. Hyoftus himfelf, with the Kingdom to Hieronymus his grand-child, rest of his broken troops, got into Cornus, that was about fifteen years of age; Gelo his the chief Town of the Island; whither Man- Son, that should have been his heir, being lius pursued them. Very soon after this de- dead before. To this young King his sucfeature came Asdrubal with his Carthagini- ceffour, Hiero appointed fifteen tutors; of ans; too late to win all Sardinia in fuch which the principal were Andronodorus Zoihafte as he might have done, if the tem- lus, and Themistius; who had married his pest had not hindred his voyage; yet soon daughters, or the daughters of Gelo. The rest enough, and strong enough to fave the were such, as he judged most likely to pre-Town of Cornus, and to put a new spirit in- serve the Kingdom, by the same Art, whereto the Rebels. Manlius hereupon with- by himself had gotten, and so long kept it. drew himself back to Calaris; where he But within a little while, Andronodorus waxhad not stayed long, ere the Sardinians (such | ing weary of so many coadjutors, began to of them as adhered to the Roman party) commend the fufficiency of the young craved his affiftance; their Country being | Prince, as extraordinary in one of his years; wasted by the Carthaginians, and the rebels, and said, that he was able to rule the Kingwith whom they had refused to joyn. This dom without help of any Protector. Thus drew Manlius forth of Calaris; where, if he by giving over his own charge, he caused had stayed a little longer, Afdrubal would others to do the like; hoping thereby to get have fought him out with some blemish to the King wholly into his hands; which came his reputation. But the fame of Asarubal and to pass in a fort, as he desired. For Hieronyhis company, appears to have been greater mus, laying afide all care of government, than was their strength. For after some trial gave himself wholly over to his pleasures: made of them in few skirmishes, Manlius or, if he had any regard of his Royal digniadventred all to the hazard of a battel; ty, it was only in matter of exterior shew; wherein he flew twelve thousand of the ene- as wearing a Diadem, with ornaments of mies; and took of the Sardinians and Carpeople, and being attended by an armed thaginians three thousand. Four hours the guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his battel lasted; and victory at length fell to purple, that had never seen the like in Hiero, the Romans, by the flight of the Itlanders, or in Gelo his Son. But much more he ofwhose courages had been broken in their un- fended them, when by his insolent behaprosperous fight, not many dayes before. The viour, suitable to his outward pomp, he gaue death of young Hyoftus, and of his Father proof, that in course of life, he would revive Harficoras, that slew himself for grief, toge- the memory of Tyrants dead long since, ther with the captivity of Asdrubal himself, from whom he took the pattern of his habit. with Mago and Hanno the Carthaginians, He grew proud, lustful, cruel, and dangemade the victory the more famous. The van- rous to all that were about him; so that such quilhed Army fled into Cornus, whither of his late tutors as could escape him by

required a greater charge and trouble. The wonn the Town. All other Cities of the Ille

Manlius followed them, and in short space slight, were glad to live in banishment : the

rest, being most of them put to death by the | but Grand-children of a banished syracu-Tyrant; many of them dying by their own fian. These grew into such favour with Hiehands, to avoid the danger of his displea- ronymus, that they drew him whither they fure, that seemed worse than death it self. listed. So that when App. Claudius the Ro-Only Andronodorus, Zoilus, and one Thraso, man Prætor, hearing what was towards. continued in grace with him, and were his made a motion of renewing the Confedera-Counfellours, but not of his Cabinet. cy, between the people of Rome, and the King These, howsoever they agreed in other of syracuse; his messengers were dismissed points, were at some differtion about the with an open scoff. For Hieronynnus would main point of adhering, either to the Ro- needs have them tell him the order of the mans, or to the Carthaginians. The two for- fight at Canne, that he might thereby learn mer of them were wholly for the Kings plea- how to accommodate himself; saying, that fure, which was fet on change: but Thraso, he could hardly believe the Carthaginians: having more regard of his honour and profit, fo wonderful was the victory, as they rewas very earnest to continue the amity with ported it. Having thus dismissed the Romans. Rome. Whilst as yet it remained some- he sent Embassadours to Carthage, where he what doubtful which way the King would concluded a league: with condition, at first. incline, a conspiracy against his person was that a great part of the Island should be andetected by a Groom of his; to whom one nexed to his Dominion; but afterward that Theodorus had broken the matter. Theo- he should reign over all Sicil; and the Cardorus hereupon was apprehended, and tor- thaginians rest satisfied with what they mented; thereby to wring out of him the could get in Italy. At these doings Appins whole practice, and the names of the under- | Claudius did not greatly ftir; partly for the takers. Long it was ere he would fpeak indignities that were offered, partly for that anything: but yielding (asit feemed) in the it behoved not the Romans to entertain end, unto the extremity of the torture, he more quarrels, than were enforced upon consessed, that he had been set on by Thra- them by necessity; and partly (as may seem) fo; whom he appeached of the treason, to- | for that the reputation, both of himself, and love or place unto Hieronymus. All these that which happened unto him in his jourof the crime wherewith they were charged. fhrunk for the matter: affuring themfelves, that the resolution of Theodorus bal; who readily entred into good correspon- in Hieronymus the new King. dence with him, that was maintained by But whilst Hieronymus was more desirous Hippocrates and Epicides, Carthaginians born, of war, than well resolved how to begin

gether with many more, that were near in of his City, had received such blemish, by therefore were put to death, being innocent ney, as much discountenanced him when he came into sicil, and forbade him to look But they that were indeed the Conspira- big. The mony that Hiero had bestowed tors, walked boldly in the streets, and never formerly upon the Romans, wherewith to relieve them in their necessity, this Appius was to carry back unto him; it being refuwould yield to no extremity. Thus they all | fed by the Roman Senate, with greater braescaped, and soon after found means to exe- very than their present fortune would alcute their purpose. The King himself, low. But instead of returning the mony with when Thraso was taken out of the way, quick- thanks, as he had been directed, and as it ly resolved upon siding with the Carthagi- had been noised abroad that he should do; nians, whereto he was very inclinable be- the war against Philip King of Macedon fore. Young men, when first they grow Ma- (whereof we have spoken before) compelfters of themselves, love to seem wifer than led the Romans to lay aside vain-glory, and their Fathers, by taking different courses, send word after him, that he should consign And the Liberality of Hiero to the Romans, in that mony over to Marcus Valerius; of whole their great necessity, had of late been such, voyage into Greece, the City had not as might have been termed excessive, were otherwise wherewith to bear the chargeit not in regard of his providence; wherein This was done accordingly, and hereby he took order for his own estate, that de- Claudius (which name in the whole continupended upon theirs. But the young Nephew | ance of that Family is taxed with pride) his taking little heed of dangers far off, regard- errand was changed, from a glorious oftened only the things present; the weakness of tation of the Roman magnanimity, into such Rome, the prevalent fortunes of Carthage, a pitiful tune of thanks-giving, as must needs and the much money that his Grand-father have bred forrow and commiferation in fo had laid out in vain, to shoulder up a fal- true a friend as Hierozor, if it were delivered ling house. Wherefore he dealt with Hanni- after his death, matter of pastime and scorn,

it; his own death changed the form of have fought to murder all without diffebetween defire of making himself a sove- nibal had sent them. Wherefore they infinuawife Demarata, that was the daughter of mult, especially of the Roman fugitives, and Hiero, cherished him in his hopes; putting those that had cause to mistrust what should him in mind of that well-known Proverb, become of themselves, when the Romans Sould keep his place, till he were haled out of it Such instruments as these, Andronodorus had by the heels, and not ride away from it on great need of: as also of many other, to help horse-back. But fear, and better counsel, him in his dangerous attempt. He found prevailed fo far, that Andronodorus, having Themistius, that had married Harmonia, the flept upon the matter, diffembled his af- Sifter of Hieronymus, ready to take his part; fections, and deferred his hope unto better as being carried with the like paffices of his Opportunity. The next day he came forth, own, and of his wife. But in feeking to inand made a speech unto the people; telling crease the number of his adherents, he rethem that he was glad to see, how prudent | vealed the matter to one, that revealed all ly they behaved themselves in so great a to the rest of the Prators. Hereupon it solchange; that he had flood in fear, left they lowed; that he, & Themostius, entring into the would not have contained themselves with- Senate, were slain out of hand: and afterin the bounds of discretion; but rather ward accused to the people, of all the evil

things, and bred a great innovation in the rence, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; State of Syracuse; which thereby might have and that, fince he beheld their orderly proprospered more than ever, had it been wifely ceeding, and their care, not to ravish their ligoverned. Hippocrates and Epicides, of whom berty perforce, but to wed it unto them for we spake before, were sent about the ever; he was willingly come to them forth of Country with two thousand men, to folicite his strength, and surrendred up the charge the Towns, and perswade them to shake committed unto him, by one that had been off their obedience to the Romans. The an evil Master both to him and them. Here-King himself with an Army of sisteen thou-upon great joy was made, and Prætors chofand horse and foot, went to Leontium a Ci- sen (as in former times) to govern the City, ty of his own Dominion: hoping that the of which Andronodorus was one, and the fame of his preparation, would make the chief. But fuch was his defire of Soveraignwhole Illand fall to him in all hafte; and ac- ty, and so vehement were the instigations cept him for Soveraign. There the Conspiration of his wife, that shortly he began to pratorstook him on the sudden, as he was past- crife with Hippocrates, Epicides, and other fing thorow a narrow street: and rushing Captains of the Mercenaries; hoping to between him and his guard, ftruck him make himfelf ftrong by their help, that were dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed ; least pleased with the change. Hippocrates and the found of that word fo joyfully an- and Epicides had been with the Syracufian fwered by the Leontines, that the guard of Prætors, and told them, that being fent from Hieronymus had little courage to revenge Hannibal to Hieronymus, they, according to their Masters death. Yet, for fear of the worlt, instructions of their Captain, had done him, a great largess was promised unto the Soul- whilst he lived, what service they could; diers, with rewards unto their Captains; and that now they were desirous to return which wrought fo effectually, that when ma- home. They requested therefore that they ny wicked acts of the murdered King were might be friendly difmifled, and with a conreckoned up, the Army, as in deteftation of voy, that might keep them from falling inhis bad life, suffered his carkass to lye unbu- to the hands of the Romans, and set them ried. These news ran quickly to Syracuse ; safe at Locri. This was easily granted; both whither some of the Conspirators, taking al- for that the Syracusian Magistrates were fo of the Kings horses, posted away; to signi- well contented to earn thanks of Hannibal, fie all that had passed, to stir up the people with such a little courtesse; and for that to liberty, and to prevent Andronodorus, if they thought it expedient, to rid their Town he or his followers would make offer to quickly of this troublesome couple, which usurp a tyranuy. The Syracusans hereupon were good souldiers, and gracious with the prefently took arms, and made themselves Army, but otherwise lewd men. It was not Masters of their own City. Andronodorus the desire of these two Sicilians, to be gone on the other fide fortified the Palace, and fo hastily as they made shew; they were the Island; being yet uncertain what to do: more mindful of the business for which Hanraign Lord, and fear of fuffering punishment ted themselves into the bosomes of such as as a Tyrant, if his enterprise miscarried. His were mest likely to fill the Army with tuwhich Dionysus had used; That a Tyrant and Syracustans were come to agreement.

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which they had done, whilest Hieronymus | many acts of hostility against the Romans: lived, as by his authority; and now fince at- first in secret, afterward more openly and tempted, in feeking to usurp the tyranny boldly. Marcellus, rightly understanding themselves. It was also declared, that the the purpose of these two brethren, sent word daughters of Hiero and Gelo were accessary to this dangerous treason: and that the un- broken the league; and that the peace would quiet spirits of these women would never never be kept sincerely, untill this turbulent cease to work, untill they had recovered pair of brethren were expelled the Island. those royal ornaments and Soveraign power, whereof their family was now dif- brothers proceedings, and more defirous to possessed. These daughters therefore of set forward the war, than to excuse any Hiero and Gelo were also condemned to breach of peace; went himself unto the dye, and executioners prefently fent by Leontiner, whom he perfwaded to rebel the enraged people, to take away their against the Syracusian. For he said, that lives. Demarata and Harmonia had perhaps deserved this heavy sentence : but there was little reason why the Leontines Heraclea, the daughter of Hiero, and wife of should not be enfranchised by his death, as Solippus, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daugh- ther, all things confidered; fince in their ters, in the hasty execution of this rash judg- streets the Tyrant was slain, and liberty first ment. Her husband sosppus was a lover of proclaimed. Wherefore, fince they of sythe Common-wealth; and in that respect so racins were not contented to enjoy the freehated by Hieronymus, that being fent Em- dom purchased among the Leontines; but bassadour to King Ptolemy, &c. he durst not thought it good reason, that they should return home, but stayed in Egypt as a bani- | bear Dominion over those that had broken shed man. This consideration, when it was the Chain, wherewith both the one and the too late, together with some pitiful acci- other were bound: his advice was, that such dents accompanying the flaughter, so affect- their arrogancy should be checked betimes, ed the multitude, that (pardoning them- ere it could get any colour of right by prefelves) all cryed out upon the Authors of fo | scription. Hereunto occasion was given by foul a butchery. Being thus incenfed against one article of the League, made of late by the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how the Romans and Syracusians. For it was to satisfie their anger, they called for an agreed, That all which had been subject to election of new Prætors, in the room of Hiero and Hieronymus, should henceforth be Andronodorus and Themistius, that were late- Vassals unto the State of Syracuse. Against ly flain: meaning to substitute such in their this article, if the Leontines would take explaces, as the Senators should have little ception, and thereby challenge their own cause to like. At the election were present | due; Epicides told them, that in this novela great rout, not only of the poorer Citi- ty of change, they had fit opportunity to zens, but of fouldiers that prefied into the recover the freedom, which their fathers throng. One of these, named Epicides Præ- | had lost not many ages before. Neither was tor; another named Hippocrates: and the it unreasonable, which this crastry Carthagiless that the old Prætors and Senators ap- mian propounded; if the Leontines had been proved this nomination, the more eager was subdued by the same hand, which took lithe multitude; and by a general cry forced | berty from the Syracustans. But seeing they them to be accepted. These being made | had long since yielded unto Syracuse, and Prætors did what they could to hinder the been subject unto that City, by what form agreement that was in hand, between the foever it was governed; this claim of liber-Syracusians and the Romans. But having stri- ty was rather seasonable, than just. Neverven in vain, and feeing that the people stood theless, the motion of Epicides was highly in fear of Ap. Claudius, and of Marcellus that approved: insomuch that when messengers was lately come into sicil; they gave way came foon after from spracuse, to rebuke the unto the time, and suffered the old league of Leontines, for that which they had done Hiero to be re-confirmed, which afterward against the Romans; and to denounce unto they purposed to dissolve by practise. The Hippocrates and Epicides, that they should Leontines had some need of a garrison; and to get them gone, either to Locri, or whither them was fent Hippocrates the Prætor, at- else they listed, so that they stayed not in tended by fuch fugitives, and mercenary sicil: word was returned, That they of fouldiers, as were most burdensome to Syra- | Leontium had not requested the Syracusiani, cufe. Thither when he came, he began to do to make any bargains for them with the

unto the Syracusians, that they had already Epicides, fearing to fustain the blame of his fince they had all of late ferved one Mafter. well as the Syracusians; yea or much ra-

Romans, nor thought themselves bound to | so presented themselves to the Army. Six trary fort. It was faid, that he had flain Man, Woman, and Childe, and put the Town to

observe the covenants, which others with- hundred men of Crete were in the vantout warrant had made in their names. This guard; that had been well used by Hierongperemptory answer was forthwith reported mus: and some of them greatly bound unto unto Marcellus by the Syracusians; who Hannibal, who had taken them prisoners in offered him their affistance in doing justice the Italian war, and lovingly dismissed them. upon the Leontines their Rebels; with con- These Cretians therefore welcomed the two dition, That when the Town was taken, it brethren, and bade them be of good chear, might be theirs again. Marcellus required faying, That no man should do them harm, no better fatisfaction: but forth-with took as long as they could use their weapons. the business in hand, which he dispatched in Herewithall the Army was at a stand; and one day. At the first assault Leontium was the rumour of this accident ran swiftly taken, all fave the Castle; whereinto Hippo- | from man to man, with general approbation. crates and Epicides fled: and stealing thence | The Prætors thought to help the matter by away by night, conveighed themselves into severity, which would not serve. For when the Town of Herbesus. The first thing that they commanded these two traitors to be Marcellus did, when he had won the Town, | laid in Irons, the exclamation was fo violent was the same, which other Roman Captains against them, that fain they were to let all used after victory, to seek out the fugitive alone, and return, uncertain what course to Roman flaves and renegado's, whom he caus- take, unto Megara, where they were lodged ed all to die: the rest both of the Towns- the night before. Thither when they came, men and Souldiers, he took to mercy, for- Hippocrates devised a trick, whereby to help bearing also to strip or spoyl them. But the himself, and better the uncertain case fame of his doings was bruited after a con- wherein he stood. He caused Letters, of his own penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trusty Cretans, directed (as they fack. These news met the syracusian Army made shew) from the syracusian Prators to upon the way, as it was going to joyn with Marcellus. The contents hereof were, That Marcellus, who had ended his business be- Marcellus had well done, in committing all fore. About eight thousand Mercenaries to the sword among the Leontines: but that there were, that had been sent forth of sy- it further behoved him, to make the like racuse, under sosis and Dinomenes, two of dispatch of all the mercenaries belonging to the Prators, to serve against the Leontines Syracuse; which were offensive, all of them and other rebels. These Captains were ho- in general, to the liberty of the City, and nest men, and well affected to their Count the peace with Rome. When this counterfeit try: but the Souldiers that followed them, Epistle was openly rehearsed, the uproar had those diseases, with which all mercena- was such, that softs and his fellow Prator, ries are commonly infected. They took the were glad to for sake the Camp, and fly for matter deeply to heart, that their fellow their lives. All the syracufians remaining fouldiers (as now they termed those against behind, had been cut in pieces by the enwhom they went) had been fo cruelly but- raged Souldiers, if the two Artificers of the chered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; sedition had not faved their lives; rather though what to demand, or with whom to to keep them as pledges, and by them, to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors win their friends within the Town, than for therefore thought it best, to turn their un-quiet thoughts another way, and set them chievous knave, that had served amongst the awork in some place else: for as much as at Leontines, to justifie the bruit of Marcellus Leontium there was no need of their fervice. cruelty, and to carry home the news to Sy-So towards Herbesus they marched; where racuse, as an eye-witness. This incensed not lay Hippocrates and Epicides, the architects only the multitude, but some of the Senate; of all this mischief, devising what further and filled the whole Town with causeless harm they might do; but now fo weakly indignation. In good time (faid some) was accompanied, that they seemed unable to the avarice and cruelty of the Romans deescape the punishments belonging to their tected: who, had they in like fort gotten offences past. Hereof the two brethren were into Syracuse, would have dealt much worse, no less well aware: and therefore adven- where their greedy appetites might have tured upon a remedy little less desperate been tempted with a far greater booty. than their present case. They issued forth of Whilst they were thus discoursing, and de-Herbefus unarmed, with Olive branches in vising how to keep out the wicked Romans, their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and Hippocrates with his Army came to the

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unless for want of help, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Prætors, with the best and wisest or the Senate, would fain labour was disappointed, and his hope of have kept him out: but the violence of the prevailing by open force, taken from him by fouldiers to force a gate, was no whit greather ill fuccess of two or three of the first after, than the head-ftrong fury of those with- faults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Dein the Town, that laboured to break it open. fendants, or any strength of the City, that So he entred, and immediately fell upon the bred fuch despair of halfy victory. But there P. etors, whom (being for laken by all men) lived at that time in Syracuse Archimedes the he put to the fword, and made flaughter of noble Mathematician: who at the request them and their followers until night. The of Hiero the late King, that was his kinfman, next day he went openly to work: and, af- had framed fuch engines of war, as being in ter the common example of Tyrants, gave this extremity put in use, did more mischief liberty unto all flaves and prisoners; and to the Romans than could have been being fortified with adherents of the worst wrought by the Canon, or any instruments and baselt fort, made himself and his bro- of Gun-powder; had they in that age been ther Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords known. This Archimedes discoursing once

of syracuse. great alteration, he thought it no time for wherein it is, if there were some other him to fit still, and attend the further issue. earth, or place of sure footing, whereon a He fent Embassadours to Syracuse, that were man might stand. For proof of this bold not admitted into the Haven, but chased out affertion, he performed some strange works: as enemies. Then drew he near with his Ar- which made the King entreat him to conmy: and lodging within a mile and a half | vert his fludy unto things of use: that might of the Towa, fent before him, fome to 1e- preferve the City from danger of enemies. quire a parkee. These were entertained with- To such Mechanical works, Archimedes and out the walls by the two new Prators: to the Philosophers of those times, had little whom they declared, That the Romans were affection. They held it an injury done uncome thither, not with purpose to do hurt, to the liberal sciences, to submit learned but in favour of the syraculians, which were | Propolitions, unto the workmanship, and opprefied by Tyrants; and to punish those gain, of base handy-crafts men. And of that had murdered and banished so many of this opinion Plato was an Authour: who the principal Citizens. Wherefore they re- greatly blamed some Geometricians, that quired, that those worthy men, their Confederates, which were chased out of the by making it vulgar. Neither must we rash Town, might be suffered to return and en- ly task a man so wife as Plato, with the imjoy their own; as also that the Authors of putation of supercilious austerity, or affethe great flaughter lately committed, might cred fingularity in his reprehension. For it be delivered up. Hereto Epicides briefly hath been the unhappy fate of great invenanswered, that if their errand had been to tions to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreams, him, he could have told what to fay to before they were published: and being once them: but fince it was directed unto others, made known, to be undervalued; as falling they should do well to return, when those within compass of the meanest wit; and to whom they were fent, had the govern- things that every one could well have perment in their hands. As for the war which formed, Hereof (to omit that memorable they threatned, he told them, they should example of Columbus his discovery, with the find by experience, That to beliege syracuse much different forts of neglect, which he unwas another manner of work, than to take der-went before and after it) in a familiar Leontium. Thus he sent them gone; and and most homely example we may see most returned back into the City. Immediately apparent proof. He that looks upon our began the fiege, which endured longer than | English Brewers, and their Servants, that are the Romans had expected, The quick and daily exercised in the Trade; will think it easie winning of Leontium, did put Marcellus | ridiculous to hear one say, that the making in hope, that fo long a circuit of walls as of Malt, was an invention, proceeding from compassed syracuse, being manned with no some of an extraordinary knowledge in nabetter kinde of Souldiers, than those with tural Philosophy. Yet is not the skill of

gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, Wherefore he omitted no violence or terwith Hiero, maintained that it were possible When Marcellus was advertised of this to remove the whole earth out of the place whom he had lately dealt, would in some the inventors any whit the less, for that the part or other, be taken at the first affault. labour of workmanship grows to be the trade of ignorant men. The like may be faid nichal trade, or teach the Art of murdering of many handy-crafts: and particularly in men, it was besides his purpose. the Printing of Books; which being devifed

des published, were such as tended unto ve- charge. Neither knew Marcellus how to ry commendable ends. They were Engines, overcome these difficulties, or to take away ferring unto the defence of syracuse; not from his men, that fear, against the cause fit for the Syracufians to carry abroad, to whereof he knew no remedy. If the Engines the hurt and oppression of others. Neither had stood upon the walls, subject to firing, did he altogether publish the knowledge, or any such annoyance from without; he how to use them, but reserved so much to might have holpen it by some device, to his own direction; that after his death more make them unferviceable. But all, or the most of the same kind were not made, nor those of them were out of sight, being erected in of his own making were employed by the the streets behind the walls, where Archime-Romans. It sufficed unto this worthy man, des gave directions how to use them. Where-

Marcellus had caused certain of his Quinand bettered by great scholars and wise quereme Gallies to be fastened together, and men, grew afterward corrupted by those, to Towers erected on them to beat the defenwhom the practice fell; that is, by such as dants from the wall. Against these Archimecould flubber things eafily over, and feed des had fundry devices; of which any one their workmen at the cheapest rate. In sort might have repelled the assailants: but this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all all of them together shewed the multiplicity others that have, or would feem to have of his great wit. He shot heavy stones, and any fecret skill, whereof the publication long pieces of timber, like unto the yeards might do good unto mankind, are not with- of flips; which brake some of the Gallies by out excuse of their close concealing. For their force and weight. These afflicted such it is a kind of injustice, that the long travels as lay far off. They that were come nearer of an understanding brain, beside the loss the walls, lay open to a continual volly of of time, and other expence, should be cast shot, which they could not endure. Some away upon men of no worth; yield less be- with an Iron grapple were taken by the nefit unto the Author of a great work, than prow, and hoyfred up, shaking out all the to meer strangers; and perhaps his ene- men, and afterwards falling down into the mies. And furely, if the paffion of Envy water. Some by strange Engines were lifted have in it any thing allowable and natural, up into the Air, where, turning round a as having Anger, Fear, and other like Affe- while, they were broken against the walls ctions: it is in some such case as this; and or cast upon the rocks: and all of them were ferveth against those, which would usurp so beaten, that they durst never come to any the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied | fecond affault. In the like fort was the Landto indue them. Nevertheless, if we have Army handled. Stones and timber, falling regard unto common charity, and the great upon it like hail, did not only over-whelm affection that every one ought to bear unto the men, but brake down the Roman Engines the generality of mankind, after the exam- of battery; and forced Marcellus to give over ple of him that suffereth his Sun to shine upon the affault. For the remedy hereof it was the just, and unjust: it will appear more conceived, that if the Romans could early commendable in wife men, to inlarge them- before day get near unto the walls, they selves, and to publish unto the world, those should be (as it were) under the point-blank, good things that lay buried in their own bo- and receive no hurt by these terrible Instrufoms. This ought specially to be done, ments; which were woond up hard to shoot when a profitable knowledge hath not an- a great compass But this vain hope cost manexed to it some dangerous cunning, that ny of the assailants lives: For the shot came may be perverted by evil men to a mischie-down right upon them; and beating them voususe. For if the secret of any rare An- from all parts of the wall, made a great tidote, contained in it the skill of giving some slaughter of them, all the way as they fled deadly and irrecoverable poilon: much bet- (for they were unable to tarry by it) even terit were, that such a Jewel remain close in till they were gotten very far off. This did the hands of a wife and honest man, than be- so terrifie the Romans, that if they perceived ing made common, bind all men to use the any piece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the remedy, by teaching the worst men how to wall, they rann away, crying out, That Ardo mischief. But the works which Archime- chimedes his Engines were ready to disthat he had approved unto the vulgar, the fore the Roman had no other way left, than dignity of his Science; and done especial be- to cut off from the Town all provision of nefit to his Country. For to enrich a Mecha- victuals, both by Land and by Sca.

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For the enemies having to goodly an Ha- the disposition of the Islanders changed to ven; the Sea in a manner free; and the Carthaginians that were frong by Sea, willing come from Rome, which escaped from Himil. to supply them: were not likely so soon to co, and safely arrived at Marcellus his Camp; be confumed with famine, as the beliegers to yet many places revolted unto the Carthagibe wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before mians, and flew or betrayed the Roman Garfo strong a City, having no probability to risons. carry it. Yet, for want of better counsel to follow, this was thought the best, and most forced both parts to take breath a while; honourable course.

Carthaginian Fleet, that had waited long given over the fiege, went unto Leonlium, about Sicil, being by Hippocrates advertised where he lay intentive to all occasions. In the of these passages, went home to Carthage, and beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, there so dealt with the Senate, that five and whether it were better to continue the latwenty thousand Foot, three thousand borious work of besieging spracule, or to Horse, and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make mileo and Hippocrates. But it would greatly war upon the Comans in Sicil by Land. He took many Towns; and many that had anciently belonged unto the Carthaginians, did yield unto him. To remedy this mifchief and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, began to turn unto the Carthaginians; Marcellus with a great part of his Army, role remaining as before; and no likelihood to from Syracuse, and went from place to place take the City by force or famine; yet was about the Island. He took Pelorus and he not without hope, that continuance of Herbesus, which yielded unto him. He took time would bring forth scmewhat, which also Megara by force and fackt it: either to might fulfill his desire. Especially he assayterrifie others that were obstinate, especialed to prevail by treason; against which no ly the Sgracusans, or else because Rome was place can hold out. And to this end he dealt at this time poor, and his Army must have with the Syracusian Gentlemen that were in fomewhat to keep it in heart. His especial his Camp; exhorting them to practife with defire was to have faved Agrigentum: whitheir friends that remained in the City. This ther he came too late; for Himileo had got- was not easie for them to do, because the ten it before. Therefore he returned back Town would hearken to no parlee. At length toward Syracuse; carefully, and in as good a flave unto one of these bamished men, make order as he could, for fear of the Carthagi ing shew to run away from his Master, got nian that was too strong for him. The cir- into syracuse; where he talked in private cumfrection that he used, in regard of Hi- with some few, as he had been instructed mileo, flood him in good ftead against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For Hippohis brother, had lately issued out of the City, refused it. Bomilear also a Carthaginian, en- looking upon the wall, and wanting the tred with a great fleet into the Haven of 8y- more compendious Art of Geometry, fello

This was a very desperate piece of work. | racuse, and victualled the City. After this,

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enand Marcellus, leaving some of his Army be-In the mean while, Hinnileo, Admiral of a fore Syracuse, that he might not seem to have have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from Syracuse, as unable to prevail; and he himfelf was of an eager disposition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feisible, an enterprise that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to Syracuse: where though he found all the difficulties Thus began Marcellus to have intelligence within the City: whence the Conspirators crates, leaving the charge of syracuse unto used to send him advertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth with ten thouland foot, and five hundred in the night: but when they were grown to horse, intending to joyn his forces with Hi- the number of fourscore, and thought themmilco. Marcellus fell upon him, ere either selves able to effect somewhat of imporwas aware of the other: and the Romans, tance, all was discovered; and they like being in good order, got an easie victory Traitors, put to death. In the mean while, against the dispersed and half unarmed sy- one Damassippus a Lacedemonian, that had racustans. The reputation hereof helped a lit- been sent out of the Town as an Embassador tle to keep the sicilians from rebellion. Yet to Philip King of Macedon, was fallen into the it was not long, ere Himileo, joyning with hands of Marcellus. Epicides was very defir Hippocrates, ran over all the Island at his ous to ransome him : and many meetings pleasure, and presented battail to Marcellus, were appointed for that purpose, not far even at his Trenches; but the Roman wifely from the walls. There, one of the Romans

the walls, which he took by scalado. syra- faint hope of hearing any good news. cuse was divided into four parts (or five, if The Sicilian Souldiers that remained alive

numbring the stones: and making an esti-led the rest to dislodge. The Romans were mate of the height, judged it less than it had (though somewhat les) afflicted with the been formerly deemed. Herewith he ac- same postilence, insomuch that Bomilear did quainted Marcellus: who causing better no- put the City of Carthage in hope, that he tice to be taken of the place; and finding might be taken where he lay, if any great that ladders of no extraordinary length forces were fent thither. This Bomilear wantwould reach it; made all things ready, and ed no defire to do his Country fervice : but waited a convenient time. It was the weakest his courage was not answerable to his good part of the Town, and therefore the most will. He arrived at Pachynus with a strong throngly guarded: neither was there hope to fleet: where he staid; being loth to double prevail by force against Archimedes, if they the Capesfor that the winds did better serve failed to take it by surprise. But a fugitive the enemy than him. Thither failed Epicides out of the Town brought word, that a great out of Syracuse: to acquaint him with the out of the Lown brought word, that a great force of syrange. To acquaint film with the feaft was to be held unto Diana, which was local three dayes: and that, because other good chear was not so plentiful within the With much intreaty, at length he came forgood chear was not so plentiful within the three but meeting with the Roman seet, City, as in former times, Epicides, to gratifie the people, had made the more large discovered by the people, had made the more large discovered by the people of the p fribution of wine. A better opportunity Sicil farewell. Then durst not Epicides recould not be wished. Wherefore Marcellus turn into Syracuse, but went to Agrigentum: in the dead of the Festival night, came unto where he expected the issue; with a very

Epipole were reckoned as one) each of which of Hippocrates his Army, lay as near as they were fortified as diffinct Cities. When there- could fafely, unto Marcellus, and some of fore Marcellus had gotten fome pieces, he them in a strong Town three miles off. These had the commodity of a better and fafe had done what good they could to syracule. lodging, with good store of booty; and bet- by doing what hurt they could unto the R_{θ} ter opportunity than before, to deal with mans. But when they were informed, that the reft. For there were now a great many, the State of Sicil was given as desperate by as well of those in Acradinia and the Island, the Carthaginians: they fent Embassadours inner parts of the Town, as of those that to treat of peace; and made offer to comwere already in the hands of Marcellins, that pound, both for themselves, and for the began to hearken unto composition, as being Town. Hereunto Marcellus willingly gave much terrified by the loss of those parts, ear: for he had stayed there long enough; which the Romans had taken and fackt. As and had cause to fear, that after a little for the weapons of Archimedes, little harm, while, the Carthaginians might come thirther or none they did, unto those that were shell strong again. He therefore agreed, both with tred under strong houses: although it may the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay feem, that the inner walls were not altoge- abroad; That they should be Masters of their ther unfurnished of his help; fince they own, enjoying their liberty and proper laws; held out a good while, and were not taken yet fuffering the Romans to possess whatsoby force. The Roman fugitives and Renega- ever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupdo's, were more careful then ever to defend on they, to whom Epicides had left his the rest of the City:being sure to be reward- charge, were put to death, new Prætors ed with cruel death, if Marcellus could pre- chosen; and the gates even ready to be vail. Hippocrates and Himilco, were daily ex- opened unto Marcellus: when suddenly the pected; and Bomilear was fent away to Car- Roman fugitives disturbed all. These perthage, to bring help from thence. It was not ceiving their own condition to be desperate, longere Hippocrates and Himileo came: who perswading the other Mercenary Souldiers. fell upon the old Camp of the Romans, That the Citizens had bargained only for whilst Epicides sallied out of Acradinia upon themselves, and betrayed the Army to the Marcellus. But the Romans made such de- Romans. Wherefore they presently took fence in each part, that the Assailants were Arms, and fell upon the new chosen Prærepelled. Nevertheless, they continued to tors; whom they slew, and made election beset Marcellus: whom they held in a man- of six Captains that should command over ner as straightly besieged, as he himself did all. But shortly it was found out, that beliege the Town. But the pestilence at there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; length confumed, together with the two excepting only the fugitives. The Treaty Captains, a great part of the Army, and cau- was therefore again set on soot, and wanted Bbbbbb

CHAPIIL

ed; either by some fear of the Citizens, that make a bargain under-hand against them had feen (as they thought) proof of the Ro- | with a Captain of the Mercenaries? These man avarice in the fack of Epipola, Tyche, and things were objected against Marcellin, at Neapolis, the parts already taken; or by fome his return home: but the Senators thought defire of Marcellus to get the Town by force, it a great deal better, to comfort the Syracuthat he might use the liberty of a Conquer- stans with gentle words, and promise of good or, and make it wholly subject to Rome. Me- ulage in time to come; than to restore the ricus a Spaniard was one of the fix Captains | booty, and give over the Dominion of a Cithat had been chosen in the last commotion: ty, so great, wealthy, strong, and many waves a man of fuch faith, as usually is found in important. Nevertheless if we consider the Merceparies; holding his own particular be- many inconveniences and great milehiefs nefit above all other respects. With this Cap- whereunto Syracuse was obnoxious; both tain, Marcellus dealt fecretly: having a fit in- by evil neighbours, and by that very form ftrument, of the same Nation, one Belligenes, of policy, after which it was governed: we that went in company with the Roman Emmay truly affirm, That it received no small baffadors, daily paffing to and fro. This benefit, by becoming subject unto Rome, For crafty Agent periwaded Mericus, That the thereby it was not only affured against all Romans had already gotten all spain: and forraign enemies, domestical conspiracies, that if ever he purposed to make his own and such Tyrants as of old had reigned fortune good, either at home in spain, or therein: but freed from the necessity of baany where elle; it was now the only time to nishing, or murdering, the most worthy do it; by conforming himself to the will of Citizens; as also from all factions, intelline the Roman General. By such hopes the spa- feditions, and a thousand the like miseries, nish Captain was easily won, and sent forth that were wont to grow out of the jealousie, his own brother among the syracufian Em- wherein they held their liberty in vain. baffadours to ratifie the covenant with Neither enjoyed that City, from her first Marcellus.

This under-hand dealing of Marcellus against the syracusians, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards throughly approved at his coming to Rome. For the benefits of Hiero to the Romans had been fuch, as deserved not to be requited with the ruine of his Country: much less, that the miferies of his people, oppressed (though partly through their own folly) by an Army of Mercenaries, should minister unto the people of Rome, advantage against them. The poor Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired Souldiers; and therefore were fain to yield unto the time, and obey those Ministers of Hannibal, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the death of Hieronymus; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of Epicides: it had been their chief care to maintain amity with the people of Rome. They had lately ilain many left untouched; lave only the houses of those the principal of Epicides his followers; and | banished men, that had escaped from Hippomany of themselves had also been slain, both crates and Epicides, into the Roman Camp. lately and in former times, because of this Among other pitiful accidents; the death their desire unto the peace. What though of Archimedes was greatly lamented, even by it were true, that the Rascality, and some Marcellus himself. He was so busie about his ill advised persons, joyned with the souldi- Geometry, in drawing figures, that he hearers in hatred of the Romans, by occasion of kened not to the noise, and uproar in the the flaughter which they heard to be done City; no, nor greatly attended the rude at Leontium, and afterward beheld in those Souldier that was about to kill him. Marcelparts of their own City which was taken? Its took heavily the death of him; and cau-Ought therefore the Roman General, in a | fed his body to be honourably buried. Up-

little of conclusion: which yet was delay- treaty of peace held with the Syracustans, to foundation any fuch long time of happiness, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested fecure under the protection of Rome; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition ; wherewith by Marcellus his victory it was throughly cured. But fuch benefit, arifing from wrongs done, ferves not to make injustice the more excusable: unless we should approve the answer of that Thief, who being found to have stollen a filver cup from a fick man, faid, He never leaves drink-

> By the treason of Mericus, the Roman Army was let into possession of all Syracuse: wherein, the booty that it found, was faid to have been no less, than could be hoped for, if they had taken Carthage it felf; that mair. tained war by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith Syracuse was marvellously adorned, were carried away to Rome; and nothing

on his Tomb (as he had ordained in his life- that the vain-glorious envy of Hanno cartime) was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere, ried him unto the fight, upon a foolish desire with an inscription of the proportion be- to get victory, without the help of Mutines tween them; which he first found out. An their Country-men. Wherefore they sent invention of so little use, as this may feem, unto the Roman General, and bade him be pleased that great Artist better, than the deviling of all those Engines, that made him so to shew themselves his enemies that day, but famous. Such difference is in the judgment only look on, and see the proud Carthaginiof learned men, and of the vulgar fort. For ans well beaten by whom they had been mifmany an one would think the mony loft, that used. They made good their promise, and had been spent upon a Son, whose studies had their desire. For Marcellus, finding likein the University had brought forth such lihood of truth in their message, did so lustifruit, as the proportion between a Sphere | ly fet upon the enemies, that he brake them

and a Cylinder. in Sicil yielded unto the Romans, except Agrigentum. Agrigentum and a few places thereabout. At Agrigentum lay Epicides with one Hanno a follow the directions of one, that was a bet-Carthaginian, and Mutines an African, that ter man of War than himself, and not to

confident; for that it was not their purpole at the first charge; and with the slaughter After the taking of Syracuse, all the Towns of many thousands, drove them back into

If Hanno could have been contented, to

was lately fent from Hannibal. This Mutines | have hazarded a battel without need; the by many good pieces of fervice, had added Romans would shortly have been reduced some credit to the beaten Carthaginian side; into terms of great difficulty in their Siciliand withall made his own name great. By an War. For Marcellus was shortly after to his perswasions, Hanno and Epicides adven- leave the Province; and soon upon his detured to meet Marcellus without the Town, parture, there landed in the Island a supply and not behave themselves as men expect- of eight thousand foot, and three thousand ing to be besieged. Neither was he more Numidian horse, that were sent from Carvaliant in counsel, than in execution. Once thage. The fame of this new Army drew and again he set upon the Romans, where many of the Sicilians into rebellion. The they lay encamped, and drove them fear- Roman Army confifting (for the most part) fully into their Trenches. This bred envy of the Legions of Canna, took it very hainoufin Epicides and Hanno; especially in Hanno, | ly, that no good service done, could bring that having been lately fent from Carthage, them into the favour of the Senate; but that, with commission and authority from the as banished men, they were sent far from State, thought himself wronged greatly by home, and not suffered to return back to Hannibal; in that he had fent unto him this Rome with their General. Mutines had paci-Mutines, to be his companion, and to take | fied his Country-men the Numidians, and upon him, like as good a man as himfelf. The like an honest man, did what he could for indignity seemed the greater, when Mutines | those whom he served, without contending being to step aside into Heraclea, for the pa- against the foolish pride of Hanno; finding cifying some troubles there among the Nu- that there was a great alteration; and a greamidians; advised (as directing Hanno and ter might have been, if the Army lately over-Epicides) not to meddle with the enemy, un- thrown had been entire. M. Cornelius the til his return. So much therefore the ra- Roman Prætor, used all diligence, both to ther would Hanno fight; and offered battel pacifie his own men, and to hinder the Carunto Marcellus, before he fought it. It is like, thaginians. He recovered those In-land towns that a great part of the Roman Army was left that had rebelled : and though he could not behind in Syracuse, as need required; which | hinder Mutines from over-running all the made the Carthaginians the better able to Country; yet he hindred the Country from deal with those that came against them. But revolting unto Mutines. Above threewhatsoever disproportion was between the score Towns, great and small, the Carthatwo Armies; far greater were the odds be- ginians held in Sicil: of which Agrigentween the Captains. For howfoever the peo- tum was the principal, and far bigger than ple of Carthage would give authority by fa- any of the rest. Thence issued Mutines as vour; yet could they not give worth and often as he pleased, in despight of the Roability, in matter of war. The Numidians, mans: not only to the succour of his own having before conceived some displeasure adherents, but to the great waste of those against their Captains; and being there-that followed the contrary part. But Hanno, fore some of them gone away to Heraclea, instead of being pleased with all these go od were much more offended, when they saw services, was filled more and more with en-

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He had (belike) received instruction from cy of the Romans, that henceforward conold Hanno at Carthage, not to suffer Hannibal, tinued Masters of the whole Island. or any Hannibalian, to have share in the honour of these Sicilian Wars: which were gentum, did sharp execution of justice upon therefore perhaps the more diligently sup- all the Citizens. The principal of them he plied; whilft Haly was neglected, that should scourged with rods, and afterwards beheadhave been regarded more than all the rest. ed, as was the manner of the Romans: all the Wherefore to shew his authority, and that rest of them he sold for slaves, and confiscait was not in the power of Hannibal, to ap- ted their goods; fending home to Rome the point unto him an Affiliant, or Director: mony that was raifed of the booty. This was He took away from Mutines his charge, indeed a time, wherein Rome ftood in no less and gave it to his own Son; thinking there-necessity of gold, than of steel: which may by to discountenance the man, and make have been the reason, why Lavinus dealt him little estcemed, as one out of Office, so cruelly with the Agrigentines. Nevertheamong the Numidians, But it fell out quite less, the fame of such severity bred a terrour contrary: and this spightful dealing occa- among all the Dependants of the Carthagifioned the loss of what loever the Carthagini- nians, fo that in great haste they sought to ans held in Sicil. For the Numidians were fo make their peace. About forty Towns yieldincenfed by the indignity offered unto their ed themselves quickly unto the Romans; Country-man, being such a brave Comman- twenty were delivered up by Treason; and der, that they offered him their service to six only stayed to be wonn by sorce. These require the wrong; and were thenceforth things done, Levinus returned home to absolutely at his own disposition. M. Vale- Rome; carrying with him about four thourius Levinus, the Roman Conful, was newly and men from Agatirna; that were a compacome into the Province, when this fell ny of out-laws, bankrouts, and banished men, out: and with him did Mutines enter into accustomed to live by spoil of others in these intelligence. For he could no longer brook troublesome times. He bestowed them about these indignities; but being neither a Car- Rhegium in Italy, where they might exercise thaginian, nor favoured by those that bore their own occupation against the Brutians; a all the sway in Carthage: He thought it thievish kind of people, that were enemies the wisest way, to play the best of his own unto those of Rhegium, and to the Romans. As game, and for sake that City, which was for Mutines, he was well rewarded, and made likely to perish by the evil counsel that go- Citizen of Rome: where he lived in good acverned it. He did not therefore, as his compt; accompanying the two Scipios in Country-men had lately done, content him- their journey against Antiochus, and therein felf to see his Adversaries reap the bitter doing (asit is said) very especial service. So fruits of their own malicious over-weening: by this enterprise of Sicil, the Carthaginians and to fuffer that harm, in doing whereof wasted much of their forces, that with greahe would not bear a part; but conspired ter profit might have been employed in Itaagainst them to deliver up Agrigentum, and ly: leaving yet unto the Romans, in the end to help to expel them utterly out of sicil. of this war, the entire possession of this The Consul was glad of his friendship; and Island; which they wanted when it began. carefully followed his advertisements. Neither was there much cunning needful, to the performance of that which Mutines had undertaken: For he with his Numidians did forcibly feize upon a gate; whereat they let in some Roman Companies, that lay near in a readiness for the purpose. Hanno, when first he heard the noise, thought it had been no worse matter, than good services done in the Island of sicil, fome such tumult of the Numidians, as he he had granted unto him the honour of had been well acquainted with of late. But the leffer Triumph, which was called 0vawhen, making halte to pacifie the trouble, tion. The greater Triumph was denyed he saw and heard, the Romans intermixed, him: because he had not finished the war, among those discontented followers of Mn- but was fain to leave his Army behind him tines, forthwith he betook himself to flight: in the Province. He stayed not long in

vy, against the man that performed them. Army and Adherents in Sicil, to the mer-

Levinus the Conful having taken Agri-

ø. XVI.

How the War passed between the Romans and Hannibal in Italy, from the taking of Capua to the great victory at Metaurus.

CHortly after the winning of Capua, Mar-Cellus came to Rome: where for his and faving himfelf, with Epicides, in a small Rome, before he was again chosen Consul Bark, fet fail for Africk; leaving all his together with M. Valerius Levinus, who fuc-

ceeded him in the Government of Sicil, and to further confideration. The Senate could too much rigour of Marcellus; yet not reftoring the booty that he had taken, nor words, and hopeful promifes, as hath been shewed before. The two new Consuls Marwar, as their lots should fall out; the one in Italy, the other in Sicil. The Isle of Sicil fell unto Marcellus; which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the syraculians (whole cause had not as yet been heard in the Senate) might not feem hindred by fear, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his bufiness with them was dispatcht, he gently undertook the patronage of them: which remained long in his Family, to the great benefit of their Country in times following. So Valerius, the other Conful, was fent into Sicil. whose doings there have been already rehearfed: but Marcellus was employed against Hannibal.

Before the Consuls departed out of Rome, they were much troubled with preffing of

was, at the time of his election, making war ill tell, what to determine or do, in a case of against King Philip in Greece. Great Com- such extremity. For manifest it was, that plaint was made against the Consul Marcel- the multitude had already indured so much lus, by the Syracustans, for that which he had as well it could undergo; and somewhat done unto them : they alledging their great more, than could with honesty have been friendship to the people of Rome, in the time imposed upon it. Nevertheless it was imposeof their late King Hiero; and affirming, that lible to maintain the war against the Cartheir City did never willingly break the thaginians; or to keep the Macedonian out of alliance excepting when it was opprefied by | Haly without a strong sleet. Wherefore some fuch Tyrants, as were not greater enemies were of opinion; That fince the common to Rome, than to all good men that lived in Treasure was so empty, the people must be Stracufe. The Conful, on the other fide, recko- forced, by right or wrong, to take the burned the labours and dangers whereunto they den upon them. At last the Consuls began to had put him: willing them to be moan them- lay, That no perswasions would be so efselves to the Carlaginians that had holpen sectual with the people, as good examples: them in their necessity; and not unto the and that if the Senators would follow the Romans, whom they had kept out. Thus Confuls, like it was that the people also each part having some good matter to al- would follow the Senate. Wherefore they ledge, the Senate made such an end of the propounded, and it was immediately concontroversie, as best agreed with the benefit cluded, That every one of them should bring of their own Common-wealth: blaming the forth, and put into the Treasury, all the mony that he had; and that no Senator should keep any veilel of gold, or plate whatfoever; making the Syracusans free from their sub- excepting one Salt-feller, and a Bowl jection, but comforting them with gentle wherewith to make their offerings unto the gods; as also a Ring for himself, with such other tokens of ingenuity for his wife and cellus and Levinus, were appointed to make children, as every one diduse, and those of as small value as might be. This advice of the Confuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of Rome. Neither did the Commonalty refuse to do that, which their betters had openly done before them. For fince the publick neceffity could no otherwise be holpen; every one was contented, that his private estae Mould run the same fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it suffered wrack, in vain could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimity deserved well that greatness of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet: Marcellus went forth of the Souldiers to the war, and most of all, with | City against Hannibal; and Lavinus toward getting Mariners for their Navy. They were | Sicil. The Army of Hannibal was grealy diall of the poorer fort, that used to be em- minished, by long and hard service: neither ployed in Sea-services, especially in rowing. did his Carthaginians seem to remember him, These could not live without present wa- & think upon sending the promised supply, ges: neither was there mony enough in the or any such proportion as he needed. His cre-Treasury to give them pay. Wherefore it was dit also among his Italian friends, was much ordained, that they should be set out at wakened, by the loss of Capua: which gave the expence of private men; who in this ne- them cause to look unto themselves; as if in ceffity of the State, were driven to sustain his help there were little trust to be repoall publick charges. Hereat the people mur- | fed, when they should stand in need. This he mured, and were ready to fall into fedition; well perceived; yet could not tell how to had not the Consuls deferred the matter un- remedy. Either he must thrust Garrisons in-

beable to keep the field: or else he must appointed that Asarabal should forthwith leave them to their own fidelity, which now take his journey into Haly, of which there began to waver. At length his jealousie had been so much talk. These news did not grew fo outragious, that he facked and wa- more comfort Hannibal and his followers. fted those places that he was tinable to dethan terrifie the Romans. Wherefore each fend: thinking that the best way to enrich didtheir best; and the Romans, to prevent himself; and make unprofitable to his ene- the threatning mischief, and win as much as mies, the purchase from which he could not they could upon Hannibal, before the comhinder them. But by this example, many ing of his Brother; Hannibal, on the contrawere quite alienated from him; and some of ry, to hold his own, and weaken the Romans those, whom before he had least cause to as much as he was able. He had intelligence. doubt. The Town of Salapia yielded unto that Cn. Fulvius, a Roman Prator, lay near Marcellus; and betrayed unto him a gal- unto Herdonea, to get the Town by practice. lant Regiment of Numidian horse, the best It was not long since, near unto the same of all that ferved under Hannibal; which place, another Cn. Fulvius had lost his Arwas a greater loss, than the Town it felf. Bla- my. Therefore Hannibal made great marches fus the author of this rebellion, could not thitherward; and came to Herdonea ere Fulbring his defire to effect; without getting vius heard news of his approach. As soon as the consent of one Dassius, that was his bitter he came, he offered battel to the Roman Præenemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to tor; who accepted it with more hastethan this Dasfus in private, and was by him accu- good speed. The Roman Legions made good sed unto Hannibal. But when he was conven- refistance a while, till they were compassed ted and charged of Treason, he so stoutly round with the Carthaginian horse. Then fell denyed it, and by way of recrimination, to they to rout, and great flaughter was made vehemently prefled his accuser with the of them. Fulvius himself, with twelve Trifame fault: that Hannibal thought it a mat- lunes or Coronels, were loft: of the common ter devised out of meer malice; knowing well | Souldiers, that were slain, the number is unwhat enemies they were; and feeing that certain; some reporting seven, others thirneither of them could bring any proof of teen thousand. The Town of Herdonea, bewhat he affirmed. This notwithstanding, Bla- cause it was at point to have yielded unto fins did not cease to press his adversary anew, Fulvius, Hannibal did set on fire; and putting and urge him from time to time, with such those to death that had practised with the lively reason; that he who could not be be- | Enemy carried away the multitude; whom lieved by Hannibal, was contented at length | he bestowed among the Thurians and Metato win the favour of Marcellus. Presently af- pontines. The Conful Marcellus hearing of ter this, the Conful took by force, Maronea this, wrote unto the Senate: and exhorted and Meles, Towns of the Samnites; wherein them to be of good chear; for that he would he flew about three thousand of Hunnibal shortly abate the enemies pride. He followed

but was fain to catch advantages; where he fought with him a battel: which beginning might get them; the Romans now being at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted grown ftronger in the field than he. The beft was, that his Carthaginians, having wearied themselves with ill speed in many petty enterprises, and laid aside all this while the ther Marcellus followed him. At Venusia they care of Italy, to follow business of far less im- met, and had many skirmishes; but none of portance; had now at length resolved, to importance. Hannibal removed often; and fend presently the great supply, that had been | sought to bring the enemy within danger of fo long promised and expected. This, if they fome ambush. But Marcellus, though he was had done in better featon; Rome it self might very eager of battel, would yet adventure have been strucken down, the next year af- | nothing, but by open day-light, and upon ter that great blow received at Canna. But fair ground. fince that which is past cannot be amended; Hannibal must force himself to make a good us Maximus, and Q. Fulvius, he that lately countenance; and tell his followers; that had taken Capua, were chosen Consuls. Fathis mighty faccour would come time bins confidering how much the Roman afenough. For Mafanifa was at Carthage with fairs were bettered by the taking of Capua,

to all Towns that he suspected, and there-by so diminish his Army, that he should not for *spain*; whither, when he came, it was the Carthaginian apace; and overtaking him Hannibal could not look to all at once; at Numiftre in the Country of the Lucans,

Thus passed the time away, until 2. Fabi-

Marcellus was so impatient of this disho- rentum. nour, that he rated his men, as Pefants, and

purposed that year to besiege Tarentum : hope; and the enemy, not with standing their which if he could win; like it was, that late victory, as ready to molest them as bescarce one good City would afterwards re- fore. In this second battail Marcellus got the main true to Hannibal. Wherefore he vche- victory: which he purchased at so dear a mently exhorted his Colleague, and Mar- rate; that neither he, nor Hannibal, had cellus, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that served under him if eight thousand of the Carthaginians were the year before) to press the Carthaginian so slain, and three thousand of the Roman side, hard, as he might have no leifure to help in this next battail, the difference was no Tarentum. Marcellus was very glad of this greater, than even to recompence the late charge: for he thought no Roman fitter than received overthrow: especially since the himself, to deal with Hannibal in open field. number of the Romans that were wounded, He followed him therefore to Cannusium, was so great, as disabled Marcellus from purand thence from place to place : defiring fuing Hannibal; who dislodged by night. ever to come to battail, but upon equal Nevertheless it sufficed, that Fabine the Conterms. The Carthaginian had not minde to ful hereby got leifure, to follow his bufiness hazzard much in fight : but thought it at Tarentum without any disturbance. Q. Fulenough to entertain his enemy with fkir- vius the other Conful about the same time, mish; as being desirous to keep his Army took in many of the Hirpines, Lucans, and ftrong untill the coming of Afdrubal. Yet Volfcentes, that willingly yielded themselves, could he not avoid the importunity of Mar- and betrayed the Garrisons of Hannibal that cellus, nor brook the indignity of being dai- lay in their Towns; whom Fulvius enterly braved. He therefore bade his men to be tained in loving fort; gently rebuking them lufty, and to beat foundly this hot-spirited for their errours past, without punishing Roman Captain, that would never fuffer those that had been authors, or busie doers them to be at quiet; untill they once had in the rebellion. That rabble of Sicilian cooled well his courage, by letting him thieves, which Levinus had lately brought blood. Hereupon followed a battail; where- from Agaterna, was then also set on work to in Hannibal had the victory; took fix En- besiege Caulonia, a Town of the Brutians: figns; and flew of the Romans almost three and nothing was omitted, that might serve thousand, among which were some of mark, to divert Hannibal, from the succour of Ta-

2. Fabius the Conful having taken Manbase cowards: telling them, that they were duria a Town of the Salentines, sate down the first of the Roman Legions, which had before Tarentum: making all preparation been beaten by Hannibal, by plain force and | that feemed needful to carry it either by afmanhood, without being circumvented by fault or long fiege. Of the Garrisons in the any stratagem. With these and many other Town, a good part were Brutians, placed the like words, which they were ashamed there by Hannibal, under a Captain of their to hear, he did so vex them; that thinking own Nation. This Captain fell in love with themselves better able to endure any vio- a Tarentine wench; whose brother served lence of the enemy, than fuch displeasure of under Fabius. Hereof the gave notice by lettheir General; they belought him to par- ters to her brother, as thinking belike to don them, and lead them forth once again draw him from the Roman fide; by telling to fight. He did so: and placing those him how rich, and of what great account Companies formost, that had lost their En- her lover was. But her brother made the figns the day before, bade them be careful Conful acquainted with these news: and to win a victory; whereof the news might faid, that if the Brutian were far in love, he be at Rome, before the report of their might perhaps be won, by intreaty of his shameful overthrow. Hannibal was angry, Mistris, to do what she would have him. to see that nothing could make this Enemy | The Conful hearing this, and finding likeliquiet: and therefore was ready to fight hood in the matter, willed his fouldier to again; fince all other motives continued convey himself into the Town as a fugitive, the fame, and his men had been heartned by and try what good might be done. It fell the late victory. But the Romans were stir- out according to his defire. The Souldier red up with defire of revenge, and of repair- grew acquainted with this Brutian Captain: ing their honour loft, which affections gave and partly by his own perfuations, partly a sharp edge unto their valour: whereas the by the flattering entreaty of his fifter; wan Carthaginians were grown dull, and weary him to betray the Town to the Romans. by seeing themselves disappointed of their Whenthey had agreed upon the business,

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and resolved how to order it; the same hasted away to relieve Tarentum. But when Souldier got out of the Town by night, and he came within five miles of the City, he acquainted the Conful with his proceedings: had news that it was loft. This grieved him. telling him in which part that Brutian kept yet he faid no more than this, The Romans watch, and what might conveniently be have also their Hannibal; we have lost Tarendone. So in the night time, Fabius gave an tum in such fort as we got it. That he might alarm to the City; especially about those not seem to turn back amazed, or in any fear parts of the wall, which were farthest from of the victorious Consul; he incamped a the place where he meant to enter. The few dayes together, so near as he was unfo Captains in the Town, prepared to make Tarentum: and thence departing to Meta-refiftance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood list in a trap. He caused the chief of the of danger. But Fabius himself with the Metapontines to write unto Fabius, and offer choice of his men, came in great filence to to betray into his hands, the Carthaginian the quarter of the Brutians: who being Garrison; with condition, that he should in wrought by their Cartain, helped the Ro- that respect, forgive them all offences past. mans to get up, and break open the next These letters were sent by two young men gate, whereat the Army was let in. The Ta- of the same City; who did their errand so rentines and Carthaginian Souldiers, made well, that the Conful wrote back by them head against Fabine in the Market place: but unto the Metapontines, and appointed the (as hapneth in like cases, where the main day, when they should expect him. Hereof confidence is already taken away) not very Hannibal was exceeding glad: and at good obstinately. Nico, Democrates, and Philomenes, leifure made ready his ambushes for the wawith those that before had let in Hannibal, ry Fabius. But whether some secret notice of used now the last of their courage in dying the plot were given; or whether indeed (as against the Romans. Carthalo, who comman- it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terded the Garrison within the Town, offered rified the superstitious Roman; the journy himself prisoner: hoping to be well used, to Metapontum was deferred. Hereupon the because of his hospitality that had passed same two Messengers were employed again: between his Father and the Conful. But he but being apprehended, and threatned with was flain by the way, ere he could come at torture, they discovered all. Fabius. The Romans did put all indifferently to the fword, in such fort, that they spared all their wars: for they got every where, few of the Brutians. This flaughter of the fave only at Caulonia; where they loft a Brutian, was thought to have been made company of fuch lewd fellows, that it may by appointment of the Conful, to the end | feem good fortune, to have so been rid of that he might feem to have wen the Town | them. But their common poverty, and disabiby force and not by treason: though he lity to maintain their charge, continued, and thereby failed of his purpose; and neither grew greater than it was before. Thirty had the glory which he expected, nor pre- Roman Colonies were then in Italy: of which, ferved his reputation of faithful dealing, and twelve refused to contribute any longer to keeping his word. The booty found in Ta- the Wars. For it was confidered; that the Lerentum was very great: whereof the Roman gions of Canna, and those unhappy Com-Treasury, whither it was carried, had great panies that had been beaten under the one need. As for the Imageries, and other curi- and the other Cn. Fulvius, were transported ofities that were in the City, Fabius was con- into Sicil; where they lived, in a fort, as tented to let them alone: and being told of banished men. This grieved their friends at fome Idols that feemed worthy to be car- home, and made them reckon up the more ried away, being very goodly pieces, in fuch diligently those other miseries which they habit and positure as if they were fighting: daily felt. Ten years together they had been he faid, Let us leave unto the Tarentines their exhausted with levies of men, and impositiangry gods.

lus, fell upon those that besieged Caulonia. In this case the least that they could fear; They fled at his coming: but he was so near, or rather the best that they could hope; was that they were fain to betake them to a hill, to fall into the hands of the enemy to be which served to no other purpose, than to made prisoners. For Hannibal did gently send bear off the first brunt. There they defen- home their people that was taken by him: ded themselves a little while, and then they whereas the Romans did banish from their

This year was happy to the Romans, in ons of money: in every of which years Hannibal being gotten clear from Marcel | they had received some notable overthrow. yielded. When this business was done, he homes, those that had escaped. It was thereneither men, nor mony. It was well for the arrival. Romans, that the other eighteen Colonies, tion of their ill deferving.

hopeful and fortunate fuccess. Nevertheless, many of the Hetrurians, especially the Are-

fore likely to come to pass within a while, they were fain to open their most prive that they should be all consumed : since new | treasury; and thence take out the gold that fouldiers were daily preffed forth of their had been laid up to serve them in cases of Towns; and the old ones never returned. greatest extremity. Of the mony thus extra-Such talk was frequent among those of the sted, one quarter was delivered to Fabius Colonies: especially where they that were the Consul, to set him well out against the transported into sicil, had most compassio- Turentines; all the rest was sent into Spain nate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by to Scipio, for the maintenance of his Army; the people of Ardea, Sutrium, Alba, and and to provide that Afdrubal might not pass other good Towns, to the number of twelve, from thence into Italy. It is likely that That they should boldly deny unto the Ro- | Fabius did not spend all his mony; finding mans their farther help. This was thought such easie success at Tarentum, as was shewthe likeliest way to obtain peace : where- ed before. But to stop the journey of Asdruof otherwife they faw little hope, as long as | bal; neither the mony fent into Spain, nor Hannibal lived. When the Confuls heard any victories won by scipio could fuffice. Nethe Embaffadours of these Towns make such vertheless, it fell out happily for the people declaration, and protest their disability of of Rome, that this year, and the next were giving any farther help; they were much | fpent, before his coming; and they better amazed. They willed the Embassadours to | prepared, than at less warning they could return home, and bring a better answer, have been to entertain him. Here it were not for a fmuch as this was none other than trea- amiss to note, That since the Romans, being son: they bade them to consider, that the in so great a necessity of mony, were driven people were not Campans or Tarentines, but to furnish the Army in Spain, with the greathe off-spring of the Romans; and no less test part of all their stock that was lest: it partakers of the Empire, than they that in- must needs be that either the booty taken in habited the Mother-City. But all would new Carthage, was far less than same had renot serve, the Embassadours continuing to | ported it; or else that Scipio had not as yet protest, that they had already done what won it: howsoever Livie rather inclines to they could; and that they had remaining, those, who say that he got it soon after his

M. Claudius Marcellus, and T. Quintus did not imitate these twelve; but shewed | Crispinus, were chosen Consuls after Fabius themselves willing to undergo whatsoever and Fulvius. In their year it was that Asdrushould be laid upon them, without shrinking | baltook his journey out of Spain, though he under the burden. This their offer was fo came not into Italy until the year following. highly pleafing to the Confuls; that the Em- | After the great battel at Canna, Hannibal balladours of those faithful Colonies, were had lost much time about Cuma and Naples, brought unto the Senate, and produced into in Geking to make himfelf Master of a the Assembly of the people: where, with good Haven, for the landing of those succommemoration of all their former good fer- | cours that were promifed from Carthage. The vices, this their present love unto the State | hope that he reposed in Philip, caused him to was magnified, and thanks accordingly be- turn his principal care to the Eastern parts flowed upon them; with promise, that it of Italy; where he made ready a fair enshould not be forgotten. As for the Embas- trance for the Macedonian, if he had been sadours of those twelve Colonies, that refu- | ready to come; but since his hope was vanishsed to contribute; it was thought best, nei- ed, and the long promised succour of Asdruther to detain them in the City, nor yet to bal was (though far later than had been exdismiss them, nor take any notice of them at pedient) ready to arrive: he began to all; but leave them to their own confidera- | deal with the people of Hetruria, through whose Countries his Brother was to pals, It may greatly be doubted, what the ex- that therein he might make a party against ample of these twelve people would have the Romans. The loss of Capua, Tarentum, and wrought in those that were so willing to many other Towns, might have terrified all help the State, if Afdrubal had been then other of the Italian Towns, from hearkening coming into Italy. For then must the Romans to any solicitation of the Carthaginians. Yet have betaken themselves wholly to their the poverty of the Romans, & the weariness own defence; whereas now, to the great of their adherents, together with the fame comfort of their subjects, they employed of a greater Army coming than that which their forces in the conquest of Italy, with Hannibal brought into Italy; did imbolden

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tines, to take such counsel as they thought of Hannibal to waste their Army by little and most expedient for themselves, without re- little: which to do, he neglected no advangard of their fidelity to Rome. The Roman tage. There lay between him and them an Senate, hearing the rumour of their conspi- Hillock, overgrown with wood, that seemed racy, fent Marcellus the new chosen Conful fit to cover a number of men : who lying into Hetruria: whose coming did so terrefie there undiscerned, might fall upon such as them, that they refled quiet for a while. All thould ftraggle from the Roman camp; and the year following they were deviling how cut them off. Therefore he fent thither by to break out: as contrariwise the Roman night some companies of Numidians: whom Propretors, partly by terrour of severe judg- he willed to keep themselves close, and atments and inquilitions; and partly by the tend their best advantage. To this piece of force of two or three Legions, with which ground the Confuls thought it fit to remove they vifited all suspected places, kept them their camp: Marcellus thinking that he nehonest against their wills, and took many ver lay near enough unto Hannibal. Thither Hostages for better assurance. The two Con- therefore both of them rode to view the fuls had an earnest desire, to make strong place, accompanied with the son of Marcellus. War upon Hannibal without more tempo- a few Colonels, and other principal men: rifing: perfivading themselves, that in battel they should be too strong for him. Crispi-most of them Hetvurians. The Numidian Cennue had further his particular defire, to make | tinel gave warning of their approach to his his Confulfhip notable by the winning of fellows who discovered not themselves, until fome good Town: as Fulvius and Fabius they had furrounded the Confuls and their had gotten honour by Capua and Tarentum. train. The Confuls, as necessity compelled Therefore he went about the fiege of Locri; them, defended themselves: hoping to be one of the best Cities which the Carthagini- quickly relieved from their camp that was an then held in Italy: and brought thither near at hand. But the Hetrurians ran away all forts of engines; fending for a Fleet out from them, at the first; and left them in that of sicil to help him. But Hannibal was not great danger, to the weak affiftance of no flow to relieve the City: the fame of whose more than sorty horse men, that were of the approach, made Crispinus desist from his en- Colonie of Fregella. These Fregellans abode terprise, and retire unto his Colleague, that by the Confuls, and did what they could to lay at Venusia. Thither followed Hannibal; have brought them safe off. But when Marto whom the Confuls daily offered battel. | cellus was ftricken thorow with a Lance, and This great man of War had no need to stand fell down dead; then began every one to upon his reputation: which was already fo shift for himself, and escape as they might. confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was crispinus the other Consul, had his deaths not likely to be afcribed unto fear; but ra- | wound, being stricken with two Darts; and ther deemed as part of his wildom. He en- young Marcellus was likewise wounded; yet tertained the Confuls with many light skir- these two recovered their camp: The rest milnes, and fought to take them at some ad- of the Colonels and Officers, together with wantage; referving his own numbers as full | the Lictors that carried the bundle of Rods as he could, unto a time of greater imploy- and Axes before the Confuls, were all slain ment. In this lingring manner of War, Mar- or taken. To the dead body of the Conful cellus took no pleasure: but fought to com- Marcellus, Hannibal gave honourable Funerpell the Enemy to battel, whether he would al, according to the custom of those times: or no. The Admiral of the Roman Fleet and bestowing his ashes in a silver pot, coabout Sicil, L. Cincius, was commanded again vered it with a crown of gold; and so fent to affail the Town of Locri: which might them to young Marcellus, to be by him inwell enough be forced, if Hannibal continued | terred, where he thought good. as he began, to trifle away the time at Venufia. To the same purpose a part of the Garri- himself, how that the signet Ring of Marfon that lay in Tarentum, was appointed to go cellus was faln into the custody of Hanniby land to the affiltance of Cincius. But Han- | bal; who might use it to his own purposes, nibal had an eye behind him. He laid an am- ere that which had hapned were well known bush in the way, between Tarentum and Lo- abroad. Wherefore he sent word unto all cri, whereinto the Romans fell: and having the Towns about; that his Colleague was lost above three thousand of their Company, slain, and that Hannibal had gotten his Ring: were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their wishing them in that regard, to give no creenterprise, and save their own lives within dit unto any letters therewithal figned This Turentum. As for the Confuls, it was the defire providence of Crispinus was not more than

Presently after this, Crispinus bethought

requisite. For his messenger was but a little | not to commit their Army unto rash heads. fenger arrived there fent from Hannibal, C. Claudius Nero, was the most eminent. He that had therein been betrayed. The salapi- ing the beginning of this War. After their ans hereupon bethought themselves, how to Consulship, wherein they did good service, back the Messenger, which was a Roman su- judgment by the people : and this Livius gitive, without letting him perceive any condemned; Amilius hardly escaping. pared all things in a readiness, for the enter- | yet I cannot forbear to remember it again: tainment of such a friend. Late in the night | how it pleased God to upbraid the unthankhe came thither; with a troup of Roman fu- ful Romans, with the malicious judgment, gitives armed Roman-like, leading the way. given by their multitude upon honourable These all talking Latine together, called unto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for parent, what lamentable effects the memory the Consul was there. The gate was opened of their injustice wrought: when L. Emilius fair and leisurely, and the Port-cullis drawn rather chose to yield to the froward ignoup no higher than needs it must be, to let rance of his Colleague; and afterward to them enter. But when fix hundred of them | die in the greatest overthrow that ever fell were gotten in, down fell the Port-cullis | upon the State of Rome, than by refishing the again: and they that thought to have taken | pernicious courses of Terentius Varro, to cast others, were taken themselves; being laid himself anew upon the danger of the populy made an end with them.

this stratagem, hasted away to Locri; where- | years together after his condemnation, had unto Cincius the Admiral of the Roman fleet he been absent out of the City, and lived about Cicil, did lay hard fiege. The first ap- in his Country Grange; still vexing himpearance of the Numidians, Hannibal his felf with the indignity of his condemnation. Vanteurrors, made the Romans in all confu- Marcellus and Lavinus, being Confuls two fed hafte, run to their ships: leaving all their or three years ago, had brought him into engines, and whatsoever was in their Camp, Rome: where he lived private in disconto the enemies disposition.

dents, sent unto Crispinus the surviving Con- of his long hair and beard; which in that ful, and requested him to name a Dictator | time were the badges of men afflicted. Very that might take charge of the Common- lately he was compelled by the Cenfors, to Magistrates, with other business; whereunto where he used to sit silent, and signifie his himself was disabled by his hurts. He did so: affent or dislike to what was proposed, eiand soon after died. Then was it thought ther in short formal words, or in passing needful, that new Consuls should be chosen from fide to side, when the house was dividout of hand: forasmuch as two Roman Are ed. At length it hapned, that in some business mies lay so near unto the Enemy, without weightily concerning one that was his kinf-any General. Especially it was desired, that man; he stood up and made a set speech: Election flould be made of fuch men as whereby he drewall the Fathers to attentiwere not only valiant, but well advised:
on; and bade them enquire of him, and take
fince the best, and most fortunate of their
great Darers, M. Marcellus, by losing himself
the control of the sent the sent was much altered fince

before come to Salapia, when another Mef- Among those that stood for the Consulship, bringing letters in the name of Marcellus, and was of great Nobility, a good Souldier, and fealed with the captive Ring; whereof the one, whose many services in this present contents were: That it was his purpose to War, did forcibly commend unto the place come the same night unto Salagia; where Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison whose temper needed the allay of a more should be in a readiness, for such imploy- staid wit. The fathers therefore endeavourment as he should think needful. The device ed to joyn unto him in the Consulship, M.Liwas plain, and no lefs plain was the revenge-ful minde which he bare against that City; long before. This M.Livius had been Conful because of his brave Numidian companies with L. Amilius Paulus, in the year foregotake their enemy in his own snare. They sent they had both of them been called into fign of distrust in them. This done, they pre- Though it hath been once already noted; at on all hands by the Salapians, that quick- lar fury. As for M. Livius, he is even now ready, and will so continue, to tell the peo-Hannibal being thus over-reached with ple of their faults in a divers manner. Eight tented fort, as might appear, both by his The Roman Senate hearing of these acci- carelesses in apparel, and by the wearing wealth, and dispatch the election of new | poll his hair, and come into the Senate: fo strangely, had given them a fair warning, he had left it; many brave men were lost;

20 fill up the number, than to answer to the had, four served in Spain, two in Sicil, and dignity of the place: and they that were two in Sardinia: the reft were so disposed left of ancient standing, had even spent their in several parts of Italy, where need seemed Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore all to require, that only two Legions were left began to fay; that it was great pitty, so wor- to each of the Confuls. But the Confuls were thy and able a man as this Livins, had been men of execution; and would not be tyed to all this while forgotten; one of whom the the punctual observance of what the Senate Common-wealth stood in great need, yet thought fit. M. Livius would not stir out had not used in this dangerous war. Now of Rome, against so mighty a power as followfeeing that the Confuls ought, one of them, ed Afdrubal, until he had first obtained. to be chosen a Patrician, the other of necessity that he might carry with him as many as ty a Plebeian: and fince neither Fabius, nor could well be spared from other employ-Valerius Lavinus, being both of them Patricians, could be joyned with Claudius Nero: fen Companies. It was true, that two Legions every one was of epinion, that there could appointed to ferve under Lucius Porcius a not be chosen and coupled together, two Prætor of that year, among the Cifalpine fitter men than C. Claudius, and this Marcus | Gauls, might be reckoned as an additament Livius, But Livie would not endure to hear to the forces of Livius; to whom the War of this. He said it was unreasonable, that one against Afdrubal was allotted. So might also condemned as a dishonest man, should after- two other Legions, that were among the wards be chosen Ruler of the City. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulthip, what meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phrases he refifted their defires : till by periwafions, and cial inftance of Livie, did obtain, that all examples rehearfed, of fuch as had patiently digested injuries done by the people, and repayed good for evil; he was contented to ac-

Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblem, with which Themistocles checked the ingratitude of the Athenians: resembling himself to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men break in fair weather; but run under it for shelter in a storm. Such of the City; each his several way. The unthankfulnefs, to well-deferving men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto lius Paulus, and C. Terentius Varro, were sent much unlike, of Philip the second King of against Hunnibal. They did no longer take Spain his dealing with the Duke of Alva. For upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid although he had committed the Duke to them dispatch, and win the victory betimes: prison, upon some small offence conceived, but rather they stood in fear, lest all diliwithout all regard of his former deferts: gence, wildom and valour should prove too yet when his intended Conquest of Portugal, little. For fince few years had passed, whererequired the service of a man, more than or- in some one of their Generals had not been dinarily fufficient; he stood no longer upon | slain; and since it was manifest, that if etthe feanning of late displeasures; but em- ther of these present Consuls were deseated, ployed the same Duke, whom he had newly or put to the worst; the two Carthaginians difgraced. Thus is wisdom often taught by would forthwith joyn, and make short work necessity.

C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius were chosen them should return home Victor; and come Confuls. Afdrubal was already come into off with honour, from fuch mighty oppoli-Erance, and waited only, to have the wayes tion, as he was like to find. With extreme of the Alps thawed by warm weather, for difficulty had Rome held up her head, ever his passage into Hals. The Romans used at since the battel of Canne: though it were this time the service of three and twenty Le- so, that Hamibal alone, with little help from gions: and wanted not employment for ma-

new ones were chosen; such as rather served and maintain them. Of these which they ments ; and those, or the most of them, cho-Salentines, near unto Tarentum, under another of the Prætors, be accounted a part of Claudius his Army, that was fent against Hannibal. Nevertheless, the Consuls, by the espemight be left to their own discretion. For news came that Afdrubal was already paffing the Alps; the Ligurians, who dwelt in the Country about Genua, with their neighbour people, were in readiness to joyn with him; and L. Porcius fent word, that he would adventure no further, than he fafely might. When all was ordered as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth people of Rome were now quite otherwise affected, than they had been, when L. Amiwith the other: it feemed a greater happi-It was a dangerous year toward, when ness than could be expected, that each of ny more, if they had known how to levy But there was now arrived another son of

Amilear; and one, that in his prefent Expe- | Brother of Hamibal it was thought needful, this Afdrubal in the same places, had multithe last year; but saw neither of them return sent away all his mony with the Elephants alive, from a less dangerous War. Particu- before him: but stay'd behind himself to ly, old Q. Fabius gave his accustomed ad- sustain the Romans a while, until his carvice to M. Livim, that he should abstain riages might be out of danger. Herein he from giving, or taking bat:el, until he well had his defire. Afterwards, he gathered his understood the Enemies condition. But the broken troops together; and retyred in such Conful made him a froward answer, and fort, that Scipio thought it not good to purfaid, that he would fight the very first day: sue him, and so passed over Tagus. Then for that he thought it long, till he should taking unto him the forces assigned for his either recover his honour by victory; or by expedition, he marched away toward the feeing the overthrow of his own unjust Ci- Pyrences: leaving the care of Spain unto his tizens, satisfie himself with the joy of a great, Brother Mago, and to Askrabal the Son of ing was better than his words.

inage, cident: Afarubal had wrestled with many ment, Coming into Gaul, and following the m difficulties in Spain; by reason of those Cap- steps of his Brother Hannibal: he found the courfes undertaken, it cannot be known; of the Alps were closed up with Ice and us remaining only a few broken pieces. But over the Alps, were eafily won to take part by the spightful dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicil* with *Astarubal*, when he travelled thorow

dition, had seemed a man of more sufficien- by these mischievous Partizans of Hanno, to ey than Hannibal himself. For whereas in lufe the violent opposition of more carnest that long and dangerous march, thorow malice. Nevertheless, Afarubal was a good barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Patriot; and therefore endured patiently Mountains, that were thought unpaffable, such indignities, as Elutines could not long Hannibal had loft a great part of his Army: digeft. His Journey into Italy being refolved upon: he lay with part of the Army at plied his numbers; and gathering the people, Betula, not far from the Mines of Silver; that he found in the way, defeended from whence he was to furnish his Expeditions. the Alrs like a rowling Snow-ball, far grea- Thither came scipio; and drave him out of ter than he came over the Pyrenees at his his Camp; though he were strongly lodged, first setting out of Spain. These considerati- before the other Carthaginian Captains ons, and the like, of which fear presented could, or would come to his affiltance. The many unto them; caused the people of Rome, overthrow seems not to have been so great, to wait upon their Confuls out of the Town, as it must have been supposed, if no way lay like a pensive train of Mourners: thinking open to those that fled. Rather it appears, upon Marcellus and Crispinus; upon whom that Asdrubal dealt like a provident man, and in the like fort they had given attendance feeing that his Camp was likely to be forced, though not an honest revenge. But his mean- Gesco; that thought himself the sittest man for the administration thereof. Fain would Of the overthrow that Asilrubal received Scipio have stopped him on his Journey, by in Spain by Scipio, a little before he took his fending to defend against him the ordinary Journey into Italy; such mention hath al- way of the Mountains. But whether Afdruready been made, as agreed with the report | bal took another way, or whether he forced of that noble Historian Livie. Yet I think it the guards that scipio had set to keep the not amiss to add in this place, what may be Pyrenees (as the defence of hard passages be gathered out of the remaining fragments commonly forts to no good effect) he was of Polybius his History concerning that ac- not letted in his voyage by any such impeditains that were sent from the City of Car. Nations that lay in his way so well affected, thage, to joyn with him in the administration either to him or to his mony, that no passaof that Province: they being, as it may ges were defended against him, nor any fort feem, of the Hannonian faction; which is to of refiftance made, but he, and his Army fay, thus far forth Traytors, that they pre-ferred the advantage of their own fide, be-creafed, by access of fuch as were defirous fore the good of their Common-wealth. In to take his pay. Of these he had the better what particulars they wronged this worthy choice: for that he was driven to winter Son of Amilear, and how they hindred his in their Country; whilst that the passages fince of those Books, wherein Polybius hath Snow. The Mountainers likewise, that had exactly handled these matters, there are to so greatly molested Hannibal in his Journey with Mutines, a better man of War than him-their Country. For these poor men, at the felf, whom Hannibal had fent into the first coming of Hannibal, were verily perswa-Island: we may conceive, that against the ded, that it was his purpose to rob them of

little wealth which they had painfully ferato fight. It feemed perhaps unto Hannibal, ped together out of the defolate rocks. But who knew the Country very well; that his now in process of time, they were better in- Brother might with little impediment, overformed. Therefore, understanding that come the way to Canussium: where, if he there were two mighty Cities, far dif-joyned could once again deal with both the Conafunder, which made War upon each other, fuls, and all the Roman forces together, he by Land and Sea; and that the Alps did only lye in the way: they gladly condescend- as once he had gotten in the same openCouned to take their part in the fortune of the try. If this had so faln out; Rome would Invaders. The like affection upon greater have been undone for ever. But the Carthacause, was afterward found in the Cisalpine ginians should not have needed to wish any Gauls. The Ligarians also joyned with second victory, in the naked Campans about Afdrubal: and so would the Hetrurians have Canne; if such as Army an this which Afdrudone, if he had arrived in their Country. There was no other Roman Army near, than bal, when he was in his full strength; and the L. Portius with his two Legions; of whom Romans not able to keep the field. Wherethere was no great fear. Therefore did of fore this worthy General had good reason drubal set upon Flacentia, a Koman Colony: afterward to say that Hanno was the man, in hope to make his coming the more ter- who by delaying the supply, did beat him rible, by the destruction of that Town. But out of Haly; which eile no power of the there he lost a great deal of time, and final-Romans could have done. Iy was driven to quit the enterprise: by undertaking which, he gave the Roman ans, and thought it enough to hinder them Consuls leisure to make ready for him; and from meeting with the Army that was comcaused his Brother Hannibal (who upon ing to their succour: he was advertised of the first bruit of Asdrubal he so timely, and Asdrubal his approach; by Letters and Mefeafily passing the Alps, was about to leave sengers intercepted, as they were going to his wintring Camps, and go forth to meet with him) to fit ftill a while, as well aware, had left the fiege of Placentia, and drew onthat Placentia would not be taken in wards apace: being already come within

and ftop him from joyning with his Brother. Nero was nothing joyful. For if Hamnibal He had about forty thouland foot, and five could once be joyned as head unto that great hundred horse: with which he daily offer- body of an Army, which Afdrubal brought ed battel to the Carthaginians; and had of with him: it was most apparent, that howhim the better in many (kirmilhes. Hannibal) foever the fortune of Rome (hould avoid, for was once driven to make a tedious march the present, any great calamity; yet the vefrom the borders of the Salentines and Apulians, unto the Country of the Brutians, there to encrease his forces; which were otherwifetoo weak for the Journey intend- twelve of the thirty Roman Colonies had ed. Afterward coming to Grumentum, a Town of the Lucans; he there fought unprosperoully with Nerothe Consul. Never- ture, than to suffer the conjunction of two theles, he got off, and marched away to Vennsta. But Nero followed him, and had there fluence, if not on the sudden, yet within few again the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to return to Metapontum. where effects.It feemed apparent, that his Colleague joyning with Hanno, that had made ready a good Army, he affayed again, to make way neither were there any good Legions in a by force to his Brother. So he passed on readiness, that could do service in such a ward, and came again to Venusia, having needful case; excepting those, that were al-Nero (till at his heels. Thence went he over ready imployed under the two Confuls. had obtained his most memorable victory, charge, which was the war against Hami-There also did Nero sit down by him; and bal: but rather that it behoved him, to help

their cattel; and to make fooil of that both of them refted, without making offer bal now brings, had come to second Hanni-

Whilst Nero waited upon the Carthaginitwo hundred miles of his Brother; notwith-C. Claudius Nero the Roman Conful, made | flanding all opposition that could be made what fpeed he could to meet with Hamibal, by Livie the Conful. Of these news Claudius ry continuance of fo strong a war at home, would enforce the Latines, and other faithful Affociates, to faint under the burden; as already done. Wherefore he refolved, that it were better to make any desperate advenfuch malevolent Planets: whose pestilent inyears, was like to work most lamentable. was unable to stay the progress of Afdrubal: the River Auffelus, to Canussum, where he sate Hereupon he concluded, that it was not down, not far from the place, in which he expedient for him to tye himself to his own where more necessity required; and to car- mans to come to battel, having long de-

Ty part of his forces unto his Colleague. This fired it, and hitherto not found occasion becould not be without much danger. Yet forc. But when he had put his men in order, fince the meeting of the two Carthaginian and was riding before the head of his Army, Brethren, was far more dangerous to the to behold the Enemies countenance: it Roman Common-wealth: it feemed the best seemed to him, that they were more than way to put Fortune in trust, with that they had been; and some of their arms and which was of the less importance. Six thou- horses looked as though they had wanted find foot, and a thouland horse he therefore dreffing, after a long Journey. Hereupon he took, that were the very choice of his Ar- began to withdraw his Army back into the my: and making flew, as if he would on-ly step aside, to do some small piece of ser-ners could be taken, by whom he might be vice near at hand; away he posted as fast as certified of the truth; yet should there good he could, to affift his fellow-Conful. His observation be made, whether the Enemies Messengers ran before him, to give warning | Camp were enlarged, or no; or what other to all Towns by which he was to pass, alteration could be noted, that might shew that they should be ready to meet him with their forcesto be encreased. The Camp, as victuals, and all other necessaries for his hath been said, was not extended: but the Army. Livius the other Conful, at that trumpet, that founded only once in the time, lay encamped near unto Sena Gallica; Quarter of L. Porcius the Prætor, did now, and Afdrubal, within half a mile of him. In contrary to former custom, sound twice in fix dayes Nero had finished his Journey thithe Quarter of Livius the Consul. Hereat After and when he drew near, sent Messender drubal greatly mused: and being well acgers before him, to give notice of his com-quainted with the Roman orders, held this ing. Livie thought it fittest that he should for a sure token, that the other Consul was ftay in some place of covert until dark night, there arrived. How this might be, if Hanniand then enter secretly into the Camp: lest balwere alive, and in good case, he was not the Enemy, perceiving this access of able to conjecture: but thought it the best strength, should accordingly frame his coun- way, to go leisurely to work, till he might fels. This was done; and a token given, that be better informed. Upon confidence in his the Colonels, Captains, and all Souldiers, as own forces, he had not cared hitherto, well horse as foot, that Nero had brought how near he lay to the Romans; nor trouwith him, should be lodged and entertained led himself perhaps with over-strongly forby men of their own fort. Their Company tifying his own Camp. Yet when he now was somewhat increased by Voluntaries that perceived, that somewhat was fallen out joyned with him on the way. Nevertheless befide his expectation, he changed his reso-it was not needful that the Quarter which lution; and held it no dishonour to remove received them, should be enlarged; since a little further off. So he dislodged secretly they had brought with them nothing but by night, intending to get over the River their arms. The next day they held a Metaurus; whereby to keep himself as long Counsel of War: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new arrived whether it were so, that his guides did steal Companies to refresh themselves a few days away from him in the dark, so that he could after their weary Journey, before they not find the way to the Foords; or whether should be drawn forth to battel. But against his carriages were too heavy, and hindred this, Nero was very earnest: and befought his speed: far he had not gone, ere the Conhis Colleague, to make use of him out of ful Nero was at his heels with all the Roman hand; that he might betimes return to his horse, and stayed him from passing any furown Camp, ere Hannibal should have no ther. Soon after came L. Porcius with the tice of his absence. The Souldiers also of light armature: whom the other Consul Nero were full of spirit; pereceiving that followed anon with all the Legions; in the honour of the victory was like to be good order, and ready for battel. Afdribal, theirs: forafmuch as the battel would not feeing himfelf overtaken with necessity to have been undertaken, without this their fight, omitted no care and circumspection. coming to help. Finally, it was agreed when His Gauls, in whom he repoted leaft confithe Counsel brake up, that the sign of bat- dence, he placed in his left wing upon a tel should be hung out; which was com- Hill, which the Enemy should not, withmonly a Purple Coat over the Generals Pa- out much difficulty, be able to climb: in the right wing he ftood himfelf with his Afdrubal was no less willing than the Ro- Africans and Spaniards; his Ligurians he

placed

placed in the midst, and his Elephants he be-the guide had in readiness a Mallet and a frowed in the front of his battels. On the Chizzel, wherewith he gave them a stroke Roman fide, Nero had the leading of the between the ears, in the joynt of the neck, right wing, Livius of the left, and Porcius of next unto the head, wherewith he killed the the battel. Both Romans and Carthaginians beafts upon a fudden. This speedy way of well underftood, how much depended uppreventing fuch harm as the Elephants, beon the fortune of this day; and how little ing hurt, were wont to do to the squadrons hope of fafety there was unto the vanquish-following them, is said to have been the deed. Only the Romans herein seemed to have vice of Afdrubal himself, who dyed in this had the better in conceit and opinion ; that | battel. they were to fight with men defirous to have they were to ngut with men demous to have fled from them. And, according to this pre-bal, both by *Polybins*, and by *Livie*. He is fumption, came Livius the Conful with a faid at all times to have shewed himself worproud bravery, to give charge on the Afri- thy of Amilear his Father, and Hamibal his cans, by whom he was so sharply entertained, Brother; to have striven with great patience that the victory scemed very doubtful. The against many difficulties, whereinto he fell Africans and Spaniards were front Soul- by the means of those Captains that were diers, and well acquainted with the manner fent from Carthage into spain; to have perof the Roman fight. The Ligurians also were | formed in this last battel all duties of a wora hardy Nation, and not accustomed to give thy General; and finally, when he saw the ground; which they needed the less, or were los irrepairable, to have ridden manfully able now to do, being placed in the midft. Li- into the thickest of his Enemies; where, wins therefore, and Foreins found strong fighting bravely, he was slain. Of the numopposition: and with great slaughter on ber that died with him in this battel, the reboth fides, prevailed little or nothing. Befides port of Livie and Polybius do very much difother difficulties, they were exceedingly agree. For Livie faith, that the Charthagitroubled by the Elephants, that brake their nians had no less an overthrow, than was first ranks; and put them in such disorder, as that which they gave to the Roman at Canthe Roman Enfigns were driven to fall back. | ne: that fifty fix thouland of them were All this while Claudius Nero, labouring much | flain, five thousand and four hundred taken in vain against a steep Hill, was unable to come to blows with the Gauls, that flood Citizens, whom they had captives with opposite unto him, but out of danger. This them, delivered, and set at liberty. He saith made Asdrubal the more confident; who, also, that of the Romans and their Associates feeing his own left wing fafe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the booty, that it was exceeding great not only other fide, upon the left wing of the Ro- in other kinds, but in gold and filver. Conmans. But Nero perceiving that the place cerning the booty, Polybius hath no mention wherein he ftood, was fuch as would com- of it. Likely it is to have been as rich as Lipel him to remain idle till the fight were vie reporteth it; for Afdrubal came well stothem round behind the forces of Porcius and desire to make this battel of Metaurus, a paevery fide, the greatest part was flain. The the honour of themselves, and of their Ligurians and Gauls escaped as they could; Country, above their lives. the Elephants, four were taken alive: the Rome, than had been the fear of the event. and faved themselves by timely slight. Of rest were slain: some by the Enemies wea- For ever since it were known in what sort pons, others by their own guides that rode Nero had left his Army, the whole City was them. For when any of them, being fore troubled, as much as lately at Hannibal his

Great commendations are given to Aldruprisoners, and above four thousand Roman there were flain eight thousand: and of the ended; took a part of his forces, and led red with mony. But Polybius (who had no Livius: which having compassed, he fell rallel unto that of Canna) reports no more upon Asdrubal, and charged him in the than about ten thousand of the Carthaginian flank. Here began the victory to be mani- fide; and two thousand of the Roman, to have fest on the Roman side. For Nero, sinding been slain. The number of the prisoners he none to relift him in front, ran all along the doth not mention : but only faith, That some depth of Aldrubal his battel; and falling up of the Carthoginian Princes were taken on the skirts thereof, disordered the Ene alive; and that all the rest died in the batmies, and put all to rout. Of the spaniards tel. Whereby it may feem that they were therefore and Africans, that were laid at on all Barchines: for a for a finishment as they preferred

The joy of this victory was no less in wounded, began to wax unruly, and ruth coming thither. Men thought it strange, that back upon their own battels following them, the Conful should make such a great adven-

ture, as thus to put the one half of all the wards to flow, till it could not be contained Vows and Prayers; and the Senators were would believe it. Afterwards, when Messenonly great and joyful concourse of all sorts

openly the head of Afdrubal before the Car- very well discharge the place. For this cause enough to certifie Hannibal of the miladven- well deserved. But for a fmuch as it was well ture, without doing wrong to the dead known, what interest Nero had in the late body of Asdrubal: especially since Hanni- victory:order was so given, that not only Libal, in honourable, and far different vie with his Army should come home; but manner, had given burial to Gracchus and likewife Nero, though leaving his Army be-Marcellus; yea, to all the Roman Generals, | hind him, to confront Hannibal. So the howhose carkasses fell into his hands. But it nour of triumph was granted to them both: may feem, that howfoever the People of in the pomp whereof, Livie made the grea-Carthage wanted much of the generous dif- ter shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followposition, which was found among the Ro- ed by his Souldiers; because in his Province, mans, in their love unto the Common-weal: and upon his day of command, the victory yet in dealing with enemies, they were far was gotten: his Army also being present at more civil, and less prone to the infolency tye triumph. But Nero that rode on horseof revenge. The best excuse of this outrage back, and without such attendance, was the done by Nero, is that he hoped much more | more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, by whom, the victory was in a manner wholthan by the simple relation of that which ly ascribed unto his great worth. Neither passed, to make a deep impression of fear wanted L. Veturius Philo, and Q. Cecilius Meinto the Carthaginians. It may also be tellus, Lieutenants to the Generals, the due faid, That he forgot himself, being over-joyed with the greatness of his prosperity. For they were commended unto the People, For it was the battel of Metaurus that as men worthy to be chosen Consuls: and weighted down the ballance, and turned the | Confuls they were chosen for the year fol-

Roman forces unto hazzard of the Dice.For within any banks: Hannibal having loft in what if Hannibal should chance to have no- this unhappy fight (besides the worthy Gentice of this his departure, and either purfue tleman his brother) all the hope that so him, or fet upon the Army that staid behind, long sustained him in Italy, withdresy himself much weakned, and without a General? into the Country of the Brutians: and this Thus did they talk; yet referving their ther he caused all the Lucans, that were of censure unto the success; with liberty to ap- his party, to remove; as likewise all that prove or condemn, according to the iffue. In dwelt in Metapontum. For he wanted men to the mean time the people filled the Market- defend so many places, as he held at the place, the Women ran to the Temples with present, because they lay too far asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a leffer daily in counsel, waiting still ready at hand compass, in the utmost corner of Italy, it beupon the Magistrates; as if some great mat- ing a country of much fastness, and the peoter were likely to fall out, that would ask ple exceedingly devoted to his service. In every ones help. In brief, they were all so this business Nero gave him no memorable full of melancholy, that when the first news impediment : either because Hannibal was of victory came, there were not many that too strong for him, having all his forces united; or because it is likely that this remove gers arrived from the Confuls, with Letters of the Lucans and Metapontines, was not becontaining all that had passed, there was not fore the end of Summer, when their harvest was gathered in: at what time the Senate of men unto the Temples, but the very face | called him home to Rome. M. Livius the other of the City was altered; and men from Conful tarried among the Cifalpine Gaules thenceforth began to follow their private until the end of summer; there to set things business; making contracts one with ano- in such order, as he thought requisite: which ther (which they had long forborn to do) done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there & attending their own affairs in fuch wife, as was no more need of him and his Army in if Hannibal were already driven out of Italy. | that Province, but that L. Porcius, with the Nero returning to his camp, threw forth two Legions that were there before, might thaginians: and producing his African pri- he defired leave to return home; and that foners bound, fent two of them loofe to he might bring his Army with him. The give Hannibal notice of what had hapned. Senate well understood his meaning: which These two pisoners might have served well was to have the honour of triumph as he Tide of the Roman fortune: which being lowing. But nothing was done by them, then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not after- worthy of memory in their Consulship. Nei-

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thirteenth of the present war, until the nia (which is now Portngal) whither the eighteenth year wherein it ended, was Romans had ill means to follow; being althere any matter of importance wrought in together unacquainted in those parts. Maeo Italy fave only the taking of Lecri from the had foon ended his business, and returned Carthaginians by furprile. For Hannibal into Spain: where he met with one Hanno wanted (trength, wherewith to make any (the lame perhaps that had lately been imgreat offer; and the Romans had little mind ployed in sicil) who brought new forces to provoke him, but thought it well that he out of Africk; and came to succeed in was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived place of Afdrubal the Barchine. It is not unof him, that though all about him went to likely that Spain was now the better, and ruine, yet in him alone, they thought there more readily furnished with men and all was force enough to hold himself upright, things needful from Carthage: when that for And furely, very notable are the commen- of Amilear, whose authority had been greatdations given unto him by Polybius, whom eft, was thence departed. For hereby might Livie therein follows. That making war up- the factious diligence of old Hanno approve on a People, of all other the most war-like, it felf, against that noble race of Warriors; he obtained fo many victories by his own when it should appear, that things did progood conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of fo many fundry Nations, Africans, Spaniards, Gaules, Carthaginians, Italians and Greeks, which were neither in Language, Laws, Conditions, or any other confidence in the forces that he brought thing, one like to another; he held them all in over: Hanno took the field, and led Mago with fuch good order, that they never fell to fedi- him; as purpofing afresh to fet upon the Rotion among themselves, or against their Ge mans. So he entered into the country of the neral. But that which Livie adds hereto, is Celtiberians, not very far from new Canthage: yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he where, by money and over perfwafions, he fustained his Army, without help from other levied above nine thousand men. places, from this time forward, upon the hungry soil of the Brutians: which when it was himself in the Eastern parts of Spain: attenbest manured in time of peace, could hardly tive, as it may seem to the proceedings of fuffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It's there- Afdrubal, the fon of Amilear; against, whom fore apparent, that by his proper worth and he is reported by some Writers to have sent vertue, he kept his Army in such order and part of his forces into Italy, of to the affiobedience, rather than by any greatness of stance of C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius the reward and booty; fince after the death of Confuls. But hearing of the levy made by Afdrubal, he made no invasion upon the Hanno and Mago among the Celtiberians, he wealthier parts of Italy; but held himself still fent M. Syllanus the Propretor, with ten among the poor Brutians. Where we must thousand foot, and five hundred horse. sylleave him; until he be drawn into Africk by lanus got intelligence by some fugitive celti-Scipio; whose doing will henceforth enter- berians, who became his guides, that their

ø. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio the Roman made entire conquest of Spain.

†. I.

from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.

when Afdrubal the fon of Amilear depart- among whom, Hanno had the ill luck to be ed thence into Italy. These agreed toge- taken prisoner; though he kept himself out ther, that Mago should make a voyage to of the fight until all was lost. As for the Cellithe Baleares; there to levy a supply of men; berians, they knew better how to make shifts

ther indeed from this year, which was the and Afdrabal withdraw himself into Lustrafper much the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon defire to make good fome fuch opinion raifed of him at home, or whether upon

P. Scipio in the mean while contained tain, and lead us unto the end of this War. | Countrymen incamped apart from the Carthaginians in great disorder: as men searing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neer to these Celtiberians ; and falling upon them on the sudden, gave them such an overthrow, that Hanno and Mago coming to their fuccour, instead of heartning and re-inforcing them, became partakers of the loss. How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio Mago faved himself with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand: and in ten dayes journey Ago and Astrubal the son of Gesco, brought them safe to Astrubal. The rest of took upon them the charge of spain, the Africans were either flain or taken: and faved most of themselves by running in- relying upon those, that might perhaps beto the woods.

CHAP. III.

ttaly frood, by the coming thither of Afdru- Winter, to raise three thousand foot, and five bal, Ten thousand foot, and eighteen hun-hundred horsefor his service: he resolved to dred horse he did therefore send out of make use of those, and some few others, that spain (as it is reported by some Authors to might help to make a shew; and yet not be the defence of his own Country; or was per- able to do any great harm, if they would haps, about to fend them : and thereupon re- revolt. So with five and forty thousand mained at new Carthage, intentive to the foot, and three thousand horse, he sought necessity and success of his Country-men at out the Enemy; near unto whom he inhome. But when he had word of the great | camped. At his first coming, Mago and victory at Metaurus, which fell out long be- Majanissa fell upon him; with hope to take forethe end of the Summer, then might he him unprepared, whilft he was making well adventure, to take in hand the entire his lodgings. But he laid certain troops of conquest of Spain; which must needs be horse in covert: which, breaking upon much alienated from the Carthaginians, by them unexpected, caused them to fall off. the report of such an overthrow. The spa- They made at first an orderly retreat: but nish Souldiers that served under Hannibal, being more hardly pressed, they shortly & those that had been sent over into Africk, betook themselves to plain slight. After this were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Country was held obnoxious to the Cartha- the Romans, and abated the prefumption of ginians. But when it was roifed abroad, that the Carthaginians, there were daily fkirall which had followed Asdrubal into Italy, mishes between the horse and light armawere fallen into the hands of the Ro- ture, on both fides; wherein was nothing mans; and that Hannibal with his Army done of importance. Asdrubal drew forth his was closed up in a straight, whence he could Army, and arranged it before his Trenches: not get out: then did it greatly behove the the like did scipio; each of them to shew Spaniards to conform themselves unto the that he durst fight, yet not proceeding any will of the Victors. That it was the fuc- farther. Thus they continued many dayes: cess of things in Italy, which gave such considence unto Scipiosit was the more probable, in the morning; and the first that, in the because he took not this great enterprise in evening, withdrew himself into his Trenches. hand, until the Summer was almost spent. The Spanish Auxiliaries were placed on both Asdrubal therefore used the benefit of the sides in the wings; the Carthaginians were feafon; and by disposing his Army into ma- in the midst, with their Elephants before ny Garrisons, hindered the Enemy from do- them; and opposite to these on the other side ing any great exploit before winter. So the were the Roman Legions. When they had in very length of way, and the time of the year, this order confronted one another, though caused Scipio to return back: without any at far distance, many dayes together: it other matter performed, than that his Bro-ther L. Scipio took by-affault the Town of should shortly meet in the same form; and

him on the other fide very doubtful of order at the Hill foot, upon which he

tray him in his greatest need. Yet since one It could no otherwise be, but that Scipio Colchus, that was Lord of eight and was much troubled with the danger wherein twenty Towns, had promifed him the laft incounter, which added fome courage to Afdrubal being still the first that issued forth be matched on each part, with the enemies Against the next years danger, Asdrubal long before defigned. But Scipio, when he prepared a great Army: and spared not cost, | purposed indeed to fight, altered the form of nor travel, in strengthening himself, for the his Army; and withall, came forth earlier tryal of his last fortune in Spain. With than he had been wont. He caused his men feventy thousand foot, four thousand horse, and horses to be well fed betimes in the and two and thirty Elephants, he took the morning before day: and then fent forth his field : which number I believe, that he could horse and light armature, to train out the hardly have raised, without boldly deny- Carthaginians with their bellies empty:using ing the truth of those reports that came herein the same trick, whereby he might refrom Italy. Scipio thought his Roman Legions member that Hannibal had beaten his Fatoo weak to incounter with fuch a multi- ther in the battel of Trebia. His Roman Legitude. Wherefore he judged it needful to use ons he bestowed in the wings; his Spaniards the help of his Spanish friends. But the death in the battel. Asdrubal sent forth his horse in of his Father and Uncle, that were cast away all haste, to entertain the Romans; whilst by the treason of such false Auxiliaries, made he himself arranged his men, in their wonted

Dddddd 2

incamped.

could not be discerned which part had the kens to no perswasion. The Camp of Asdrabal better: fince, being over-pressed on either had that day been taken, if a storm of rain, fide, they had a fafe retrait unto their foot; which fell violently on the fudden, and bred and one troop seconding another by course, some superstition in the Romans, had not returned to charge. This fight was protra- caused them to give over. cted by scipio to a great length : because his men, having well fed themselves, were like his men; but caused them, hungry, and to hold out better than the enemy. Eut over-laboured as they were, to take pains about noon he caused his wings to advance in fortifying the Camp; wherein he feared to a good pace; leaving their battel of spa- be assaulted. But little assurance could be niards far behind them, that came on lei- have in the strength of his Trenchess, when furely, according to direction. The spanish he had lost the hearts of his spanish souldiers. Mercenaries that flood in Afdrubal his wings, were no way comparable, fave only in num- tani, fled from him to the Romans, with a ber, to the Latine and Roman Souldiers that great Band of his subjects: many followed came against them; for they were fresh Soul- this example; and soon after two strong diers levied in hafte; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged | Garrisons betrayed. It seems that the perverse in front by the Legions, and in flank, at the fortune of this late battel, whereupon Afdrufame time by the Roman Velites, and by some | bal had set his rest, bred in the Spaniards a cohorts, that were appointed to wheel about | disposition, to believe the more easily those for the same purpose, they were forely pref | reports which they heard from Italy. For fed, and with much difficulty made re- henceforward, they never did good office to fiscance. The Carthaginians would fain have the Carthaginians. Asdrubal, perceiving this, fuccoured them; but that they durst not withdrew himself, and marched away faftir out of their places, because of the Spa- | ster than ordinary pace, toward the Ocean nijb battel which was coming against them; Sca. Seipio sollowed the next morning, and though it were as yet far off. Thus the best overtaking the Carthaginians with his horse, part of Afdrubal his Army stood idle, caused them so often to make stand, that adventured to meet with the Spaniards, he | Legions. Here began a cruel flaughter: for must have cast himself into the open space there was no resistance made, but all fell that lay before him between the Roman to rout, fave only seven thousand that with wings: to the depth whereof when he had Afdrubal himself recovered a very strong arrived, he should have found himself in- piece of ground, which they fortified in closed in such fort, as was the Conful Pau- | haste. The place he made shift a while to departs; or those perhaps the more, that were set fail for Gades. When Scipio understood

incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it by the obstinate passion of sear, which hear-

The same night Afdrubal gave no rest to One Attancs, that was Lord of the Turde-Towns were yielded up to Scipio, and the until the wings were broken. For, had he they were at length attached by the Roman lus at the battel of Canna. Wherefore he fend:but wanting there necessaries to sustain did only imploy his Elephants; which did, | himfelf long, he was forfaken by some of according to their manner, no greater harm | those few, that continued hitherto partakers to his Enemies, than to his friends. When of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to they were chafed with wounds, they could make shift for one; and stealing from his no longer be ruled by their guides : but ran, Company by night away to the Sea fide, that as chance led them, and troubled both was not far thence, he took shipping, and the more unwilling to kill them. In pro- that Asdrubal was thus gone, he left syllanus cess of the fight, the Romans, who had well with ten thousand foot, and a thousand refreshed their bodies in the morning, horse, to besiege their Camp (which was not endured lufty; when the others began to taken in haste, for Mago and Masanissa staid faint with travel and heat of the day. in it) whilst he with the rest of the Army, Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they did what was needful in the Country followed it the more hotly; and gave not abroad. It was not long ere Mago and Majaover, till they had forc't the enemy to nassa followed Asdrubal to Gades: and their change his place, and run from him. Afatru- | Army dispersed it self; some slying over to bal did his best to have made an orderly re- the Romans, others taking what way they treat; and afterward again to have caused liked. So upon all the Continent of spain, his men turn head at the Hill foot. But the there were only three Towns left, Illiurgi, Romans would not suffer the victory to be so | Castulo, and Astapa, that made continance of extorted from them: neither was it easie to war against the Romans: of which only Caput fresh courage into the vanquished, led finlo had a Carthaginian Carrison, consisting

of fuch as had faved themselves by slight in of which in all likelihood he might easily be faw lying on the pile ready to melt.

returned home to Carthage, with seven Gal- formance, he as readily brake. lies : leaving Mago behind him, to wait upon occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, syphax, King of the Mafafil, a people of the Numidians; hoping to Funeral games held by Scipio. A Duel between win him to the friendship of the Carthaginians. But he met with Scipio, as it were with his evil Angel, in the Kings port: who landing at the fame time, carried syphax quite another way. For Scipio having driven the Carthaginians out of spain, did forthwith be- year, upon those of Illiturgi, Castulo, and think himself, how to finish the war, by put- Astapa, as hath been said before. The conting them to the like diffres in Africk. Here- quest of the Country being then in a manner unto it seemed that the help of syphax would at an end; he performed at new Carthage, with be much available : a King that had many great folemnity, some Vowes that he had timesfallen out with the Carthaginians, and made, and honoured the memory of his Fa-

the late overthrows. Hereby it feems that moved to feek revenge. He had also been bethe report of those Historians was ill ground-holding to P. and Cn. Scipio, that sent him ed, who said, that Castulo yielded long fince over a Captain into Africk; who instructed unto the Romans; though Hannibal took a him fo well in marshalling his forces, as he wife in that City. For this was one of the last thereby often became victorious. Upon these three towns that held out on the Carthagi-reasons, the Numidian King sent Embassadors mian side. Illiturgi had sometimes been inclin- to Rome, and made league with the City in able to the Romans; if not altogether at time of great extremity. So that hereby P. their devotion. Yet after the death of the Scipio conceived hope of laying a good fountwo elder Scipio's, following too earneftly dation to the War, which he intended in the Carthaginian fortune, it not only rebel- Africk, upon the friendship of this ill neighled, but with great cruelty betrayed and bour to the Carthaginians. For which cause flew the poor men that escaped thither from he sent over C. Lalins his Embassador, to deal the overthrows. Aftapa was a town that still with Syphax: who declaring that the Caradhered to the Garthaginians; and, which thaginians did very ill in Haly, and had nowas worse, had thriven by the spoyl of the thing now at all to do in Spain, easily per-Romans and their Confederates. Wherefore swaded the King to take part with those that (though not untill the next year) Scipio had the better and were without question went against these, and took himself Illitur- his better friends. Only Syphax requested that gi, and Castulo: Illiturgi by assault, and with the Roman General should visit him in pera general flaughter of the Inhabitants; Ca. fon, to conclude the League; by which he fulo, by treason of one Cerdubellus. Astapa was to enter into conditions of more imporwas taken by Lucius Marcius; or rather tance, than in any former Treaty. Hereto destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great scipio condescended; thinking the friend-pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: ship of so great a King, that was neighbour whereinto was thrown all the gold, and fil- to Carthage, and not far distant from Spain; ver, with whatfoever elfe was precious; the well worthy of the adventure. So with two women and children standing by it under a Quinquereme Gallies he took Sea, and arrifure guard, that should kill and burn them | ved in the Kings Port, at the same time with if the Romans got into the Town. This pro- Astrubal. This would have been very danvision being made, all the Inhabitants that gerous unto him, had he been descryed by could bear Arms, rushed forth desperately, his enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven and fell upon the Roman Camp; where stri- they forbare to make offer one upon the ving beyond their power, they were every other. Syphax might well be proud; feeing one flain. Then was the Town forthwith set at one time, two such Captains of two most on fire, by those that had taken charge to do powerful Cities, came to desire his friendit: and many of the Romans confirmed with thip. He would have brought them to treat the flame; whilst they rushed over-hassily of peace: but the Roman excused himself, to catch the gold and filver, which they by want of fuch Commission from the Senate. He feasted them together : and short-Asdrubal being beaten into the Island of ly dismissed scipio, with whom he readily Gades, found no cause of long stay there:but entred into Covenant; which in time of per-

7. II.

two Spanish Princes. A digression concerning Duels;

Ccipio returning into Spain, and refting Othat Winter, took vengeance the next sustained much hurt by their procurement; ther and Uncle, with funeral games, especialCHAP III

to the manner of the times. Neither was it there was a great Combat fought between needful that he should trouble himself with Edmond Ironside, and Canntus the Dane, for preparing flaves for that spectacle, to hazard no less matter than the Kingdom. Theuse their lives, as was used in the City of Rome: of them was very frequent in the Saxon for there were enow, that either offered, times; almost upon every occasion, great themselves as Voluntaries, or were sent from or small. In the reign of Edward the third their Princes, to give proof in fingle combat, who fulfained the party of Mountfort of the valour that was in their feveral Counagainst the Earl of Blogs, contending for the tries. Some also there were, that being in Dutchy of Britain; there was a fight for contention, which they could not, or would honour of the Nations, between thirty of the not otherwise end, agreed to refer the de- Britons, and thirty English: two of which cision of their Controversies, to tryal of the English, were Calverlie, a brave Captain; fword, in fingle fight. Among these, the and that Sir Robert Knolles, who afterwards most eminent, were Corbis and Orsua; Cosen-became a renowned Commander in the germans: that contented for the principa- French wars, and did highly honour his lity of a Town called Ibes. Corbis was the blood, whereof the Lord Knolles is descendelder, and the elder brothers fon: where- ed. It were infinite to reckon the examples fore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of of the like, found in English, French, and Hathe house, after the manner of our Irish lian Histories. Most of them have been Tamftry. But the father of Orsua stood lately combats of bravery, and of gayeté de ceur, as feized of the principality: which though himself received by the death of his elder brother; yet this his fon would not let it go back, but claimed to hold it as heir unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would Scipio have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends and kindred had already laboured in wain, to take up that quarrel; and that neither God nor Man, but only Mars, their god of battel, should be Umpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilful at his weapon, easily vanquished the fool-hardi- | Goliah, or that between the Horatii and Cuness of the younger.

Such combats have been very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kind of fight. We read of many performed before the War of Troy; by Theseus, Hercules, Pollux, and others: as also of two Boulinbrook Duke of Hereford, and Monbray more at the War of Troy, the one between Duke of Norfolk. There was a combat per Rich Paris and Menelaus; the other between formed by Sir John Ansley and one Cattring-Hettor and Ajax. Neither want there ex- ton: whom Ansley charged with treason; and Ansley amples of them among the Hebrews: whereof that between David and Goliah; and others performed by some of Davids Worthies, against those that challenged them, are between a Navarrois, and one Well of greatly celebrated. Unto the same kind appertains the fight between twelve of the treason: but, being beaten in fight, confef-Tribes of Juda, and as many of the Benja- | fed that he had belyed him, and was theremites. The Romans had many of them: fore drawn and hanged. Whether our tryal whereof that was principal, in which they by battel do determine, that the falle accuventured their Dominion upon the heads of fer, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the puthree brethren the Horatii, against the three nishment which had been due to the offenafter, of Valerius Corvinus, with two Cham- if he which is accused of treason, or accord-Roman; were of less importance, as having Rape, or burning of places (offences punish-

ly of those that fought at sharp, according only reference to bravery. In England the French term it; for honour of several Nations; for love of Mistresses; or whatfoever else gave occasion unto men, desirous to fet out themselves. But besides those of this fort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either upon acculation for life, or upon trial of Title and Inheritance, as in Writ of right. And of this latter kind, was that, of which we spake even now, between Corbis and Orfua. Unto these (me thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat upon Wager; fuch as were that between David and ratii: in which without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed between the Lord Henry of proved it upon him, by being victorious. No. 3 The like was fought between Robert of An. 4 Mountfort, and Henry of Effex. The like also, He. 1. Grimsby, whom the Navarrois accused of brethren, Curatii, that were Albans. The der, if the acculation had been proved; I combat of Manlius Torquatus; and shortly cannot affirm. But we every where find, That pions of the Gauls, which challenged any ing to the customs of Normands, of Murder,

is the Appellant or Defendant bound to of Faith, had fent the Lye unto the Emperor hight in person, but he may try it by his Charles the fift, thereby to draw him to a Champion, as did Paramour and Low, or offored to do in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. France, in imitation of their Master, made And in this case, he that is beaten or yeeldeth lofeth only his cause, not his life. Neither it a matter of no small glory, to have it said. are the combats upon accusation, or tryal of That the meanest Gentleman in France right, fought in open field, as are those of would not put up, what the great Emperor bravery; but in Camp close, that is, within Charles the fift had patiently endured. rails. Now this tryal by combat was fo ordipary in France, before the time of S. Lewis and Philip the fair his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Ecclefialtical or Temporal, had power to grant it within his own Jurifsimi-hereby. For in the * Memorials of the Chamthe ber of Accounts, is found an Article to this ef- are founded upon meer private Anger, yea, fect; That if a Combat were once accepted, or upon matter feeming worthy of anger in and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these up, each of the parties should pay two shilbert Archbishop of Sens, and to others; dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea, wherein he rebukes the judgement of their there are (among many no less ridiculous) heali Churches, that had ratified fuch challenges | some so mystical curiosities herein, as that it functionis of combat. But this liberty and kind of tryal, is held a far greater dishonour, to receive some was retrencht by S. Lewis, and Philip the from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, at a fair; for that no man could decree or grant than a found blow with a Sword; the one the state of the s granted, though more sparingly, by the souldier. I confess that the difference is pret-French King, as to the Lord of Carogues, a- ty: though for my own part, if I had had (mitis ad wherein Sir Henry Knevet, Father to the an exchange; and have given him the point him pro. Lord Knevet now living, was Patron to Ro- of honour to boot. Markit, mero that had the victory; and lastly to the Lord of Chaft. Now in those challenges, fence of this terrible word, the Lye; with their was Eule upon accufation of Treason, Murder, or conditions who are commonly of all other other offence deserving death (and in those the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the only) the rule held, That le defendeur effoit most of these, who present death on the &c. tenu de proposer ces deffences par un dementir; points of their swords to all that give it The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by them; use nothing so much in their conversa-

ed by death) be overcome, He shall suffer ment confesser le crime ; silently confess the the pains appointed for those crimes. In com- crime. But after such time as Francis the bats for tryal of right, it is not fo: neither French King, upon some dispute about breach personal combat; every petty companion in giving of the Lye mortality it felf; holding

From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of those occasions that were known to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Tryal of Right, the Wager upon Champions, or the diction. And it seemeth, that the French | Objection and Resultation of capital offen-Kings, and other Lords, made their profit | ces, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of half so many Duels, as dayes, wherein every man takes unto himlings fix pence; but if it were performed, felf a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and then should the party vanquished forfeit an appoint personal combats, the giving of the hundred and twelve shillings. And upon this Lye, which ought to be the Negation only custom grew the French Proverb, which in accusations for life, is become the most they use when as any man hath had an hard | fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held and unjust judgment; saying, That He was a word so terrible, and a wrong so unpartryed by the Law of Loray, or Berne; on le donable, as will admit no other recompence, battupage l'amende, where he that is beaten than the blood of him that gives it. Thus gives the recompence. Of these frequent try- the fashion, taken up in haste by the French als by battel that great learned man Tvo, Bi- Gentlemen, after the pattern of their King, shop of Chartres, did often complain, and is grown to be a custome: whence we have specially against the French Church-men: as derived a kind of Art and Philosophy of appears by * his Letters to the Bishop of quarrel; with certain grounds and rules, Orleans, to the Arch-deacon of Paris, to Rem- from whence the points of honour, and the gainst Jaques le Gris; and to Julian Romero any such Italianated enemy in former times, the Spaniard, against Moro his countriman; I should willingly have made with him such

But let us examine indifferently the ofgiving the accuser the Lye: otherwise it was tion and course of life, as to speak and swear concluded, that the Defendant did taifible- fallly. Yea, it is thereby, that they shift and

few are there among them, which, having af- to tax any man in publike with an untruth fumed and fworn to pay the moneys and (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice other things they borrow, do not break their against whom the untruth is uttered:) But word and promife, as often as they ingage it? all that is rude, ought not to be civillized Nay, how few are there among them, that with death. That were more to admire and are not Lyars by Record, by being fued in imitate a French custome, and a wicked one. fome Court or other of Justice, upon breach than to admire and to follow the counselof of word or bond? For he which hath pro- God. But you will fay, that these discourses mifed that he will pay money by a day, or favour of cowardize. It is true; if you call promifed any thing elfe, wherein he faileth; it cowardize to fear God or hell: whereas hath directly lyed to him to whom the pro- he that is truly wife, and truly valiant, mise hath been made. Nay, what is the pro- knowes that there is nothing else to be fearfession of love that men make now-adayes? ed. For against an Enemies sword, we shall What is the vowing of their fervice, and of find ten thousand feven-penny-men (waged all they have, used in their ordinary comple- at that price in the wars) that fear it as lirments, and (in effect) to every man whom the, or perchance less, than any profest they bid not good morrow, or falute, other Sword-man in the world. Diligentillima in than a courteous and Court-like kind of tutela sui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent lying? It is (faith a wife French man, deri- preserver of it felf. It is (faith Aristotle) a meding therein the Apish custome of his Coun- diocrity between doubting and daring. sitry) un marché & complot fait ensemble, se cut non Martyrem pana; sic nec fortem pugmocquer, mentir, & piper les un les autres ; A na, sed causa : As it is not the punishment kind of merchandise, and complet made among that makes the Martyr: so it is not fighting them, to mock, belye, and deride each other: that declares a valiant man: but fighting in a and so far now-adayes in fashion, and in good cause. In which, whosoever shall resoluse; as he that useth it not, is accounted vedly end his life, resolvedly in respect of either dull or Cynical. True it is notwith- the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, ftanding (omitting the old diffinction) that | Religion, or Countrey: as he may justly be there is great difference between these man- numbred among the Martyrs of God; so nerly and complemental lyes, with those may those that die with malicious hearts, which are sometime perswaded by necessity in private combats, be called the Martyrs upon breach of promise; and those which of the Devil. Neither do we indeed take men use out of cowardize and fear; the lat- our own revenge, or punish the injuries ofter confessing themselves to be in greater | fered us, by the death of the injurious. For awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other | the true conquest of revenge is, to give him, ftiled the most villanous. But now for of whom we would be revenged, cause to the Lye it felf, as it is made the subject of all repent him: and not to lay the repentance our deadly quarrels in effect: to it I fay, of another mans death upon our own con-That whosoever giveth another man the sciences; Animasq; in vulnere ponere; And Lye, when it is manifest that he hath lyed, do drown our souls in the wounds and blood of doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it our enemies. Hereupon you will again ask to be more hainoully taken, than to tell him, | me, if I condemn, in generous and noble fpihe hath broken any promise which he hath rits, the defence of their honours, being otherwise made. For he that promiseth any prest with injuries? I say that I do not, if thing, tels him, to whom he hath promised, the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nathat he will perform it; and, in not per- ture, which is a branch of the Eternal Law: forming it, he had made himselfa Lyar. On and the Laws of all Christian Kings and the other fide, He that gives any man the Lye, States; do favour him that is affailed, in the when he himself knowes that he, to whom it slaughter of the assailant. You will secondis given, hath not lyed; doth therein give ly ask me, Whether a Noble-man, or a the Lye directly to himself. And what cause Gentleman, being challenged by Cartel by have I, if I say that the Sunshines when it one of like quality, be not bound in point doth shine, and that another fellow tels me of honour to satisfie the challenger in pri-I lye, for it's midnight; to profecute fuch an vate combat? I answer, that he is not: beone to death, for making himself a foolish cause (omitting the greatest, which is the Ruffian and a lyar in his own knowledge? point of Religion) the point of the Law is For he that gives the Lye in any other dif- directly contrary and opposite to that, pute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or which they call the point of honour; The Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. Law which hath dominion over it, which

thuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how I will not deny but it is an extream rudeness

publike combat. For as they dared not to the Common-weal. brave the Law; fo did they disdain to submit themselves unto the shameful revenge power to save every mans same and reputathereof; the same revenge (because it dete- tion, as far as reputation may sustain injury steth murder) that hath declared against a by words, I think no man doubteth. For to common Cut-purse or other Theeves: repent us of any evil words that we have Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for fuch offenders yet is not the man-him wrong, unto whom we have flayer freed from his pardon. For these two given them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as remedies hath the party grieved notwith- may fall out, more than fufficient. For he standing; that is, to require justice by Grand that gives ill words in choler, and suddenly Affize, or by battel, upon his appeal, which denyes them, or repents himself of them up-Schwarz (Rith Sir Thomas Smith) is not denyed; and on advisement hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blows, That if the Defendant (to wit, the man | Which are indeed not to be given but to deniand. flayer) be convinced either by great Assize | those that are servile, whether sufficient reor by Battel, upon that appeal; the man-compence will be made for them, it shall apflayer)shall die notwithstanding the Princes pear by a notable example of a most worthy pardon. So favourable (faith the fame learn- | Gentleman Monfier de Plessis, that was strick-Gentleman) are our Princes, and the Law of en in France not long fince by a Baron of the our Realm, to justice & to the punishment of same Nation. The satisfaction which was blood violently shed. It may further be de- given him by a judgement of the Constable manded, how our Noblemen and Gentlemen and Marshals of France, was this In the open shall be repaired in honour, where an ene- Court, wherein the Constable gave judgemy, taking the start either in words or blows ment, M. de Plessis was set in a chair under shall lay on them an infamy unsufferable : the degrees where the Constable and Mar-Hay, that a Marshals Court will easily give shals sate: the Baron, who had given him satisfaction in both. And if we hold it no the blow, did kneel before him on both his difgrace to submit our selves for the recovery knees, holding in his right hand a sword with of our Debts, Goods, and Lands, and for all the point towards himlelf, and in his left things else by which the lives of our selves hand the like cudgel or bastinado, whereour wives, and children, are sustained, to with he had stricken M.de Plessis, both which the Judges of the Law; because it may be weapons he delivered into Plessis hands, subfelony to take by violence even that which mitting himfelf to fuch revenge, as it should is our own: why should we not submit our please him to take with either of those felves unto the Judges of honour in cases of weapons; the Constable and Marshals havhonour; because to recover our reputation ing formerly lest it to the will of Plessis, to by strong hand, may be murder? But yet ule his own discretion in the revenge of his again, it may be objected, That the loss of own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had

can judge it, which can destroy it; except lands, or of our lives; and I say so too. But you will stile those Acts honourable, where what is this honour, I mean honour indeed, the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, fee- and that which ought to be fo dear unto ing the Laws of this Land have appointed us:other then a kind of Hiffory, or fame folthe Hang-man to second the Conqueror, lowing actions of vertue, actions accompaand the Laws of God appointed the Devil nied with difficulty or danger, and under-to-fecond the Conquered, dying in malice: taken for the publick good? In the content of the publick good? Hav, that he is both base and a fool, that is imployed and trusted, if he fail in the peraccepts of any Cartel so accompanied. To formance, either through cowardize, or this, perchance it will be answered, That any other base affection; it is true that he the Kings of England, and other Christian loseth his honour. But the acting of a private Kings, have feldome taken any fuch advan-combat, for a private respect, and most comrage over men of quality, who upon even monly a frivolous one, is not an action of terms have flain their private enemies. It is vertue, because it is contrary to the Law of true, that as in times of trouble and com- God, and of all Christian Kingsmeither is it bustion they have not often done it; so did difficult, because even and equal in persons our Noble-men and Gentlemen in former and arms: neither for a publick good, but ages, in all important injuries, fue unto the tending to the contrary; because the loss or King, to approve themselves by battel and mutililation of an able man, is also a loss to

Now that a Marshal of England hath honour ought to be much more fearful unto reason to please himself, as one beforehand us, than either the loss of our goods, of our in point of honour, (who struck M. de Plessis

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the advantage of company, and his horses than the permission. ready, shifted himself away on the sudden; but being afterwards taken, was taught IV. of France also endeavoured) hath done to repent himself in this shameful manner:) a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in or whether Monfier de Plefsis (of whose scotland, which the most renowned of all valour no mandoubted) had not far just- his Predecessors could never do : in beating er cause to rest satisfied, since he might at down and extinguishing that hereditary his pleasure have beaten or wounded his profecution of malice, called the deadly fendenemy, but forgave him: let any wise man judge. To this, if it be faid, That the Baron was confirmined to make his submission more. And we have cause to hope, that his that his repentance was enforced, and not royal care shall be no less happy in preventvoluntary; and therefore no difgrace unling the like mischief, which threatens Engto him: I answer, that one may fay as well, | land, by the audacious, common, and brave, that it is no difgrace to a Thief, when he yet outragious vanity of Duelifts. is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, be- of man-flaughter, it must be added, That cause his repentance also is constrained. And each of these are of great Latitude, and it is true, that enforced repentance is no worthy of reproof and vengeance proportigrace in respect of a force, but in respect of onably, more or less, in their several degrees, the sast: which (but for our sims to God.) There is much difference between Lies of makes all repentance shameful: because all necessity upon breach of promise, or comforced repentance is inflicted upon us for plemental lies; and fuch pernicious lies, as fomewhat unworthy of a Gentleman, and proceed from fear and cowardize, or are of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance uttered by false witnesses: the former fort it felf, as it hath relation to men, arifeth ei- being excusable by weakness or levity; the ther out of the fear of the ill that may befall latter being altogether detestable. No les, us, or out of the acknowledgement of our if not more, difference there is, between kilown weakness. Certainly as wife men, and ling of a man in open field, with even weavaliant men do rather deride petty injuries pons, and that killing, which the Scriptures or sudden injuries, that are not offered call killing by guile, dolo or per insidia; though from malice fore-thought, than revenge our Laws do not much diftinguish them in them formen, apt to quarrel, do common- | punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaly suspect their own valour; and rather de- king his own priviledge, commandeth that them to be of great daring, than know any from the protection of his Altar. Neither fuch resolution in themselves. For he that is every guilefull murder performed by the knows himself indeed to be an honest man, fword, nor by overt violence : but there is a fcorss to hunt after opinion.

ble and Marshals of France have, hath also a is found, between coming presumptuously every mans reputation may be preserved; we may therefore as well submit our selves to such manner as the net is spread before the the Judge of honour in all disputes of honor, eyes of the Birds. Francis the first, Queen as we do submit our selves in all controver- Mary of England, and the Kings Majesty now fies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of reigning, have given notable teltimony of the Law. And, out of doubt, the infittution of this Court of Chevalrie in England, in France, and elsewhere: was no less charita- King Francis upon the Lord of Talard: who bie than politick. For the blood of man, being (faith the French Historian) de haute violently spilt, doth not bring forth homp bees as that of Euls doth, which sting but the singrandes. alliances; who being of high and an arrange of the state of Euls doth, which sting but the singrandes. gers, or the face:but it produceththat mon- cient linage, and supported by divers great ftrous beaft, Revenge, which hath ftung to alliances, of which the Cardinal of Belloy in death, and eaten up, of feveral nations, fo especial favour with the King) was one; many noble personages; as there is nothing wasnotwithstanding delivered over into the more lamentable, nor more threatning the hands of the Hangman, Queen Mary, upon a

like a Ruffian coming behind him, & having wrath of God upon supream Governours,

His Majesty therefore (which Henry the a conquest, which shall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power for ever-

Unto this that I have spoken of lying, and fire, that thereby the world should believe the guilful murderer be drawn by force, Book a guilful murder also, by poyloning: and by Now the same power which the Consta- the pen, or by practice. For such distinction Marshal of England, or his Deputies: by upon a man, to flay him with guile; and b. England whose judgement in all disputes of honour, ing in wait for blood privily, for the innecent, promise Noble man of her own Religion, and in ma- d'une imaginare faveur, qui pour fin de jeu le jefty, upon a Baron of Scotland; whose alwayes in themselves, and not to suffer their house was no less ancient and faithful, than consciences to float upon the waves of imaginahimself valiant, and greatly friended both ryfavour, which in the end overwhelms them. at home and abroad. Of killing guilfully And as for the Admiral, though it might by poyfon, and of punishment following have been answered unto his friends, if any fach wicked Artifans, every age hath had bewail his calamity as undeferved, That he too many examples. Of killing guilfully by was tryed, according to his own defire, by

Essens, the pen (that I may not speak of any Eng- the Laws of his Country, and by the Judges Again to pure the Author of the French Re- of Parliament; yet the Kings justice, surfit mourir Montaigu grand Maistre de France, and his Estate. pour contenter l'opinion celuy dont il estoit lors idolastre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & estrangle ; Who caused Montaigu great Master of France to die to content his The last Acts of Scipio in Spain, His return to mind (to wir, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Elhars worshipped as his Idol; but God permitted, that he himself was soon after hanged and stranged and stranged. The other was of the in spain, grew by the rebellion of the

ny other respects very dear unto her. His Ma- Submerge; A fair lesson to all Judges, to dwell cherches gives unto us two notable instances: mounting all other his passions, gave back the one of des Esbars, who (faith Pasquier) unto him his Honour, his Offices, his Liberty,

t. III.

Rome, where he is chosen Consul.

Creat Francis the first, upon his Chancellor people, and mutiny of his Souldiers. He Poper:who, to satisfie the Kings passion, pra-fell dangerously sick, in such fort that the clifed the destruction of the Admiral charrumour of his death ran current throughbot; a man most nobly descended, & of great out Spain. This encouraged Mandonius and fervice. For as in other men, fo in Kings Indibilis, petty Kings, that had forfaken the the passion of love grows old, and wears Carthaginians, and followed Scipio a while out by time. So the Kings affection being before, to take arms against the Romans. changed towards the Admiral, he charged They were vainly perswaded, that after the him with some offences which he had for- Carthaginians were driven out; they themmerly committed: The Admiral prefuming felves should become the mightiest in all upon the great good service which he had spain. But seeing now, that things were no done the King in Piemont, and in the defence way answerable to the greatness of their of Marfeilles against the Emperour, gave the hopes; they thought it best, to take the pre-King other lauguage than became him; and fent advantage, and hammer out their own defired nothing so much, as a publick trial. fortunes. So they rashly fell upon the suesses Hereupon the King (it being easie to pro- tani and Sedetani, Confederates of the Rovoke an ill disposition) gave commission to mans; and wasted their Country. Part of the the Chancellor, as Prefident, and other Roman Armylying at Sucro, instead of mak-Judges, upon an information of the Kings ing head against these Rebels, grew to be af-Advocate, to question the Admirals life; The | feeted with the like distemper. They had not Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large reped such prosit of the Roman conquests, as conscience, (which is not rare in men to- might satisfie their desires; or as they thought wards the law)hoping highly to content the easie to be gotten if they might be their King; wrought with some of the Judges with own Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of fo great cunning; with others with fo sharp | Scipio was reported, they thought that the threats; and with the rest, with so fair pro- time served very well, to enrich themselves miles; as albeit nothing could be proved with the spoil of the Country. Many outrages against the Admiral, worthy of the Kings di- they committed : and, which was greatest spleasure, yet the Chancellor subscribed, and of all, driving away their Colonels, that got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of should have bridled their fury; they chose his Estate, Offices, and Liberty, though not out of their own number two base fellows, able to prevail against his life. But what was Albinus Calenus, and Atrins Umber, to their the Chancellors reward (the King hating | Commanders. These took upon themall the fallhood in so great a Magistrate) other than Ensigns of Pro-consuls, or Pro-pretors; as his own degradation, arraignment and con- if this their election had been like to that, demnation? Belle les on certes (saith Pasquier)a wherein Lucius Marcius was chosen by the tout Juge pur de-meurer toufiours en soy, & ne Souldiers after the death of the two scipio's: laisser stuctuer sa conscience debans les vagues But whilest they were devising what ex-Eeeeee 2

ploits they might do, for the enriching of came directions from Carthage, that letting themselves, in a time of such combustion as all care of spain alone, he should thence dewas expected, there arrived more certain part from his Fleet into Haly;& there wage news.that Scipio was both alive, and in good an Army of Gaules and Ligurians, to joun health. Therecame also new Colonels, sent with Hannibal. For this purpole, was money unto them from their General: who mild- fent unto him from Carthage; and he himself ly rebuking their want of confideration, and laid hold upon all that he could find in the feeming to be glad that they had no further Town of Gades; without sparing either priover-shot themicives; led them to Cartha- vate men, the common treasury, or the Temgena, there to receive their pay. Before their ples. In his voyage thence, he landed at coming, Scipio had refolved to do exempla- Carthagena; hoping to have taken it by furry justice on the principal offenders; and to prise. But he failed in the attempt, and was put the whole multitude of them in fear of so beaten to his ships, that he returned back what they had deserved. Therefore he to repose himself a while at Gades. The Gacaused Syllanus to make ready the Compa- ditanes, offended with the robberies and nies which lay before in the Town, as it were | spoil that he had made at his taking leave of to make an Expedition against Mandonius and Indibilis: he caused Albins and Atrius with some thirty other of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their ledgings: he called the Mutiners to Assembly; & having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by syllanus and his companies, prepared for the purpose; he bitterly inveighed against them all as Traitors. This done, Albius and Airius, with the other prisoners were haled to the stake; where they were ever. whipt and beheaded, as was the Roman cuftome toward fuch offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of cithgt thou- of Mago. Then did Scipio deliver up the Profand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew; and received every man his payswhen he was fworn.

arms:notwithstanding that they had certain it was denied him:for that it had as yet been word of Scipio his life and health. Well they granted unto no Proconful, excepting to could have been contented to be quiet : but | fuch, as received that dignity after a Conby the feverity used to the Roman Souldiers, they stood intear, as being spaniards, and make amends for this repulse, the election greater offenders, of harder measure. Scipio of new Consuls being then in hand, by genewent against them, and found them in a val- ral voice of the City, P. Cornelius Scipio was ley, that was scarce large enough to hold chosen Consul, and P. Licinius Crassus joyned all their Army. In the entrance thereof he with him. This Crassus, being high Priest, or fought with them : and fending Lelius with | Bishop of the Romans, might not by the cuall his horse, to setch a compass about the stome of those times, go far from the City; hils, and charge them in rear, he overthrew asbeing to intend the matters of their superthem. Indibilio and Mandonius had after this, Stition: though Cofar, and other, who in ages no hope remaining to preserve themselves following held the same office, were stayed and their estates, otherwise than by making by no such religious impediment, from befubmillion. Mandenius therefore came to ing far and long absent. Hereby it came to Scipio and humbly craving pardon, both for pals, that Scipio, defiring to have the war himself and for his brother Indibilis, obtain- transferred into Africk, was in no danger ed his request, yet so, that they were taught to lose that honourable charge, by any misto acknowledge themselves less free Princes chance of lot, in the division of Provinces; than formerly they had been.

Afterwards Scipio went toward Gades: employment fo far off. and was met on the way by Masanissa; who fecretly promifed to do him all fervice, if the people of Rome would fend him to make war in Africk. Unto Mago that lay in Gades,

them, would not fuffer him again to enter into their City. By this he foresaw, that it would not be long ere they became Roman. Wherefore fending Meffengers into the Town, to complain of this uncourteous dealing he allured their Magistrates forth unto him; whom, not with standing all the excuse that they could make, he whipt and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding Spain farewell for

The Isle and City of Gades, was yielded to the Romans, presently after the departure vince, to those that were fent from Rome to succeed him therein: & himself with tenships returned home. At his coming to Rome, he Mandonius and Indibilis continued in made fuit for the honour of a triumph. But fulfhip, as it were by prorogation. But to for that his Colleague was not capable of

ø. XVIII.

S. XVIII.

drubal and Syphax.

meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: purpose, did the Spanish Embassages avail much in the Senate; especially that of the Saguntines: who magnified his actions highly and deservedly; faying, That they were they being present, had seen him chosen Conful, and should carry home such joyful news. The Saguntine Embassadors were lovingly and to the Romans) had well deferved. Nevertheles, when Scipio proposed, that Africk might be decreed unto him for his Province, the fame kind. He alledged many reafons against the purpose of the Consul; whereof the found it expedient. chief were. That the Treasury was unable to fustain the charges of a war in Africk; and that it was extreamly perillous to hazzard fo great forces, where they could not at pleafure be recalled unto the defence of Rome it felf, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein Italy stood, not only of Hannibal, but of Mago his brother, that was arming the Ligurians: as also concerning the honour of the Consul;

greatly to be feared, lest the like might happen again 32 and that a new Army, notwith-Scipio obtains leave to make war in Africk. Standing the good success of Scipio, (if it His preparations. Of Masanisla who was hapned to be good) might be sent from Carjoyned with Scipio. The victories against Af- thage, to the utter endangering of Rome, whileft the Roman forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, Web.Cornelius Scipio, and P Licinius Craf was, That neither the Senate had ordained, fur, entring into their Confulthip, held a nor the People commanded, Africk to be that year a Province: which the Conful neverwherein it was decreed, that scipio should theless propounded in such wife, as if it were be allowed, to bestow part of the money a matter already concluded, and no longer which he had brought out of spain into the to be argued. Scipio on the other fide. in fifted treasurie; upon the setting forth of solemn upon this one point; That it was better to plays, that he had vowed to make whileft he make an offenfive, than a defenfive war, efpewas busied in his Spanish wars. This helped | cially against such as the Carthaginians, who well to revive the memory of his victories al- | being ill provided of able men at home did ready gotten; and to give hope unto the furnish themselves, by help of mony, with le-People of greater victories in the war, which vies made abroad. As for the care of Haly, he he intended to make in Africk. To the fame doubted not, but P. Licinius his Colleague would be as well able to discharge it now as others had done in times of greater danger. So promifing to draw Hannibal into Africk, for defence of his own home; and taxing as the most happy of all their countrimen, since civilly as he could, the envy of Fabius, which withftood fuch a gallant enterprife, he proposed the matter again to the Senate. Much altercation there was about the manner of entertained by the Senate: as their faith to his proceeding: for a fauch as it was notifed Rome (though costly it were both to them | abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his mind, he would carry it by the people. This offended many of the ancients: who refented in this honourable man, a little spice there wanted not many, even of the princi- of that arrogancy, which in following ages pal men, that vehemently gainfaid him. Of grew to be much hotter, in those that had these was Q. Fabius Maximus the chief: who commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, feems to have been troubled with that di- Scipio referred himself wholly to the Senates fease, which too often caused men, renowned good will and pleasure; whereby he obtainfor long approved vertue, to look afquint up- ed thus much, That the Isle of sicil might on the actions of those, that follow them in be appointed unto him for his Province; with leave to pass over into Africk, if he

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the Roman Senate have little care to furnish out Scipio to the war, by him intended upon Africk Herewithall it fell out, that Mago, coming on the fudden from the Baleares to Genua, and winning the Town, bred a fear of no less terrible invasion upon Italy, than that which Afdrubal had lately made. He could not indeed raife any great Army of the Ligarians; for that he which would (he faid) be greater in fetting found them distracted with civil wars. Italy free from enemies, than it could be in Therefore he was driven to make choise of doing any harm to Africk. Neither did he his party; and to help those whom he forget, both to elevate the Spansh wars, as of thought fittelt for his turn, against the othersless moment than the intended voyage a- This troublesome business, though it occupigainst Carthage, nor withall to lay great ed more of histime than he could willingly blame upon scipio, for having suffered Af- have spared: yet it got him reputation by his drubal to pass inta Italy: thewing, that it was victories; and made the unsteady Gauls reafperfed Legions of the Romans, that under felf upon the advice of many, shall often Proconfuls, and Prætors, lay ready to be em- find himfelf deceived: the counfel of those ployed where need flould require; were di- many being wholly directed by the Empire rected unto the bord is of Lombards and of a few, that over-sway the rest. Q. Fabius Liguria, there to make head against Mago. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. his wary nature sorted well with the bus-For a flect, either coming to his aid from ness, that fell out in the chief of his employ-Carthage, or by him fent thither (the report | ment. Unto him therefore 2 Fulcinus ad. is uncertain) loaden with the booty that he hered, with other of the Senators, that were had taken, fell into the hands of the Roman grown old in following one course; from Prætor, that governed in Sardinia. This did | which they could not shift, as the change of much disable him : and though after a times required. But the People (who though while, there came letters from Carthage, together with store of mony, heartning him in his proceedings; yet some impediments which he found, and that fatal voyage of Scipio into Africk disturbed all; and made him be re-called home.

Against Hannibal was nothing done this year Neither was any thing done by him, of Axes, Beed-hooks, Hand-mils, and thelike which the Roman Historians have been pleafed to take notice. Only it is faid, that he fpent the Summer by the Temple of Juno Lacinia, where he raifed an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, graven in Punick and Greek letters. Such accompt of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of compass of five and forty dayes he had both remussion and carelesnes; in those that are upon the losing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they find a notable change. A | sicil he found, besides other forces, two Legreat pestilence, infesting both the Carthaginian and the Roman Camp, is faid to have old Souldiers, and (as he himself well knew) been the occasion of this years idleness; which fell out not much amiss for the City of | had long undergone a heavy censure. They Rome, that was marveloufly impoverished by | had ferved under Marcellus and Lavinus, at this war; and had already tryed the utmost | the taking of many Cities and strong pieces: way to defray the charges, which grew in- in which regard, they were like to be of fupportable. To relieve the present necessity, good use to him in Africk, where would be it was well thought upon that a great part | store of such employment. For increasing of Campania (not many years fince confisca- the number of his horse, he pressed three ted) should be sold, or let out: in which bar- | hundred sicilians, all wealthy young men, gain, that the City might receive no loss, the | & such as loved well their ease. These heaftenth part of the fine was ordained, as a re- | terward discharged from the War, highly to

to Scipio. Neither was he allowed to make to as many Roman Gentlemen, which he press of Souldiers for his African voyage; brought over with him for the purpole. neither did he over-much labour to obtain Whilest he was providing to have things in it. That which the Senate refused, the people | a readiness for Africk, the banished Locrium, did for him: or rather they did it for them- that followed the Roman fide, made him acfelves; that were therein wifer then the Senate. It is usually found in Councels of estate, hoped to recover their City. Some handthat the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, crasts-men, that wronght for the Garthaginia do carry all the rest. And many times men in one of the Citadels of Locri, (for there make a furrender of their own judgments, to the wisdom that hath gotten it self a name, by giving happy direction in troubles if they might be ransomed and rewarded.

dy to enter into his pay. Hereupon the di- forepast. Therefore, he that reposeth himwas accounted the Oracle of his time : for

they could not well advise, and deliberate. yet could well apprehend) embraced the needful resolution of Scipio: in such sort, that besides his Roman forces, he had from divers parts of Italy about seven thousand Voluntaries. He had also provision from the feveral Towns: Corn, Iron, Canvas for fails, implements; Firre for building of ships, many thousands of Targets, Helmets, and Spears of all kinds: every place furnished him with that commodity, which it best could afford.

Unto this willingness of the People, the diligence of scipio was correspondent. In the fell'd his Timber, built, and lanched twenty Trireme, and ten Quinquereme Gallies; wherewith he transported his Army into Sicil. In gions, that had ferved at Canna: which were not guilty of the overthrow; for which they ward unto the detectors of lands concealed. their contentment : but with condition, that Of this, or other mony, none was given they should deliver their Horse and Arms, quainted with an intelligence, whereby they

Scipio being advertised of this gave order high commendations at their return. to have the attempt made by night: which Scipio had already employed Latitis in Apriled. The other Citadel was ftrongly de- work any other great effect of war. He took fent to Hannihal for aid. The Romans in like to the Carthaginians ; who faw their affairs fort, fearing left their own paucity should to be upon terms of chang. But the greatest make them to weak for Hannibal, craved fruit of his journey was, That speaking help of the Conful Scipio. The Towns-men with Masanisa, he well informed himself of were doubtfully affected: but the best, and the state of Africk; and knew what was to most of them inclining to the Romans, kept be expected of these two Kings, that had Hombal out; whom the comming of scipio promiled to joyn with the Romans at their caused thence to depart; and caused likewise landing.

happily succeeded, and that Citadel was sur- friek; rather to make discovery, than to fended by the Carthaginian Garrison, which a great booty : and struck no little terror in-

the Carthaginian Garrison to abandon the other Citadel Many outrages were commit-carthaginians, and his compact made underted by the Roman Souldiers, that were left hand with the Romans, Livie doth profess, Livib, 21. by Scipio in custody of the Town. Where- That there was no such evident cause therefore a vehement complaint was made by the of at the present; but that the long continu-Locrians unto the Roman Senate; not only ance of his faith and constancy, in following against those of the Garrison : but much times, must help to prove, that this his more against Pleminius the Captain, who change, was not without some good cause. gave bad example, and was worse than all But Appianus (an Historian far inferiour to the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Livie, both in worth and time) gives one Rapes, and other villanies, the Temple of reason so probable of this, and many acci-Proserpina, that had a great fame of sanctity, dents thereto belonging, as that it carryes was spoyled by these barbarous Theeves, with it a great appearance of necessary truth. The Locrians therefore advised the Senate Only the doubt is. How it could any way to make present amends to the goddess for come to pass, that the knowledge of such a this facriledge: faying that the like had ne- matter should have escaped the diligence of ver been committed, without notorious re- Livie, if it had been true: unless we should venge by her taken upon the Authors. The | believe, that he wilfully forbare to rehearfe Senate gave good ear to this complaint, a Tragedy; the forrow whereof would cause comforted the Locrians, and redrefled the men to think amis of Scipio. Howsoever it injuries done unto them; fent for Fleminius, was, thus * Appian tels it: and many circum- * Appian. with other principal offenders; whom they stances of things done, confirm it. Afdrubal, Alexani, de Bellevanie. cast into prison, and used according to their the son of Gesco, had a fair daughter, whom deferts : as also they restored unto Proserpina both King Syphax and Masanissa loved, Maher money twice told. But old Q. Fabius was Janissa, being brought up at Carthage, and benot herewithall contented. He laid much of | ing withall a goodly Gentleman of person, the blame upon Scipio, that had placed fuch and excellent in qualities, was chosen by a man in Locri; and had not carefully Afdrubal to be his fon-in-law. When the Virhearkened to the complaints made against gin was betrothed unto him, he went into him, but suffered him to run on in these his | Spain, and there did great service. But afterwicked courses. By the sharp invective that | wards, the Carthaginian Senate thought the Fabius made, others took courage to speak marriage of Afdrubals daughter to be a matwhat they pleafed, as well against the de- ter of State: and bestowed her upon symeanour of scipio, as against the dissolute- phax, without standing to acquaint her faness of his Army; which lay, as they said, idle ther or. Masanissa therewithall, This they in sicil, neither mindful of any fervice to- | did, for that syphax was the more mighty ward, nor fit for it if need should require. Prince; and for that the indignity of the re-Finally, things were fo far urged, that ten pulse, had made him become their enemy, Legars were fent over into Sicil, together Hereof Mafanissa was advertised; and forthwith the Prætor appointed for that Island; with entred into intelligence with Scipio, setwo of the Tribunes, and one of the Ædiles; cretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but who should examine these matters; and ei- some notice was taken of it: which would ther cause the General to return into Italy, or have cost him his life, had he not with great continue him in his charge, as they thought circumspection conveighed himself home, fit. The end of all was, they found him fo into his fathers Kingdom. Thus far forth well prepared against Carthage, as that they we may believe Appianus: all the narration hastened him on his journey, and gave him well cohering with things past, and follow-

CHAP. III

ing. Only it feems, that howfoever sopho- [sicil about the fame time, which was little misha, the daughter of Afdruhal, was pro-mised by the Carthsginians unto Syphax: his promife lately made: and fignified his vet fince this their course fie proceeded from alliance with the Carthaginians; adding fear, he thought it wisdom to continue and That he could not choose but fight for the increase the same their fear, by making fair defence of Africk, wherein he was born and have promifes to the Romans, untill Afdrubal bad reigned; and for the defence of his beloved fent for his danghter from Carthage, and the wives Country, if it were invaded. Nevermarriage was confummated. In other mat-theless he promised to remain a Neuter so ters concerning the war it self, wherein Ap- long as the Romans and Carthaginians held vian differs much from Livie, and from war abroad, far enough from Africk, as hi-Polybins, whom (as appears by the therto they had done. This mellage haftened broken pieces of his works remaining) scipio in his expedition, much more than

take little heed unto his reports. Numidians: whose father dying, the Crown the assent of the Senate, and the forwardness descended, by order of the Country, unto of many Adventurers. Lest therefore the Defalces the brother, not unto Mafanifa the failing of this hope, should work too great fon. But this Uncle of Mafanissa shortly dy- a change in common opinion, He thought it ed: and his elder fon, who took possession the best way, to prevent all discourse, and of the kingdom, was vanquished, and slain fet the war undertaken immediately on foot. in battel by a Rebel, that made himself Pro- The Embassadours he dismissed in halte, tector over the younger which was a child. with letters to their King: wherein he wil-The Traitor fortified himself against Masa- | led him to consider, that what he had pronissa, whose return he feared, by Alliances mised, he had also sworn; and therefore with the Carlhaginians and Syphax. But all should do well to make it good. Having sent would not serve: He and his Pupill, were them away, He called his Souldiers togedispossessed of their Estates by Masanista; ther; and bade them make ready for the that was a skilfull Warriour, and well belo- voyage, which he intended no longer to ved for the memory of his father Gala. The defer. For, faid he, Majaniffa hath been with Carthaginians in reason would have been Lalius: and Syphax hath newly sent to glad, that Masanissa, who had done them me; greatly wondring upon what I should notable fervice, was thus confirmed in his thus ftay; and faying, That they will Estate, had they not been guilty of the injury by them done unto him; whilest his Uncle or Coufin reigned, and he feemed unlikely to stand them in any stead. But Syphax, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own mellage of these Embasiadors: whose solmalice, towards his Corrival, warred upon lowers had been feen walking up and down him; and over-charging him with numbers, | Syracuse. And lest anything should afterdrave him out of his Kingdom. Nevertheless | wards break out, that might hinder the buff-Masanissa, still retained the hearts of his peo- ness, Scipio immediately sent about his seet ple; and thereby remained ftrong enough, to infest both Syphax and the Carthagini- M. Pomponius, that was Prætor in Sicil, to ans; though he was often put in diffress, by | meet him there; hafted thither with his Arof Africk.

than could be expected from the good will they were points of ordinary care, and of poor Masanisa, sent an Embassage into which it is like that neither he, when he

Livie did follow; it will be no offence, to any perswassion could have done. For, the promifed affiftance of syphax had not a little Mafanissa was the son of Gala, a King of the advanced his enterprise; in procuring both provide for themselves, if I sail their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquilition, that might else have been made concerning the unto Lylibaum: and requesting by letters great forces that were fent against him. He my At Lylibaum he agreed with the Prætor, therefore keeping much about the lester Syr- about the division of the Legions between tis, between the borders of the Carthagini- them, which to leave behind for defence of ans, and the Nation of the Garamants, expe- the Island; and which to carry with him incted the coming of the Romans: yet fo, as to Africk. What numbers he transported, it is he made long roads over all the Country, not certain : fome Historians reckoning even as far as Hippo; and when Lelius arri- only ten thousand foot, and two and twenty ved therereabouts, exhorted and encoura- hundred horse; others increasing them to ged him to hasten on scipio to the invasion five and thirty thousand, horse and soot. Concerning his directions for embarquing, But syphax, in whose great aid and suc- and other matters belonging to their course, cour was reposed more hope of good success, I hold it needless to set them down: since

took his voyage into Spain, nor others upon better advise them to set sail for Utica, and fo word for word fet down by an Historian, doors. who borrowed them from Livie, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

like occasions, have omitted; they being al- make war upon the Enemies at their own

The Carthaginians had at time neither any Captain of great worth at home, nor This Roman Army landed in Africk, near to better Army than of raw Souldiers; that a fore-land then called the fair Promon- were levied, or to be levied in halte. Aldruor toward what point of the Compass, I been chasted out of Spain by Scipio, was their cannot precifely affirm; because its uncer-tain, whether it were that Cape or Head-haps he was thought by Hanno and his felland which bore the name of Mercury, and lows, of whole faction he was: or if ought lay to the North-east of Carthage; or whether that of Apollo, which lay Northerly bility, together with the affinity of King Syfrom Carthage, and by West. The coming of phax, made him passable. He was then with Majanissa unto Scipio at his first arrival, helpt the King his fon in-law, working him no to confirm the opinion of Xylander, who doubt against the Romans: when letters thinks the fair Promontory to have been the were brought from Carthage, both to Syphax fame, that was also called Mercuries Cape, and to him, informing them of the Invasion: fince with little difficulty Mafanissa might entreating the one of them to give affistance come thither from the leffer syrtis, where- and commanding the other to make his reabout was his common abiding. But foraf- pair unto the City, where he was chosen much as without any memorable impedi- General. But ere these could be ready, sciment soon after his arrival, Scipio encamped pio had beaten the troop of Carthaginian before Utica, that stood Westward from horse, that were sent out of the City to di-Carthage beyond the River Bagradas: it may frurb his landing; and flain Hanno a young rather seem, that he landed within the Pro- Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had montory of Apollo; whence the way to Utica also taken and sacked a Town of the Carthawas not long. This is also strongly proved; ginians; wherein, besides other booty, he for that out of Carthage were fent, the next took eight thousand prisoners; all which he day, five hundred horse to trouble him in his conveighed aboord his Hulks or Ships of dif-embarking. Neither was it so hard for burden, and sent them back loaden into si-Masanissa, that roved about the Country cil. He took likewise a Town called salera, with a troop of horse, to find out the Romans, which he held and fortified. In Salera lay though they landed far from the place to the another Hanno, with four thousand Numidiwhich he usually reforted, like as before he an horse: whose service being fitter for the had met with Lælius at Hippo that was far- field, than for defence of walled places, ther off; as it would have been for scipio, made scipio to perceive the unskilfulness of with his Army&Carriages, to overcome the their Leader, that had thus housed them. trouble of a long journey and fetch a great Wherefore he lent Masanissa before him: who compass to Utica, by Land; when he might rode up to the gates; and, by making a have disembarqued nearer unto it. Never- bravado, trained out the improvident Hantheless it may pass as a conjecture. That sci- no so far, that he drew him unto a place. pio came first of all to Emporia, a plentiful where the Romans lay in wait for him. The Region about the leffer Syrtis; fince he gave victory was eafily gotten, and Hanno either charge to the Masters of his ships, at the taken, or slain. With those that fled, the letting forth from Lilybaum, to shape their Romans entered pell-mell into the Town, course for that coast. The Countrey there- which presently they made their own. about was very rich, and fit for fustenance Thence went Scipio to Utica, a City of great of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants importance, of which mention hath been warlike, or well provided to make refi- formerly made, and fate down before it. stance. Thus much perhaps Masanissa had Forty dayes he spent about it, assailing it fignified unto Lelius, when he spake with both by Land & Sea, & using all his engines him at Hippo: thinking that the Romans, of battery, whereof he had plenty, yet was howfoever they made brave promifes, would in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the not come strong enough to fight at head. But Summer was quite spent : so that it was time when he faw their Fleet and Army to be for him to chole a place, and fortifie his such , as not only served to invade the lands Winter-Camp, which must be well stored of Carthage, but threatned a conquest of the against the year following. Whilest thus City and whole Estate: then might he necessity urged him to leave Otica: and Ffffff

enterorife, rather than any hope of better little entreaty to withdraw himfelf home ence of the control o pretence to leave the fiege. Afarubal had King, had been highly entertained and homade a levy of hirry thousand foot, and noured in the City of Carthage, which was three theuland herfe: yet adventured not near at hand, as often as during this Winter with this ill trained Army to draw near un- it had pleafed him, or as he had been invithe Romans, before the coming of spphase, ted, to make a step shither and repose him-Syphax brought with him unto Carthage fifty felf a while : his wife Queen sophonicha lythousand foot, and ten thousand horse: ing also there at the same time, to chrish which joyning unto the forces of Askruhal, him in his resolution. Howsoever it were, they marched bravely toward scipio; who syphax did only make an overture of peace: thereby took occasion to dislodge. He propounding it as reasonable, That Hannichose for his Winter-Camp the banks of bal should be recalled out of Italy by the an In-let, that had good harbour for his Na- Carthaginians; and that the Romans in like vy. His foot-men he lodged on a Promonto- fort flientld quietly depart out of Africk, and ry, joyning to the Continent by an arm of so make an end of the war: wherewith now Land: his horse-men he bestowed upon both Africk and Europe were disquieted. lower ground, on the other shoar: in the Unto this would not Scipio at the first give bottome of the creek he mored his ships; and car: yet being pressed carnestly by many there he quartered the Mariners, with all mellages from Syphax, and defiring to conthat belonged unto the Fleet. The whole tinue the intercourse of Embassadors; he camp he firongly fortified, and so attend- began to make shew, as if he would consider ed the season of the year, when it should of the motion. He was given to understand ferve him again to fight. Of cattel and by those whom he had fent unto the King, other boory Mafanifa had brought in great that the Enemies had their camps without store, by driving the Countrey, before any great defence of earth, full of wooden the coming of Ajdrubal and Syphax. Corn Cabins, and covered with boughs and that also he had gotten some : and great store the Numidians, such of them as came first with was fent him from Sicil and Sardinia. Syphax, used coverings of Matsand Reeds; Likewife apparel for his Souldiers, was fent others, that came later, had thatched their from home, or from sardinia: though lodgings with dry boughs and leavs: under fearce enough to ferve turn, for that it was which they lay carelefly without their a matter of more coft. The ships that Trenches. Upon this advertisement he bebrought these things, he fraighted home- thought himself, That it would not be hard wards with fuch part of his booty, as he for him to fet their camps on fire, and therecould best spare : especially with captives by give them a notable overthrow. Withto be fold for flaves. Afarubal and Syphax out help of some such stratagem, he foresaw encamped near unto Scipio: not so strongly that it would be a work of great difficulfortifying themselves, as did the Romans, ty for him, to proceed in his wars when time either for that they wanted the seuere insti- should serve. It was a plain open Country tution, which the Romans used in the disci- wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great pline of war, or for that they prefumed up- advantage of him in number, especially in on their multitude, against which they horse; which, upon such ground, could not found in Scipio no disposition to issue forth be resisted by the Roman Legions. The lowof his firength, and fight. So the Winter ger therefore that he thought upon the passed without action.

it good to affay his old friend the Numidian on their Camp. To this end he sent many King, if perhaps he might be won by per- Embassadours, under pretence of treatingswasions to forsake the Carthaginians. It about the Peace; but indeed of purpose to was confidered, that those Barbarians were discover all that might concern the intended naturally unconfrant; and particularly, furprife. With these Embassadors besent, as that syphux had given proof before this of Attendants, many old Souldiers, disguised his much levity. It might therefore be like flaves; that wandring (as it were) hoped, That having wearied himself by idle up and down the Camp, might observe lodging a whole Winter in the Camp: and the wayes and entrances, with whatfobeing peradventure no less weary with fati- ever else was needful. When he had learnety of his wife, who had caused him to enter ed as much as he desired : upon the

flyme of taking the repaife in his first great into this war: he might be moved with a matter; the more needful he found it for When Spring drew near, Scipio thought himself, to make some sudden attempt up-

fudden he fent word to syphax, that it was have taken by cafualty upon the Numidians vain to hold any longer Treaty, forasmuch that lay farther off, whereas if it first apas he could not get the confent of his Coun- peared in the camp of Afdrubal, it would be cil of war; without whole approbation, suspected as the doing of enemies, and give all that himself could do, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to end therefore *Scipio* marched fair and foftthe end that, without any breach of faith, lysthat Lelius and Mafaniffa, who had a lon-The might put his delign in execution. The ger journey, and were to fetch a compass Truce being thus cut off, Afdrubal and Sy- about for fear of being discovered, might phase were very penfive; as having lately have time to get before him, and do their perfwaded themselvs, that their trouble was feat. It was about two or three a clock in the almost at an end. But since it could be no morning, when the camp of Syphax began to better, they began to devile, by what art | blaze: which not only the Numidians, but they might draw Scipio out of his Camp, their King himself, imputed unto casualty; and provoke him to battel in those Plains, as thinking themselves safe enough from This if they could do, they hoped to make enemies, for that the Carthaginians lay inhis Council of war repent as greatly the re- terpofed between them and the danger. fusal of peace, as did Marcus Atilius after | Wherefore as if there were no more to do, the like prefumption. But if he should re- some starting half asleep; and others that fuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else had sitten up late at drinking, ran out of remained than to befiege him? Which they their Cabbins to quench the fire. But fo themselves were well able to do by land 3 great was the tumult, that they neither and the Carthaginian Fleet should do by Sen, could rightly understand in what case they that was making ready for the purpole. were, nor give any remedy to the mischance By fuch discourses these two comforted as it was supposed. Many were smothered themselves; recompending (in conceipt) the and burnt into the flame, which grew grealoss of their hopes past, with that victory to ter and greater:many, leaping into the Trencome. But herein they were extreamly and ches for fear of the sudden mischief, were worthily disappointed: for that consulting trampled to death by the multitude that folabout the future, they provided not against lowed them. They that escaped the fire fell present danger, but continued in the same upon the enemies sword, which was ready negligence, which was grown upon them to receive them. Especially Masanissa, that by the long discourse of peace. As for Scipio, best knew the Country, did great executihe was not idle; but made preparation on upon them; having laid all the waves.by out of hand, as it were to do somewhat which he foresaw that they would seek to against Utica. Two thousand Souldiers he escape. The Carthaginians perceiving this had made ready, and appointed to take the fire, thought none other than that it was a

fame piece of ground, whereon he lay pittiful mischance: so that some ran out to against Utica before. This he did, partly to help the poor Numidians; carrying only keep fecret that which he had in hand, left what would ferve to quench the fire. being suspected by his own Souldiers, the Others ran up to the Rampart: where fear-Enemy might happen to have notice of it; less of any danger toward themselves, they partly to hinder those of Otica from setting stood beholding the greatness of the flame; upon the few, that he purposed to leave be- and lamenting the misfortune. This fell hind him in his Camp. He caused his men out right as Scipio would have it. He therethat night to sup well, and betimes that they fore lost no time: but setting upon those might be ready for the journey. After sup-per, he appointed such Companies as he he killed some, and pursued the rest back inthought fit, to the defence of his Camp; all to their camp, which in a little while he the rest of the Army he led forth, about nine made to burn as bright, as did that of syof the clock at night. The Carthaginians phax. Afdrubal feeing this, and knowing that lay from him seven miles and an half: whom the Romans were there, did not stand to he purposed to undertake himself with the make resistance, but shifted only for himself, one half of his Army; the other half he and escaped with a few of his horse about committed to Lalius and Masanissa, whom he him. If Hannibal, or any of the Barchine factifent before him to fet upon the camp of sy- on had been taken in fuch a manner: it is phax, that was farther off. It was his mean- more than probable that old Hanno would ing, that the camp of syphax should be have judged him worthy to be crucified. It on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the would then have been faid, that with less Carthaginians. For the fire might seem to than one half of 30000, men, he might at

them that were taking pains in kindling needs be valiant, and make countenance of these fires, had he not been only careful war: but their strength not being answerahow to fave his own fearful head. Ne- ble, they were foon taken by Scipio, who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Soul-except. vertheless Polybius acknowledgeth, and it is abandoned them to the pleasure of his Soul-except. vertheless Polybius acknowledgeth, and it is abandoned them to the pleasure of his Soul-less. This being done, he returned to the Aldrubal, or any of those about him, would | siege of Viica. have firicken to flew valour, when the Camp was once on fire: He should not they had good reason, when in stead of eithereby have done any manner of good, ther Peace or Victory, which they lately because of the tumult and consternation. I hoped for, they heard news of such a lashall not need to tell what a fearful thing it mentable overthrow. Necessity enforced was, to hear the cries of fo many thou- them to make halty provision for the fufands that perished by fire and sword, or ture: but how to do it, few of them saw to behold the cruel flame that confumed any means. Some gave advice to crave peace them; which (as Polybius affirms) none of Scipio: others, to fend for Hannibal out of that bath being is able to describe. It is Italy, but the most, and they which finally enough to fay, That of those many thou- prevailed, were of opinion, That not withfands, very few did escape; which accompa- standing the loss of this Army, they might nied Asarbal and Syphax in their several well defend themselves against the Romans. wayes of flight. Befides these also there by raising new forces: especially, if Sypham were fome featterers, especially of the Nu- would not leave them. It was therefore conmidians, that faved themselves in the dark: cluded, that they should bend all their care but they were not many, as after shall ap- this way, levying in all haste another Army; pear. Surely it must needs have been very and sending Embassadours to deal with hard to tell, how many were burnt or other- Syphax, who lay then at a Town called Abba, wise made away, and what numbers escaped not passing eight miles from Carthage. Immein the dark of night. Wherefore Livie, who diately the fame their unfortunate Commanin the rest of this Relation, as often else- der, Astrubal the son of Gesco, was employwhere, doth follow Polybins, may feem to ed to make new levies of men: and Queen have followed some less worthy Author, and Sophonisba went forth with Embassadours him no good Arithmetician, in casting up to her husband syphax, who having gathethe fumm. For he reckons only two thou- red together as many as he could of his fubfand foot, and five hundred horse, to have jects that had escaped from the late slaughescaped; forty thousand to have perished ter, was thinking to return into his own by fword or fire: and above fix thousand Kingdome. Sophonisha laboured so with her to have been taken prisoners: the whole husband, that at length she won him to number of all which together, is far short her own defire. And it fell out at the same were in these two Camps.

by preserved it self from all manner of ber. So they incamped in a Region called,

least have given some bad recompence, to loss. The two next Towns adjoyning would

The Carthaginians were fore troubled, as of fourfcore and thirteen thousand, which time, that four thousand Spaniards, waged by the Carthaginians, were brought over to Asdrubal, putting himself into the next serve in Africk. Of these were made such Town that was very strongly fortified, brave reports, as if their courage, and the thought there to find the Romans work, un- Arms which they used, were not to be retil the Carthaginians at good leisure might sisted. Even the multitude within Carthage repair their Army. He had with him no believed these tales, and were more glad more than two thousand foot, and five hun-than they had cause to be; which is great dred horfe: which he thought sufficient to wonder, since in one Age, the whole coundefend the Town; if the Towns-men would try of Spain had been twice conquered; first, not be wanting to themselves. But he found by the Carthaginians themselves, and after the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in by the Romans. But with Syphax these tales contention, whether it were better to fight, prevailed much : which the Carthaginian or to yield. Unto this disputation, he well Embassadors helped with a lye; saying, That foresaw, that the arrival of scipio would soon there were come ten thousand of these tergive an end. Wherefore, left they should lay rible Spaniards. Upon this confidence, the hold upon him, and feek the Victors favour people of Carthage and their friends gather by delivering him up: he shrunk away red such spirit, that in thirty dayes they betimes, and made all haste to Carthage. As made up an Army, confisting wel-near of for the town which he left; it opened the thirty thousand men, reckoning the spaniards gates to Scipio, at his first coming and there- and Syphax with his Numidians in the num-

The great Fields, about five dayes journey and scipio stayed behind, carrying the war been time for Afdrubal to follow the exam- of the war in spain and Haly. What to do in mander, or else, it was not in his power, to neither durst they make bold to trouble give such directions as best pleased himself. their own subjects with any violent exactiwherein the Romans were marshalled by Sci- their own free will were likely to give little pio after their wonted manner, having their help. Very much it grieved them to fend for Italian horse in the right wing; and Masa. Hannibal out of Italy: yet since there was no nissa with his Numidians in the left. On other hope remaining, than in him and his the contrary fide, Afdrubal and his Carthagi- good Arny; it was decreed, That Embasianians had the right wing; Syphax, the left; dors should be forthwith sent to call him and the spaniards, the battel. The victory home. Some there were that gave advice, to was gotten without many blows : for the fet out a fleet against that of Scipio, that untrained followers of Syphax and Afdrubal, rode before Vtica, weakly manned, and could not fustain the first charge of the Ita- easie to be taken, whilest Scipio himself was lians, or of Masanissa. Only the Spaniards busied in the Island Countreys. Some were of fought a long time, even untill they were all opinion, That it should be their principal in a manner flain: rather as men desperate, care, to fortifie by all means the City of and not hoping for mercy, fince they were | carthage: upon the fafety whereof they faid thus come over to fight against scipio, who all depended: adding, that whilest they had otherwise deserved of them, than upon were true, and at unity among themselves, any likelihood or conceit of victory. This they might well enough subsist, and expect their obstinacy was beneficial to those that those opportunities, with which Fortune fled; for that it hindred the Romans from (doubtlefs)would prefent them. These counmaking any great pursuit. Hereby Asdrubal, fels were not rejected; but order was forthand Syphax escaped: Asdrubal, to Carthage; with taken, both for all things concerning and syphax home to his own Kingdom: whi- the defence of the City, and for the attempt ther his wife was either gone before, or im- upon the Roman fleet at Utica. Nevertheless, mediately followed him.

the field, took counsel about the prosecuti- cing their own affairs towards likelihood on of the war. It was resolved upon as the of victory, no, though it should fall out, best course, That he himself, with part of that all the ships at Viica might be taken, or the Army, should attempt the Cities round destroyed. Wherefore the determination about him: and that Masanissa, with his Nu- held concerning Hannibal, That he should midians, and Lalius, with some of the Ro- immediately come over into Africk, as the man Legions, should follow after syphax; last refuge of Carthage. The Council was no not permiting him to take rest within his sooner broken up, than all the Senators beown Kingdom, where easily else he might took themselves to the execution of that repair his forces, and put them to new trou- which was decreed: some, to the fortificable. This advice, it feems that Masanissa tion of the Town: some, to make ready the gave : who knew best the quality of the Fleet; and some, appointed thereunto, Numidians; and what good might be done forthwith to embarque themselves for Italy. among them, by the reputation of a victory.

The leaft that could be expected, was his Tunes, a City in those dayes very ftrong, and refitution into his own Kingdom, usurped standing in prospect almost of every part by syphax: which to accomplish, it no less of carthage. This place, or rather some deconcerned the Romans at the present, than it fensible piece adjoyning, he easily took; did himself. According to this order con- the garrison forsaking it, and running away, cluded, Lelius was sent away with Masanisa: as soon as he drew near. But whilest he

from Utica. scipio hearing of this, came from town to town. Many places yielded from Vica thither, to visit them: leaving be- for fear; many were taken by force; and hind him his impediments, with some part all the subjects of Carthage wavered in their of his Army, to make a shew of continuing sidelity, as if the time were now come, the fiege. Two or three dayes, after the meet- wherein they might take notice of those uning of both armies, passed away in skirmish, reasonable burdens, which their proud Mawithout any great thing done. It had now sters had laid upon them, for maintenance ple of the Roman Fabius, and feek to weary this case, the Carthaginians could hardly reout the Enemy by delayes. But either folve. Fortune was their enemy; they had (which is likely) he was a far worse Com- lost their Armies and many of their Towns: The fourth day the Armies met in battel: on of men or money; who nevertheless of it was confidered, that thereby they should Scipio, having thus gotten the mastery of only protract the war; without any advan-

was about there to incamp, and fortifie him- one occasion of that small loss that followwas about the City, he might perceive the ed. They that flood upon the Bridge were Carthaginian Fleet fetting forth, and making neither able to relieve them, nor yet could towards Utica . What this meant, he readily freely bestow their weapons among the Carconceived; and stood in great fear, lest his thaginians, as before; for fear of lurning own ships that were very ill prepared for these their friends, that were intangled and Sea-fight (as being heavily loader with en- mixed among the enemies. The Carthaginigines of battery, and wholly difpofed in fuch ann had brought with them grapplinghooks, gines of Dattery, and Wholly Chapter hanging at Iron chains. Thefe they threw uporter, as was most convenient for assaulting hanging at Iron chains. These they threw uporters are the state of the stat the town) should make bad refissance, on the masts & yards, which served as arches against a fleet appointed for that special ser- to joyn the bridge together: then rowing vice. Wherefore he hafted away towards | backwards, they tore all afunder; in fuch Vica, to affift with his presence in this need- fort, that one ship followed another, and all ful case. It fell out well, that he had sent his the first rank was broken, or defaced. The carriages, and all the great booty which he Defendants had no other way, than to fave drew along with him, thither before, at his themselves as hastily as they could, by shiftgoing to Tunes. For had not be now made ing into the next rank of flips, that lay begreat expedition, he should have come too late. Neither could he indeed have been there in due time, if the Carthaginians had in this laborious work: but having haled used such diligence as was convenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to Otica, they tarryed a while to make a bravado; presenting themselves in order of battel, as if the Romans would have put forth to Sea against though it were of small importance. them. But Scipio had no fuch intent: he thought it would be sufficient, if he could preserve his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their bravery at Sea; it should little avail be defired. The same of the victories althe Carthaginians, if they got nothing by it, ready gotten, restored Masanissa to his Kingand lost their whole estate by Land. Where- dom, without farther contention: the Mafore he took his ships of burden, and fastning | feffili, his subjects, joyfully receiving him, and them together with cables, in four ranks, one forfaking the usurpers. But here they stayed bornby the force of the Gallies; and were For to this purpose chiefly are they come

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hind them untouched. Neither did the Carthaginians trouble themselves any further away fix ships of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to Carthage. Their welcome was greater than their victory; because among so many grievous losses, only this exploit had succeeded well.

Whilest things thus passed about Carthage, Lalius and Mafanissa, in their journey against syphax, found as good success as could behind another, made a four-fold bridge not : neither indeed would syphax permit over the Channel of the Haven; whereon them to be quiet. He had fuch abundance he placed a thousand of his choice men, with of men and horses, that he felt not greatly ftore of Darts, and other casting weapons, the losses past: and therefore being folicited to make defence. Some open spaces he lest, by Astrubal and Sophonisha, he prepared whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessels, again for war. But beside the instigation might run out and back again upon any ad of his beloved wife; the loss of the Malelyli vantage or need: but thele he covered with would let him take no rest: neither was it planks, using the masts and yards of his the purpose of Lelius and Masanissa, to give Thips instead of rafters, to joyn all together, him any breathing time. It is common in that his men might help one another, and men, to depart no less unwillingly from that the bridge it self not be torn asunder Scarce which they have gotten by extortion, than was this work finished, when the Carthagini- from their proper inheritance; but to think ans, seeing none issue forth against them, came all alike their own, whereof they are in into the Haven. The fight between them possession, be the title unto some part neverand the Romans that were in the Hulks, was fo unjust. Hereunto alludes the fable of rather like to the affaulting of a wall, than the young Kite; which thought that she to any Sea-fight. For they that flood upon had vomitted up her own guts, when it was the bridge, had fure footing, and threw their only the garbage of some other fowl, that weapons downwards, with their whole she had hastily swallowed, and was not able ftrength and violence; which the Carthagi- to digeft. But whether or no, spphas, like nian out of their Gallies, that were lower the young Kite, believed the Kingdom of and unsteady, could not do, but the Roman the Masafili to be part of his entrails! Leli-Frigots and long boats, adventuring forth us and Mafanissa will shortly give him some from behind the bridg, were greatly over- what that shall make him cast his gorge. profecuting his hope of victory: fome Ro- in the Kingdom. man fquadrous of Foot came against him

so fire. It concerned the Romans to disposition and fled, and that their King, upon whom all fels (if it might be) the King, whose false depended, was in the Romans hand. Masanifand hollow friendship towards them, had Jatold Lalius, that this victory should make been converted into strong enmity; as al- an end of the Numidian war, if presently foto fet in his place another, who might do they hasted away to Cirta the chief City of them fuch good offices, as Syphax had lately the Kingdom; whither he himself defired done unto the Carthaginians. How eafily this to be fent before with the Horse, carrying might be effected, Majaniffa knew best, as Syphax along with him. Hereunto Lalius being well acquainted with the nature of agreed. Masanissa coming to Cirta, before those Countries; wherein, even to this day any news of the Kings mischance was there though there be many strong Towns, yet the arrived, called our the chief of the City to fortune of a battel is enough, to translate parlee: wherein by many fair promises and the Kingdom from one Competitor to ano- [threats, but especially by shewing unto them ther. So they met with syphax, who came syphax bound, he prevailed fo far, that the against them with no less an Army, than his gates were forthwith opened unto him; and former, and marshalled in the Roman order, every one strove to get his favour, that was according to the skill, which he had learn- like to be their King hereafter. Among the ed of the Roman Centurion, long ago fent rest, Queen Sophonisba yielded her self inunto him out of Spain from Cn. Scipio. But to his hands, and vehemently befought him, though he could teach his men how to that the might not be delivered up unto the march in order; yet could be not teach them Romans. Her youth, and excellent beauty, fo to fight couragiously. They were a rabble commended her fuit, that Masanissa forthof all forts, gathered up in hafte : and few of | with granted it; and to make good his prothem had feen war before. Encamping neer mile, marryed her himfelf that very day; unto the Romans, it fell out, as commonly, thereby to prevent Lalius and Scipio from that some small troops of horse on both determining otherwise of her, since she was fides, encountred one another in the mid- his wife. But Lalius, when he came thisher, way: and they that had the worst, were se- took the matter hainously, so that at sirst he conded by other of their fellows. By conti- would have haled her away, together with nuance of the fkirmish, more and more were syphax and other prisoners, and have sent drawn out from either Camp: fo that at her unto scipio. But being over intreated length Syphax, unwilling to dif-hearten his by Mafaniffa, he fuffered the matter to rest men by taking any foil at their first meet- a while as he found it, and referred all to ing with the Enemy, came up with all his | scipio's discretion; to whom he sent away horfe, which were the best part of his forces, softwar and other captives immediately 3 and therewith over-charged Mafaniffa, whose following shortly after himself with Mafanumbers were far less. But whilest he was missa, when they had done what was needful

At the coming of syphax, there was through their own troops of horse; which great joy in the Roman Camp: the mighty fell to the fides, and made a lane for them. Armies which he had lately brought into So their battel standing now more firm, than the field; and his entertainment of Scipio alittle before; spphax was unable, though he laboured much in vain, to make them and Adarthage together fought his friendship; give ground. Masanisa likewise, and his with such other commemoration of his past troops grew confident upon this affiftance: and present fortune, ministring to every and charging afresh the Enemy, that could one a large argument of discourse. Scipio not make way forward, caused him to give demanded of him, what had moved him, not back. Herewithall the Legions came in fight: only to forfake the Roman friendship, but to which terrified fo the Numidian horse, that make war upon them, unprovoked. He they began prefently to dif band. Fain briefly answered, That his wife had moved would syphax have frayed them from him fo to do; calling her a Fury, and a peflight: and to that end made head in per- stillent creature: and saying, that Masanissa fon against the Romans; with hope, that was no wifer than himself, fince he had his men would be athamed to leave him. now taken the fame woman to his wife, But it fell out unhappily, that he was cast who would shortly draw him to the same from his horse, which received a wound, courses. Hereat Scipio was greatly troubled: and so taken prisoner. Of others that were and stood in great doubt, lest this perilous flain or taken, the multitude was not great. woman should deprive him of Masanissa, It sufficed, that they for look the place, las she had done of Syphax. It was not long,

both of whom together he lovingly welcomed; and highly commended in publick, for their notable fervice in this Expedition. Then taking Masanisia apart, he brake with him, as touching Sophonisba; letting him understand that the Romans had title to her head, and that the was a milchievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface then afterwards to make his claim unto her, the memory of his great fervices already wherein he should have no wrong. Heredone (for which he should be highly rewarded to his own contentment) by com- fanissa accompanied the messengers, as it miting a great offence upon little reason. were to deliver her: but making her ac-Mafanifa bluffir, and wept: and finally pro- quainted with the necessity, gave unto her a miled to be governed by scipio, whom he cup of poilon, wherewith the ended her life, nevertheless intreated, to think upon his before they came that should have apprefaith given to Sophonisha, that the should hended her. So he shewed unto the Romans not be delivered into the Romans power. So he departed to his own Tent, where, after The sudden violence of Masanissa his love, fome time fpent in agony, he called unto him and the ready confent of sophonisha to mara servant of his that had the custody of his 119 with him : add not so much credit unto poyfon (which Princes used then to have in this relation of Appian, as doth the want of poyion (which Times died then to all other evident cause (which Livie notes) Lib. 48: make them unwilling to live:) and temper- of the fudden falling out between him and ing a potion for sophonisha, fent it unto her the Carthagians, under whom he had been with this mellage; That gladly he would trained up, and done them great service. have had her to live with him as his wife : Howfoever it were; Scipio, hearing of this but fince they who had power to hinder him tragical accident, fent for Masanisa, and comof his defire, would not yield thereto, he fent her a cup, that should preserve her from falling alive into the hands of the Romans; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her felf.

At the receit of this Message and Present, she only said; That if her husband had no better token to fend unto his new wife, fhe must accept of this; adding, That she | gold, with other Royal ornaments. This might have dyed more honourably, if the was indeed the ready way to divert his had not wedded so lately before her funeral. | thoughts from the fad remembrance of that And herewithall she boldly drank off the poison. Thus Livie reporteth. But Appian varies from this; and fets it down agreeably to that which hath been spoken before, concerning the præcontract between Mafamiffa, and Sophonisba. He faith, That after the taking of syphax, Emballadours from deserved: yet would not the Title have re-Cirta met with Lalius and Masanissa upon their way thither, yielding up their City, and the Kings Palace ; and that Sophonisba, for her own private, fent messengers to excuse her marriage with syphax, as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. Masanissa readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to wife. But when scipio had received information from syphax, how cunning in persuasion the Romans; he might nevertheless have sophonisha was : and that all her thoughts recovered his proper inheritance, by the laboured for the good of Carthage; he fell love of his own subjects without other out about her with Masanissa at his return, help, when syphax had once or twice been

ere Masanissa and Lelius came unto him : and challenged her, as a part of the boots belonging to the Romans, Majaniffa faid, the was his own wife, and unto him betrothed many years before. But scipio would not hear of this: or if it were true, yet he faid it was no reason, that Masanissa should keep her in possession, as long as it was disputable, unto whom the might appertain. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and withal he fent to fetch her away : and Maher dead body, which he royally interred. forted him as well as he could, lest his melancholy should lead him to some inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashness, he brought him forth in prefence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deferved of the City of Rome, he proclaimed him King, and gave unto him a Crown of which was past, unto the more chearful contemplation of good fortune, that began to smile upon him.

This was the first time that the Romans took upon them to create or proclaim a King. Which henour though Masanissa well dounded unto his great benefit; neither should he have been much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered possession of his Country, together with the greatest part of syphax his Dominions. It feemeth not unlikely, that had he remained a Neuter in these wars, and sustained himself with his troop of horse, in such fort as he did before the coming of

vanquished. As for the inlargement of his their Privy Councel, to make suit for peace. iclyes; neither could they have wished a and of those that sate in Councel with him, Pelph liss. fitter opportunity, than of such a man upon hom to bestow it, that was their assured their speech that followed. They confessed fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the this it appears, that these Embassacours were Romans, and promising by all means to deno Barchines; but rather, that they were Hanferve their love, requested therewithal, that | 110, and the choice of his company; who had they would call him King. But though it now their long defired work in hand, of fuwere fo, that never any before him had made ing unto the Romans for peace. What soever this a matter of fuit : yet the Roman Senate they were, it must needs be that they were was puntilious herein, and answered very most insolent men over those that were subhan, gravely, That it was not their custome to ject unto their power, for they would not give the honour of that appellation, fave on- have made such adoration to the Romans in ly unto fuchKings, as had greatly deferved of their own necessity, unless they themselves their City. Thus they made it a matter of had expected the like, wherein they had the State; and in process of time grew so proud advantage. of this their imaginary prerogative, that

they imputed as a fingular benefit unto Kings

ø. XIX.

The Carthaginians defire Truce, and break it.

their mortal enemy, had got possession of so often victorious in the field. Scipio therehis Kingdome. To increase their fear, fore accepted their submission, and told scipio returned again to Tunes in view of them, That though he came into Africk, to their City: where he made an end of that make a conquest, and not Peace: yet having Fortification, which he had begun at his the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would last being there. The Carthaginians had not deny to grant them the Peace which neither forces, nor courage, to withfrand they defired; for thereby should all Natihim: but their hearts fo failed them, ons understand, that the people of Rome did

Kingdome, it was not more than he deferv- These being admitted into the presence of ed: neither were the Romans then in case, Scipio, did not only prostrate themselves to make a conquest of Numidia for them on the ground; but killed the * seet of him, *Except.

friend, & passable with al among the Numidi-themselves to have unjustly broken the ans as being (for the Mafefyli were a Numidi- Peace between them and Rome; and to have an Tribe)a great Prince of the same Nation. deserved whatsoever punishment it should Yet this liberality of the Romans, was noised please the Romans to inflict upon them. Yet abroad as very glorious : and the Romans they humbly belought Scipio and the rest, themselves, in a politick fort of gravity, took that in common regard of those misfortunes highly upon them; as if even their faluting whereto all men are subject, they would him by the name of King, had been a matter shew mercy unto the City of Carthage, and of great confequence. He thrived indeed let it remain, as a monument of their clewell after it: & by their maintenance waxed mency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, mighty in times following, increaching upon had now twice deserved to be overthrown. his neighbours on all sides; but most of all Herewithal they did not forget, to lay the upon the State of Carthage, whereat they were blame upon Hannibal: who without their little displeased. Hence it grew that Vermina appointment had begun the War; and was the fon of Syphax (of whom we shall shortly maintained in his doings by a Faction, withspeak more) which held some pieces of his out the good liking of the whole City. By

It was not unknown to Scipio, or to his affiftants, in what poor case the City of Rome that no way depended upon them, the falu- then was; and how unable to defray the tation by *that name, though it were not ac- charges of continuing the war. Neither (m. tation by*that name, though it were not accompanied with any other favour or profit were the Carthaginians, notwith Itanding the lack of 6 many. Armies in fuch ill cafe as the loss of fo many Armies, in fuch ill case, as the Romans themselves had very lately been. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a City far stronger than Rome; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the Roman resolution: and "He Carthaginians were extreamly dif-therefore distrusted the wals of Carthage; mayed, when they heard of the great though Otica, a weaker City, had all this calamity, that was befaln their good friend while held out against scipio, and could not syphax, and understood that Masanissa yet be forced by him and his Army, though that they fent forth unto them thirty Em-balladours, Princes of the city, which were war, and inconcluding it. The Conditions

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prisoners that they had taken, together with thage, by terror of their great Names and all Renegadoes and fugitive flaves: That they Armies , upon more easie conditions, an nenegative and together haves, that they wherefore they made an idle discourse of should withdraw their Armies out of Italy Wherefore they made an idle discourse of mound without with the found not meddle in the League, that was concluded between and Ganle: That they should not meddle in and Game: I had they mound not medically them and Ludatine Catalus, at the end Spain, nor yet in any Island between Haly them spam, nor yet in any mand deliver up all of the former war. This League they faid, and Africk: That they should deliver up all of the former war. and Apriles: That they means delivered; and that all things well confidered, did ftill remain their ships of war, save twenty; and that they should pay a great summ of mony, with in force: neither had there since been any certain hundred thouland buffiels of wheat war at all, between the people of Rome certain numered thousand outside of these Articles, and the Carthaginians. For it was only Hanand parity. 10 connect of their Articles, nibal, that without any leave from carhad approved them, he granted a Truce; thage, had of his own head belieged and

The fifth Book of the first Part

Roman Senate. had been already at an end. syphax was a their Melage was none other, than to delittle before fent with Lelius unto Rome: fire, that the League before spokenos, made where the fame of these victories filled men in the time of Catulus, might hereafter sand with joy, and gave hope, that the long en- in force 5 as indeed it hitherto did, and dured miferies would be shortly at an end. ought to do. The Senators had cause to Wherefore all the Temples were fet open, wonder at this tale, hearing the Embassaand an holy day appointed for thankfgiving and supplication to their gods. Lelius was accompanied with Emballadors from King them a great many questions, concerning Masanissa: who gratulating the happy suct that peace made by Lustains, and other cess of the Romans in their African war, and passages following between the two Cities. giving thanks unto the Senate for the be- But they excused themselves, by their age: nefits done by Scipio unto their Mafter, made (for they were all young men) and faid, request for the Numidians, such as were That those things were beyond their knownow his Subjects and prisoners in Rome, that ledge and remembrance. Forthwith it aprendring them to liberty, should do an act they fought no other than to gain time, they might be bestowed upon him, who by very plaufible, that would make him graci- until they might repair the war. Wherefore ous among his people in the beginning of they were fent home in company of Lalius, his reign. The Roman Senate were not be- without any conclusion at all of peace, and in hind with Masanisa in complement: but effect, without answer. This notwithstandshewing themselvs to be highly pleased with ing, we find in Polybius, That the Senate reall that Scipio had done, and should do for ceived advertisement from Scipio, of that him, they called him King again; released his which had passed between him and the Numidians that were captives; and fent him Carthaginians in this Treaty of peace: aptwo purple Cassocks, that had each of them proved the Conditions by him propounded, one gold button, with fuch other prefents, as and gave him licence thereupon, to proceed in time of their poverty might ferve to tefti- unto Conclusion. This may with good reafie their good will. Scarcely were these and son be believed, since it was not unknown Lalius gone from Rome, when the news that if the war continued, all these goodly came, that Embassadors from Carthage were hopes must rest upon the most uncertain arrived to defire peace. These Embassadors issue of one battel between Hannibal and were not admitted into the City, but were scipio: wherein if fortune should be averse lodged without : until Lalius being sent to them, their forces in Africk were no betfor, came back from Oftia, to be present when terthan quite lost. their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of Bellotte the Carthaginian Embatiadours came back ma 5 that frood in the Subburbs. The errand from Rome, a Fleet out of sicil, wherein were of these Embassadors, was peace, but the two hundred ships of burden, and thirty meaning of them and of their City was on- Gallies, being bound for Africk, to victual ly to win time, and get respite for war; the Roman Camp, was over-taken by until Hannibal and Mago should come out foul weather at Sea, and hardly ecaping

which he imposed upon them, were these; of Haly, either to chase the Romans out which he imposed upon them, were then, of Africk, or to obtain peace for Carthat they might fend Embafaadors unto the razed the Town of Saguntum: and after This done, Mesamissa was dismissed, and mission, to pass the Mpes, and trouble (as he went home into his Kingdome, as if the war had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being fo

wrack, was dispersed, and driven aground stians; where he is in a manner besieged, and after an unusual manner of hummility, confes-

in divers parts of the Bay of Carthage, even | unable to stir : so that ye are like to find his in view, and under command of the City. help wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be There was at that time, as we find in Appian, Supposed that he were now in Africk, and ready distinct and may gather out of Polybius , a great to give us battel : yet should it well agree with dearth of victuals in Carthage, which caused your wisdome to doubt what might befal, rethe people to cry out upon their Magi- membring that he is a man, and not invinciftrates, that they should not let such a boo- cible. Now if it should happen that he were tyescape them, faying, that the danger of fa- overcome, what refuge have ye left unto your mine was greater and worse, than of break- Selves against hereafter? What gods will ve ing Truce. Whether it were so, that hunger either fivear by, to be believed, or call upon in urged them, or that they yielded to their your mifery? What words, and lamentable own greedy desires: the multitude in Car- gesture, will ye hencesorth use, to move compasting understood (as it seems) that all this sim? Surely ye have already wasted all your discourse of Peace in hand, was no better force of persimasion, and shall not again deceive than meer mockery, and therefore cared w, if ye refuse the grace, whereof at this prenot for observation of particular points, fent ye are capable. It is no marvel though when they meant deceit in the whole It was the Carthaginians were angry, when they the manner in Carthage, as likewise in Alex- heard themselves upbraided with the base andria, for all the rafcality, together with demeanour of their Embassadors. For it was women and boys, to be medling in uproars: not the general opinion of the City, that the the clamors of the boys being in fuch tumults | Truce was broken by themselves: though it no less violent than of the men. Wherefore had pleased Hanno, or such as were of his fait is no marvel, if little regard were had of ction, to gratifie the Romans with all manner reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. of submission; and to renounce not only A Fleet was fent out under Afdrubal, to ga- their hope of the future, but all justification ther up the differred Roman ships of burden of matters past. And indeed it seems, that the (for the Gallies, by force of Oars, recovered | Roman Embassadors were very much delighthe station whereto their camp adjoyned) ted, in the rehearfal of that point which and bring them into Carthage; which was was veilded unto them, as knowing that done. Scipio was hereat much offended not | thereon depended the justice of the quaronly for the loss; and for that the Town rel. But the Carthaginians took this in foill was thereby relieved: but for that by this part, that hardly they could refrain from breach of Truce, he forefaw the intention of | doing violence unto the men, who had used the Carthaginians to renew the war, and put unto them such insolent speeches. Yet the him to more trouble. Wherefore he fent Em- | fury of the multitude was in some fort apbaffadors unto them, both to require fatis- appealed; either by Hanno, whom Appian, faction for the injury done; and to deterr (Iknow not why) calls Hanno the Great: or them from entertaining any other hope, by the very reverence due unto the place of than in the peace which they had so much those that had uttered such liberal words. defired. These gave the Carthaginians to un- So they were dismissed in friendly fort, alderstand, that Letters were come from Rome | though it were without answer to their unto Scipio, with allowance to conclude Proposition. There were also two gallies apthe Peace; upon those conditions which he pointed for their fafe convoy home; though had propounded. But (fay they) we hold it with little intent of good unto their persons. strange, That ye, who so lately have cast your selvs Asdrubal was then in the mid-way, as men to the ground before us, and kiffed our feet failed from Carthage towards Utica. He, whether only defirous to please the multi-Ing your selves to have perfidiously broken the tude, of whose disposition he was inform-League that was between us, and thereby to ed, or whether directed by publick order have deserved such punishment as is due unto to cut off these Embassadours in their way Rebels; should so soon forget what ye then ut- homeward, lay waiting for them behind a tered, and run headlong again into the same Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of crimes for which ye acknowledged your felves the river Bagradas. Their Convoy having worthy to be destroyed, having only recourse brought them on the way, as far as to the unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it mouth of Bagradas, wished them a good voyis the confidence which ye repose in Hannibal, age; and so took leave of them, as if they that thus emboldens you. Tet were it not amis, had been then in safety, fince the Roman that ye should consider, how long he hath been Camp was even in fight. The Embassadors Pent up in a corner of Italy, among the Bru- took this in ill part; not as fearing any dan-

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dants did so abruptly leave them. But no soo- what: but their diligence was in a manner ner had they doubled the Cape, than Afdru fruitles. In some skirmishes with Hannibal, bel fell upon them, in fuch manner, as they they had the better; in some the work: might well diferen his purpole: which was and a few poor Towns they got from him, to have fremmed them. They rowed hard as it were by fealth; his care being more therefore : and being in a Quinquereme, to preserve his Army, than to keep those that had more banks of Oars, than had any places that were weak. Gallie of Afdrubal, they flipt away, and made him over-shoot himself. Yet he gave them chase, and had well-near surprised enemy was become not the chief part of them. But they discovered some Roman Compainies on the shoar over against them, and therefore adventured to run their Vessel aground: whereby they faved their own lives, though a great part of their company were flain, or hurt. This practice of the Carthaginians was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartned in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were defirous to continue the war; that thereby they might be driven to study nothing elfe, than how to get the victory, as in his behalf, that if he could have entred having none other hope remaining. Yet their Country ftrong, it might have proved likely it is, that the same fear, which had no less needful for scipio to return home out caused them to make such earnest suit for of Africk, than shortly it was for Hamnibal peace, would also have caused them to be to make speed unto the defence of Carthage. better advised, than thus to abandon all hope | These dangers caused the Romans to imploy of Treaty 5 had they not been given to un one of their Confuls or Pro-confuls, with an derstand, that Hunnibal was already landed Army, among the Hetrurians; another in Africk, in whom they reposed no small among the Gaules; and a third among the confidence, but verily perswaded themselvs, | Ligurians: for a fmuch as it was uncertain, that he would change their fortune, and teach the Romans to hold themselves con- Being thus busied, it is no wonder though tented with more easie conditions, than they forbore to overcharge Hannibal with were those that scipio, in the pride of his any great power. fortune, had of late propounded.

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were diversity affected by Hannibals departure.

Ver fince the loss of that battel at Metry of the Erutians, waiting for another to have shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Supply from Carthage. The Roman Con- Legions at the same time gave a loud shout: fuls that succeded unto Claudius and Livi- and strained themselves hard, as if at that us, by whom Afdrubal was overcome and brunt the victory should have been carried flain, were contented to be quiet all their before them. But Mago opposed his Eleyear. Neither did Licinius the Colleague phants to the Horfe: the fervice of those of Scipio, ought worthy of remembrance beafts being fitter for such use, than against against Hannibal, being hindred by the Pe-the squadrons of Foot. The sigure sent and filence that was in his Army. Sempronius braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Conful, who followed Lictinis; and the Horfe, that they started aside, and were

ger toward, but thinking themselves too | Cn. Servilius Capio, who followed Sempromuch neglected, forafmuch as their atten- nins, were earneftly bent to have done forme-

The Romans had at this time so many great pieces of work in hand, that their chief their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon Africk, wherein they were at no small charges to maintain the Army, which (as was hoped)should bring the War to a short and happy conclusion. They stood nevertheless in much fear of Mago, the brother of Hannibal: who took exceeding pains among the Ligurians and Gaules to raise an Army, wherewith to kindle anew the War in Italy, that began to wax cold. Mago folicited also the Hetrurians, and found them fo ready to stir opon which fide Mago would break out:

As for Mago, when things were in some readiness for his setting forwards, he met in the Country of the Insubrians, which is about Milan, with M. Cornelius the Roman Procon-In what fort Hannibal spent the time after ful, and P. Quintilius Varrus one of the Prathe Battel of Metaurus : The doings of tors. With these he fought a battel, where-Mago in Italy. Hannibal and Mago in though his vertue shewed it self worthy called out of Italy. How the Romans of his Father and Brethren: yet his fortune was Carthaginian. The fight continued a long while doubtful; in such fort that the Roman Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore Quintilius the Prætor takraurus. Hannibal remained in the Couning unto him all the Roman Horfe, thought

Numidians got advantage upon them: whose way homewards. manner of fight was more available against | those that were loose, than against the the like command from Carthage, to return troops that were close and thick. Then fell into Africk. He heard it with great impatithe Elephants upon the Legions: which en- ence; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and tertained them after the accustomed man- hardly keeping in the tears, that were ready ner, with a shour of darrs, and killed four to burst out, whilest the Embassadours were of them; caufing all the rest to give back. delivering their errand. When their message This notwithstanding the same Legions were | was done : He told them, That this was net so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that plain dealing. Fer, said He, They that now diheld their ground. The Proconful there- closely and crookedly they went to work, by thould most require. Against these, Mago Shall not need to brag, that he hath drawn me provided every one for himfelf: So the Rocost: as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the loss of two thoufand and three hundred of the Prætors Army, b fides those that dyed of the Proconfuls Legions; also besides divers Colonels, feem that the Enemies did not fall to rout, his time. before they had recovered some ground that might affure them from pursuit. However it were, this victory would have much im-

feattered over the field; their Riders be- ment, and imbarqued fhortly his Army; ing unable to manage them. Hereby the but dyed of his wound about Sardinia, in the

About the same time Hannibal received more for shame of running away, than by rectly bid me come home, have long ago done any great force to make refistance, they their best to hale me out of Italy; though more fore brought up those forces, which he had fopping the supply that should have enabled me kept unto the last, to succour where need to manage the War here. Scipio therefore imployed some of his Gauls, whom he had home by the heels : it is Hanno that hath in readiness for the like occasion. But the wrought this noble feat; and overwhelmed the Gauls discharged their parts very ill. They house of the Barchines, for lack of other means were foon beaten off, and recoiled fo hasti- | to do it, with the ruine of Carthage. He had ly, that they brought fear upon all the before prepared a Fleet in readiness, doubtrest. When Mago saw that his men began | ing that which after came to pass : wherein to shrink, He put himself in the head of his he imbarqued, besides his own men, as ma-Army; and held them so well to it, that ny of the Italians as were content to be parkeeping their order, they made a fair Re- takers of his fortune. Many there were that trait, with their faces toward the Enemy. shrunk back from him, and refused to do But at length he received a grievous wound | service in this expedition: of whom, such as in his thigh; whereof shortly after he he could take, he slew; not sparing those that dyed. He was taken up, and carryed out fled into the Temple of Juno Lacinia, which of danger by fome of his own men: the had been held an inviolable Sanctuary unto rest of them, after little further resistance, that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of Italy mans obtained victory, not without great no less passionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their own Countreys to go into exile. He looked back unto the shoar : accusing both gods and men; and cursing his own dulness, in that he had not led his Army from Canna, hot and bloodyed as it was, Captains, and Gentlemen of mark that fell directly unto the walls of Rome. With such in this hot piece of service. Neither were vexation of spirit He quitted the possession there any prisoners taken; whereby it may of Italy; wherein he had lived almost half

If it could have been foretold unto the Romans; in the first beginning of this War, with what exceeding joy in times following ported for the affurance of Italy, if the they should entertain the news of Hannibal State of Carthage could longer have permit- his departure out of Italy: they would (I ted these valiant sons of Amilear to abide think) less earnestly have pressed the Cartherein. But Mago with-drawing himself thaginians to send him over thither. When (by case journeys, because of his wound) sure advertisement was brought unto the into Liguria, found there Embaffadours from City, that Hannibal was gone with all his Ar-Carthage attending him: who gave him to my: an Holy-day was appointed for thankfunderstand the pleasure of their City, which giving unto their gods; and extraordinary was, That both he and Hannibal should pre great sacrifices publickly made, for joy fently repair home with all their forces; of fuch happy tydings. Yet old 2. Fabius not fraying any longer to think upon the was of opinion, That the danger did still reconquest of Italy, since Carthage it self was main the same, though the place were changready to be lost. He obeyed this Command- ed: for that Hannibal at his coming into

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of work, than he had been troubled with at only of good Souldiers, but of brave Capany time before; and would do greater matters in his own Country, than ever he was ple of Rome, faying, That Scipio was like to able to perform abroad in a land of firang- meet in battel with many that had flain Roers. The remove of the War from their own man Practors, yea, and Confuls with their doors, and the conceit of that victory for own hands: with many that had been first which they hoped; was enough to make in getting overthe Trenches of feveral Rothem prefume further, than at other times man Camps, or in winning the tops of walls they would have done. When therefore the at the fiege of towns; briefly, that he fhould Sagunt ine Embassadors brought unto them a now be opposed by an Army, as good as ever great mass of Gold and Silver, together with had served in war, and following the dreadsome Agents of the Carthaginians taken by ful name of Hannibal. them in Spain : only the Carthaginian prifoners were accepted, the treasure was rendred back unto the Eaguntines that had furprifed ir. Upon like confidence of the future, a | Hannibal in Africk prepares to fight with Scilittle before this, order was taken for the repayment of those moneys that had been borrowed in time of more necessity from private men. Hence also proceeded the severe chastifement laid upon those 12. Colonies, that for want either of means, or of good will, had refused to give aid to the Romans. They were commanded, and inforced to give double Carthage, Eastward from the Headland of the number of Foot to that which they had Mercury, and formewhat more than one debeen wont to let out for the Wars, with a gree to the South. He was ill provided of proportion of Horse answerable to the very Horse; which it was not casse for him to most of their ability. So consident were the transport out of Haly. Therefore it behoved Romans grown (though their wealth were not as yet sutable to the greatness of their the enemy; that he might furnish himself of fpirit)upon the good fuccels of the battel at these and the like needful helps against the Metaurus, and the hopes which they reposed day of battel. From Leptis he passed on to in Scipio. All this notwithstanding, when Adrumetum, and so along through the Inthey considered more nearly of that which land Country gathering friends unto him by might happen: and were informed that the the way. Tycheus a Numidian Prince, and terrible Army, whereof Italy had been few familiar friend of syphax, was faid to have dayes fince discharged, was landed safe in A- in those dayes the best Horses of service, frick : they began to revolve a thousand that were to be found in Africk. Him therefearful matters in their heads, and to stand in fore did Hannibal allure unto his party: doubt, left 2. Fabius (who died about the making him understand, that if the Romans fame time) would be found a true Prophet. got the victory, it should be easie for Mass-For, bethinking themselves of that which mfa, by their countenance and help to opmight comfort them in their hopes: they press both him, and as many other of the found in the victories against syphax and Af | neighbour Princes, as hindred his prospect. drubal no specialty of such great worth, as This argument, and the same of him that might promise the like success against ano- used it, pevailed with Tycheus, who shortly ther manner of General, followed by other after brought unto the Carthaginian two manner of men, than were either of those thousand Horse. Appian further adds. That two. The Numiclian King had been wont to Mezetullus, (the same who had made himbring into the field a raical multitude of half lelf Protector over Majaniffa his Coulins; skullions, that were good for nothing; be- and was Head of a Family, and adverse to ing himsef a fit Captain for such Souldiers. the Numidian Kings of that race) brought Likewisc Afarubal the son of Gesco was a Com- to Hannibal another thousand Horse; as mander well thought of by the Carthaginian likewife, that Vermina the Son of Syphax, Senate, but otherwise, one, that in the field holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdom, was only good at faving himself by a swift began at the same time to assail the places

Africk, would find P. Scipio other manner in Roman blood, and wearing the spoils not

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pio; treats with him about peace in vain: loseth a battel at Nedagra, and persivades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.

Annibal disembarqued his Army at Leptis, almost an hundred miles from retrait. But now there came an Army of men, that yielded obedience to Mafaniffa. This hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times than 16. thousand men (for he lost more was too late.

The Carthaginians were at this time in fuch hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the frate wherein they were; that they could not attend the leifure of those prepartions, which would have made the victory affured. When they confidered the worth of Hannibal, and the greatness of his Acts: it offended them to think, that they had been fo base as to make humble suit unto the Romans for peace; whilest they had such a brave Champion alive, to maintain their cause by War. But when as they bethought themselves of their own sufferings, which, for want of Roman magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cryed they out earnestly that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad; and to this purpole they fent their Mandates to Hannibal: requiring him without any further protrathere encamped.

Foot together, Masanissa had with him ; the Carthaginians were so earn's in preffing that were lent unto him by scipio, to do him Hannibal to fight. service in the establishing and inlarging of

had been at Rome, returned back under the standing this, admired the bravery and cou-

than so many) to succour Hannibal when it conduct of Lalius and Fulvius: who brought them fafe into the Roman Camp. There when they arrived and understood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaved themselves towards the Roman Embafladours : they made little doubt, how their own heads should answer for fuch notorious outrage. To confirm them in this opinion.

M. Babius one of the late Embaffadours that had been in Carthage, being left by Scipio to take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them and detained them; fending word unto his General, who was gone abroad to make War in the Country, that he had them in his power, and that now the Carthaginians might be repaid in their own Coyn, for the injury by them lately done. Scipio was very glad to hear of this; and commanded Babius to use them with all posfible courtefie, and fend them fafe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his enemies; and caused them to acknowledge ction, to do what he could do out of hand. themselves (which was a great victory) far Hannibal made answer, That they were his less honourable than the Romans. This notgood Lords, and had power to dispose of withstanding, he made more cruel War uphim and his Army; but fince he was General on them than before: taking their Towns of their forces, He thought it reasonable by force; and putting them to sack, without that they should suffer him to do as a Gene- hearkning to any Composition. It was the ral ought to do; and to choose his own manner of the Romans, as often as they took times. Nevertheless, to give them satisfacti- a Town by assault, to put all that came in on, He made great marches to Zama; and their way to the fword, whatfoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make The breach of Truce made by the Cartha- | themselves terrible: and the better to work ginians: The violence done to his Embaf- fuch impression in the minds of those, with fadours: and the news of Hannibal his being whom they had to do; they used oftentimes landed in Africk, made scipio to understand to kill the very Dogs and other Beasts, that the resolution of the Carthaginians, which ran athwart them in the streets : hewing Except. ? was, not to yield unto any conditions un- their bodies afunder: as men delighted in profitable for themselves, as long as they sheet of blood. This being their practice were able to make refistance. Wherefore he at other times; it is likely that now they fent unto Mafanissa: and informed him of omitted no piece of cruelty; when they all that was fallen out; praying him to come meant to give proof of their vehement inaway with speed, and lay all other business dignation, and revengful minds, for the inapart. Ten Roman Companies, of Horse and juries received. Hence it partly grew, that

Hannibal being incamped at Zama, fent his Kingdom. But he well understood, that forth his Scouts and Spies, to discover where those and many more besides all his own the Romans lay, what they were doing, and forces, would but little avail him; if Han- as much as might be, of their demeanour. nibal should drive the Komans out of Africk. Some of these were taken, and brought un-Wherefore taking fuch order as he could to Scipio: who instead of truffing them upon the sudden, for the safety of his own up, gave them free leave to view his Camp at pleasure, appointing one to conduct them up and down, and shew them whatsoever they defired. This done, He gave Soon after the beginning of these new them leave to depart; and sent them away troubles, the Carthaginian Embassadours that safe unto their General. Hannibal under-

den he grew to desirous to have an Enter- peradventure suffice to teach thee moderation, view, and personal conference; and signi- For I am that same Hannibal, who after my fied so much unto him by a messenger sent vistory at Canna, won the greatest part of of purpose. Of this motion the Roman liked Italy; and devised with my felf, what i well : and returned answer, that He would should do with your City of Rome, which r meet him floortly in a place convenient. The boped verily to have taken. Once I brought next day Mafaniffa came with his Army : mine army to your walls, as thou haft fince whom scipio taking with him, removed un- brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now to a Town called Nedagara ; near unto fee the change! I stand here intreating thee which he face down, in a place otherwife to grant us peace. This may ferve as a docommodious, & close by a water that might cument of Fortunes instability. I have fought opportunely serve his Camp. Thence he sent with thy father Scipio; He was the first of the word unto the Carthaginian, That the time Roman Generals that ever met me in the and place did fitly serve, if he had ought field. I did then little think, that the time to fay to him. Hannibal thereupon removed | would come, that I should have such business, from Zama, and came within four miles of as now at the present, with his son. But this is the enemy; where he incamped well to his even one of Fortunes pageants, whereof the own good liking in all things elfe; except- bath many. And thou mailt have experience of ing that his men were driven to take much the like in thy felf, who knows how soon? Think pains in fetching their water fomewhat uponM. Atilius: If he would have hearkned unto far ofi. Then was order taken for their fuch perswasions, as I now use to thee, he might meeting: and the two Generals each of have returned home to Rome an happy man, them with a troop of Horse, rode forth of and so mailt thou do now, if any reasonable their Camps, till they came unto a piece of offer will give thee satisfaction. How sail ground ; which was before well learched thou? Canft thou be contented, that all Spain, for fear of ambush. There they will their Sicil, Sardinia, and what sever Islands else followers to stand off: and themselves with are scituate between Italy and Africk be each of them one Interpreter, encountred abandoned by the Carthaginians for ever, each other in the mid-way between their and left unto the Romans, to bear dominion Companies. They remained a while filent, therein? Thou shalt have glory enough by effeviewing one the other with mutual admi- ding thus much: and the Romans may well ration. Then began the Carthaginian, sa- be glad of such a bargain. As for us, our own luting the Roman, to deliver his mind to this quiet shall henceforth give us contentment. effect: That it had been better both for And the same contentment of ours, shall make Carthage, and Rome, if they could have li- us faithfully observe the peace with you. But if mited and contained their ambition within thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee the shores of Africk and of Italy; for that to ponder well how great an hazzard thou the Countreys of Sicil and Spain, about must undergo for obtainining a very little which their fathers and themselves had more, than that which thou mailt have withftriven, were no sufficient recompence for so out contention. It is now in thine own power many Fleets as had been loft, and of so much to lay hold upon good fortune, if it please thee: blood as had been shed, in making those stay but until to morrow night, and thou maist costly purchases. But since things past could take such fortune as it please the gods. The ishe not be recalled: He faid, That it was meet of battel is uncertain, and many times berather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, begun. than upon a contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affairs are fub- no ambitious defire of ruling in siell and

rage of his enemy: with whom on the fud-ject. Tet (faid he) mine own example may for them to confider, unto what extream guileth expectation. Men and freet we shall dangers their own Cities had been exposed, each of us bring into the field; but of the viby the greedy defire of extending their Em- Ctory neither of us hath affurance. Let us therepires abroad; and that it was even time for fore without more ado make peace. And do not them now at length to make an end of their tell me that some false hearted citizens of obstinate contention, and pray the gods to ours dealt fraudently of late in the like treaty: endue them with greater wisdom hereaster. It is I Hannibal that now desire peace with And to fuch peaceable disposition, He affirm- thee, which I would never do, if I thought it ed that his own years, and long tryal of not expedient for my country. And thinking Fortune, both good and evil, had made it expedient, I will alwayes maintain it, like him inclinable. But much he feared, that as I have maintained, unto my power, as long Scipio, by want of the like experience, might as the gods did not enery me, the war by me

Hereunto Scipio made answer, That it was

enter into this or the former War: but that ples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable the defence of the Mamertines, and after distance between them: Not far behind these wards of the Saguntines, their confederates, followed the Principes, likewise divided: and had caused them to put on those arms; which so after them the Triarii. But herein Scipio the gods by the final iffue of the Warshad altered a little the ordinary custome of the approved, and would approve to be most Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his just. As for the mutability of Fortune, he Principes opposite unto the void spaces faid, that he was not thereof ignorant; and between the Haftati, that fo the Haftati, as that without any note of infolence or over- was usual, might fall back between the weening, he might well refuse the conditi- Principes; but he placed them directly one ons offered. For was it not plain that all behind another, as it were, in File. This he these Countreys, with which the Carthaginians did, because of the Elephants, whereof Hannow so willingly departed, were already won nibal had many. For of those beasts the from the Romanse If, faid he, these conditions danger was less whilest there was open way had been propounded whilest as yet ye detained to let them through. Therefore he took fome part of Italy, they might peradventure fuch order, that when they had passed not have been rejected. But as the case now through the spaces between the first Battastands, I see no reason why I should remit unto lions, they should not come upon the Prinyou any one piece of these my former demands, cipes in Front. Unto his Velites, or those to which the Carthaginians have pielded al- of the light armature that were to begin ready, and thought me to be gracious in dea- the fight he gave direction, that when they juries which they have done me fince have made by the Enemies, or (which was most to be them unworthy of obtaining peace upon so feared) by the Elephants, they should run friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee, Han- back through those lanes that were between nibal, though thou would ft be glad to make thy the Maniples; and that those which were Citizens understand, from how much of their | swiftest, or otherwise best able, should conburden they are by thy means eased. Only thou tinue on their flight, untill they were got must think, that in like sort it concerns me in fleet, and their violating our Embaffadours? nied you peace.

his men after the Roman manner: placing which confider themselves to be, and

in Spain which had moved the Romans to first the Hastati , divided into their Maniling fo moderately. Rather I fay, that the in- | found themselves to be overcharged, either behind all their own Army; thereby leavhonour not to let them be gainers or favers by ing room enough unto those that were the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou wounded, or cast behind, to save themselves knowest well, that besides those offers which on the void ground, that was betwixt the thou here hast made, they were well contented first and second, or the second and third to restore unto us ransome-free, all prisoners battels, without cloying up the way bethat they have of ours, to pay us five thousand tween the Maniples, which he defired to talents, to deliver up their Gallies, and to de- keep open. His Italian horse he placed in liver hoftages for affurance of fair dealing, the left wing, under C. Lelius. In the right And must they now be discharged of all this wing was Masanissa with his Numidians. He by their breach of truce, their spoiling of our himself riding up and down, exhorted his men to do valiantly; using words, not ma-Not fo, But if they can be contented, besides all ny, but forcible. He bade them remember this, to make such amends as I shall require, for what they had atchieved, fince their comthese injuries newly done; then will I take ad- ing into Africk. He told them, that if this vice with my counsel what answer to give day were theirs, the War was at an end: and you; otherwise you may even prepare for war, that their victory in this War, should make and blame your own selves for that I have de- them Lords of all the World, for that afterwards, none would be found able to refift Hereupon they brake off: and returned them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, each to his own Camp, with no other news he asked them whither they would flie. than war; bidding their Souldiers prepare They were far from home, yea, and far for a battel, wherein should be decided the from their own standing Camp: neither quarrel betwen Rome and Carthage. The was there any place in Africk, that would next morning at break of day they issued give them shelter: if they fell into the Carinto the field: a notable march, and fuch as thaginians hands, they knew what to expect. hath very feldom been found; whether we And therefore there was none other way, regard the Generals, their Armies, the two but death or victory: unless they would live Cities that contended, or the great impor- like wretched flaves under most merciless tance of the battel at hand. Scipio ordered enemies. In such necessity he said, that they

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have never been known to fail of getting That it was one P. Scipio, even the father of

Hannibal on the other fide placed his Elephants, that were more than fourfcore in Legions, which they yonder beheld, were Front of his Battel. Next behind these he made his Vant-guardall of Mercenaries, Ligurians, Gaules, Balcares and Moors. Then dastardly slight out of fundry battels, could followed his Battel; which was of Carthaginians and Africans, more interessed in the quarrel than were those Mercenaries; though not fo good fouldiers: but to help (if it might be)their want of courage, they had with them four thousand Macedonians, lately fent from King Philip. More than the space of a furlong, behind these came his Rereward, confisting of those brave Souldiers which had ferved him in his Italian wars; and were the only men, in whom he reposed | vincible. any confidence. Opposite to Lalius, in his own right wing he bestowed the Carthaginian Horse. Tychaus and the Numidians he gether, the Numidian horsemen on both sides placed in his left wing against Majaniffa. He began to skirmith The Trumpets, and other was indeed far too weak for the Enemy in instruments of war, sounded to battel: and Horse both in number and in goodness. For Hannibal commanded his Elephants to break Tychicus and Mezetullus had no more than upon the Romans. Or these Elephants (as three thousand and those not so well exer- they were alwayes an uncertain kind of cifed, as were the four thouland of Masanif | help) those that stood near unto the point Ja. The Carthaginians also were no more, nor of the left wing, turned back for fear: and none other, than fuch as could be levied in ran upon their own Numidian horse; which the haste of a few days; and the remainder they affrighted and disordered. Masanifa of those, that had of late been often van- espying this gave charge upon the same Nuquished, and accustomed to flye. But it was midians; and not suffering them to rally no time for Hannibal, neither had he perhaps authority, to make these his companions | The rest of those beasts made a great spoil alight and serve on foot, setting better men of the Roman Velites, whom they followed in their faddles. All that he could have done, into the spaces between the Maniples: but was to ftay a little longer, and expect more without any harm to the Battalions themhelp. Had I ermina the fon of syphax come felves; which gave them open way, accordthither, as he did in a few days after, with ingly as scipio had well provided Divers of fixteen thouland and upwards, the most of them receiving many wounds, and growing them Horfe, the advantage of number might therewith furious, could no longer be gories bountiful rewards 5 threatning the Carthaginians with inevitable servitude if they huge Army which they had flaughtered rous violence of these untrained Barbarians.

take resolution answerable therereunto, at Canne. He willed them to remember, this man, whom they had first of all compelled to run away. He told them, that thefe for the most part of them, the very worst of the Roman Souldiers ; even fuch, as for their no longer be trufted to bear Arms in their own Countrey. As for the rest, they were young men, the fons of Cowards, and bred up in the continual fear of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily flain or chafed. Wherefore he intreated these his old companions, upon whose vertue he meant wholly to repose himself, that they would this day strive to make good their honour, and to purchase the same of men in-

Such exhortations used the two Generals before the fight. When they drew near tothemselvs, drave them quite out of the field. have ferved well to supply all other defect. verned, but ran back upon the right point Yet fince the Lords of Carthage would brook of their own battel, and beyond that into no delay, Hannibal must be fain to comfort the open field. Herewithal they disordered himself with the hope that he reposed in the Carthaginian Horse, which were in that his old Halian fouldiers, whose vertue had wing:against whom they gave to Lalius the wrought greater wonders, when it was more fame advantage that Mafaniffa had against ftrongly opposed. He encouraged therefore the Numidian; which he used in like fort. In his men, with words agreeable to their feve the mean while, the battels of foot advancral conditions:promiting unto the Mercena-ed, and drew near together with a flow and frately pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast: at what time they gave a shout lost that day: but especially animating his and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries old fellow fouldiers, by the many victories for a time feemed both in audacity, and in which they had obtained against far greater | quickness to have the better of the Romans; numbers. He bad them to look upon wounding many, and doing more harm, the Enemies and make an estimate, whether than they took. But the Roman discipline asthey were any thing like formany, as that ter a while prevailed against the boisteWhereunto it helped not a little, that the when they had overcome the bad way, all in flain, through their own indifcretion, by over-bearing them by meer violence, comtheir own Mercenaries. The Roman Hastati | pelled them to fall to Rout, in like fort, fighting with desperate men in a way. In fuch case, if he should fight with resist. that warlike Army, which he faw before

battel of the Principes, following somewhat one Front with the Hastati, and made of near after the Haltati, encouraged their fel- them his two Cornets. This done, he advanlows&shewed themselvs ready, if need were, | ced towards Hannibal: who entertained to relieve them. Contrariwife, the Merce- him after another manner, than ever he had paries, received no manner of help or com- been received in his life before. All the days fort, from those that should have seconded work till now, seemed to have been a matthem. For the new-levied carthagians and ter of pastime, in regard of the sharp Con-Africans, when they saw their hired souldi- flict, that was maintained between these noers give back, did also themselves retire. This table Souldiers. The Romans were encoucauled the Ligurians, Gaules, and the rest, raged by their having prevailed all the day to think themselves betrayed: whereupon | before: they were also far the more in numthey enclined unto flight. The Carthaginian | ber. But these old Souldiers of Hannibal Battel was herewith more terrified than be- were fresh; (and perhaps the better men.) fore, so as it refused to give way unto the They fought with such obstinate resolution, Mercenaries for their fafe retreat; and yet | that no man gave back one foot; but rather withall forbore to make head against the chose to die on the ground whereon he Enemies, that purfued them. It was no time | flood. So that, after a long time it was unto ask them what they meant by this: Fear | certain which part had the worfe: unless it and Indignation caused those that were at | may feem, that the Romans were beginning once chased by the Romans, and betrayed, as to shrink; for a smuch as the return of Ma-* Except. they thought, by their own fellows, to turn familia and Lalius from pursuit of the Ene-Polyb List. their arms with an heedless fury against mies Horse, is said to have been most happy, both the one and the other. Thus were and in a needful time. These upon a sudden many of the Carthaginians beaten down and charged the Hannibalians in the Rear; and

In this battel there dyed of the Romans throng, had their hands so full of work, sifteen hundred and upwards: on the Carthat the Principes were fain to come up unto | thaginian fide, above twenty thousand; bethem, and help to over-bear this great | fides as many that were taken; of whom, somedley of enemies, that were together by pater Captain of the Macedonians was one. the ears among themselves. In this place | The fingular skill that Hannibal shewed in was made a great flaughter, both of the this his last fight, is highly commended by Mercenaries and of the Carthaginians: which | Polybins; and was acknowledged, as Livie hindering one another, could neither fight, | reports, by scipio himfelf. But the Enemies nor easily flye. Such of them as escaped, were too strong for him in Horse: and being ran towards Hannibal: who kept his ground, | enjoyned, as he was, by the State of Carthage, and would not stir one foot, to help or save to take battel with such disadvantage, he these Run-awayes. He caused his men to could work no marvels. He saved himself bend their Pikes at those of his own side, with a few horse; and stayed not in his that would have ruthed upon him: whom journey, till he came Astrumetum. Thence he he thereby compelled to turn afide beyond was fent for to Carthage; from which he his battel, and fave themselves in the open had been absent fix and thirty years. At his field. The ground over which, the Ro- coming into the Senate, He faid plainly, mans were now to march, ere they could That there was none other way left, than to meet with Hannibal, was covered with take such peace as could be gotten. Whereheaps of dead bodies and weapons; and so fore the carthaginians not knowing what flippery with blood, that scipio began to other course to take, resolved to send Emftand in great doubt, lest the orders of his bassadors again, and try the favour of Battalions should be dissolved in passing that | Scipio, whose Arms they could not now

Scipio having spoiled the Enemies Camp. him, remaining yet entire, and without returned back to Utica: where he found fear expecting him: He might be well affured P. Lentulus newly arrived, with fifty Galto receive a notable overthrow. He caused lies and an hundred Ships of burden. With therefore the Hastati to make a stand there this Fleet, and that which he had before, He where they were, opposite to the main bat- thought it best to make towards Carthage: tel of the Hannibalians. Then drawing up rather of purpose to terrifie the City, than his Principes and Triarii, he placed them, with any hope to take it. His Legions he

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committed unto Cn. Off avius; whom he wil- there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose. ctory, fet fail from Vtica towards Carthage. He was encountred on the way by ten Em. turned back to Utica, and called back Octahind him, and twelve hundred taken prifo-Hannibal at Nadagara, they should have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the Carthaginian loft by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, though it were no great access unto the former; yet served well to daunt the Carthaginians, and imprint in them the greater fear of Scipio. When he came to Tunes, there met him thirty Emballadors from Carthage: whose behaviour, though it was more pittiful than it had been before, yet procured it less commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like fort humbled themselves. Nevertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious work it world prove, to befiege the mighty City of Carthage. And particularly, Scipio stood in great doubt, lest

led to meet him there by land. Then fending to restrain the ambition of this Conful Lalius away to Rome with news of the vi- Servilius. After him followed Tiberius Claudius, who made fuit for the same Province of Africk: and was therein fo earnest, that bassadors from the City: who bearing up though neither the Senate, nor People, would with the Admiral Gally, began to the grant him his defire; yet he needs would be pittiful gefture of fuppliants. But they re- going, procuring only leave of the Senate, ceived none other answer, than that they that he being Consul might join with scipio, should meet him at Tunes, where he would were it with no more than equal authority. give them audience. So rowing along be- But ere he could have his Fleet, and all before the City, and viewing it more in bra- things in a readiness for the journy, wherein very, than with meaning to attempt it; he re- no man cared to further him, Winter came on, and he was only toft at Sea with foul vius thicher, with whom in person he set for- weather; first upon the Coast of Hetruria, wards to Tunes. As they were in their journy and afterwards by Sardinia; where his thither, they heard the news, that Vermina | Confulfhip expired, and so he returned the fon of syphax, was coming with an Army home a private man. Then came the joyof more horse than foot, to the succour of sul news to Rome, of the victory obtained those that were already vanquished. This against Hannibal, and that the war was now Vermina seems to have been both careless of even at an end. Yet was Lentulus the new getting intelligence how things paffed, and | Cenful fo paffionate, in defiring Africk for his very defective in all other duties requifite in Province, that he said he would suffer nothe Commander of an Army. Part of the thing to pass in the Senate, until he had first Roman foot, with all their power of Horse, his will, Much ado there was about this and was fent against him: which did not only after many contentions, both in the Senate, beat him, but so compass him in, that he and before the people, at last it was ordehardly cleaped himfelf with a few; leaving red, That if peace were granted, ir flould fifteen thousand of his followers dead be- be granted by Scipio; if the war continued, Scipio should have command therein by ners. If this good company had been with Land, and the Conful at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused scipio to give the more favourable answer unto the Carthaginian Embassadors. He willed them to consider what they had deferved and in regard thereof to think themselves well dealt withal; in that he was contented to leave unto them their liberty and their own Laws, without appointing any Governour over them, or Garrison to hold them in subjection; leaving also unto them their possessions in Africk, fuch as they were at the beginning of this war. As touching the rest he was at a point, that, before he either granted them peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilst the late Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yield, then required, He, That immedithey should deliver up to the Romans all prisoners fugitives and renegado's, that they had of the honour of this war, if it were protracted, theirs: likewife all their Gallies, excepting ten: should be taken out of his hands, and given and all their Elephants. That they fould make to one of the Confuls. Cn. Servilius Capio, that no war at all thenceforth out of Africk, not Conful who had charge of the war against ther yet within Africk, without licence of Hannibal at such time as he departed out of the Romans : That the Countreys , Towns, Italy: was hold to pass over into the Isle of goods what sever, belonging any wife unto Sicil (as it were in chase of Hannibal by him Masanisia, or to any of his Ancestors, which terrified and driven away) with a purpose were in their possession, should be all by them thence to have proceeded into Africk, and reftored unto him: That they should find corn taken from Scipio the command of the Army for the Roman Army, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill | company of Scipio his Embassadours, who

With these conditions the Embassadours returned home, and reported them unto the City. They were very unpleafing ; and vain Oratour, by the unquiet, yet unwarand what their errand was.

At this time Hanno, and they of his Facti- | with men and money. on, were become wife and honourable men, by the miseries whereinto Carthage was to open a way into Greece and the Eastern fallen, through their malicious counfels. Af- Countreys, helped well the Carthaginian drubal, surnamed the Kid, a venerable man, Embassadours in their solicitation of Peace. and a great friend of Hanno, was chief of They appeared a very reverend company, the Embailages which they fent to Rome for when they entred into the Senate: and Afobtaining peace. They went thither in drubal above the rest was much respected, as

the Peace were fully concluded; that they related unto the Senate and People these (bould pay ten thousand Talents of Silver, in joyful news. About the same time arrived the term of fifty years, by two hundred Ta- at Rome Embassadours from Philip King of lents a year, and that for observance of Con- Macedon: who, together with the Carthaditions, they should give an hundred hostages: ginians, were fain to wait a while for audifuch as Scipio would choose, being none of ence, till the election of new Consuls, then in them under fourteen years of age, nor above hand was finished; and order taken, for the Provinces of them, and the new Prætors: Then were the Macedonian Embassadours called into the Senate: who first answering unto some points, wherein the Romans had therefore one Gesco stood up to speak against lately signified unto their King, that they them: and exhorted the people, who gave found themselves grieved; returned the good attention, that they should not conde- blame upon those Greeks themselves, that feend unto fuch intolerable demands. But had made their complaint at Rome. Then ac-Hannibal perceiving this, and noting withal cufed they Marcus Aurelius: who being one what favourable audience was given to this of the three Embassadours, that had lately been fent from Rome unto King Philip, tarried like multitude, was bold to pull him down in Greece behind his fellows, and there levyfrom his standing, by plain force. Hereat ing men, made war upon the King, without all the people murmured, as if their com- any regard at all of the league, that was mon liberty were too much wronged, by between him and the Romans. Further they fuch insolence of this presumptuous Cap- defired of the Senate, That one Sopater, a tain. Which Hannibal perceiving, role up | Macedonian Gentleman, with other of their and spake unto them, saying; That they Countrymen, that had lately served Hanniought to pardon him, if he had done other. | bal for Pay; and being taken prisoners in wife than the customes of the City would Africk, were kept in bonds by scipio, might allow; forasmuch as he had been thence be released and delivered unto them. Unto absent ever fince he was a Boy of nine years all this M. Furius, whom Aurelius had fent old, untill he was now a man of five and to Rome for that purpole, made a sharp anforty. Having thus excused himself of the swer. He said, that the Greeks, which were disorder, he discoursed unto them concern- | confederate with Rome, enduring so many ining the Peace: and perswaded them to ac- juries at the hands of Philip, that M. Aurelius cept it, as wanting ability to defend them- was fain to fray behind, to help them as he felves, had the Demands of the Enemy been | might; which else were like to be brought yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good ad- under the Kings subjection. As for sopater, vice they resolved to yield unto the Con- he affirmed him to be one of the Kings ditions propounded by Scipio: to whom Counsel, and very inward with him: one they paid out of hand five and twenty thou- that served not for money, but carryed mofand pounds weight in Silver, in recompence | ney with him, and four thousand men, fent of damages, and injuries by them done to from the King to the aid of Hannibal. About his Fleet and Embassadours. Scipio granted these points, when the Macedonian Embasthem Truce for three moneths, in which | fadours could make unto the Senate no good time they might negotiate with the State of answer, they were willed to return, and tell Rome, about confirmation of the League. their Master, That war he fought, and war But herewithall he gave injunction, that he should find, if he proceeded as he had they should neither in the mean while send | begun For in two main points He had bro-Embassadours any whither else, nor yet dis- ken the League, that was between him and miss any Embassiadours to them sent, without the Romans: first, in that he had wronged first making him acquainted what they were, their Confederates; and secondly, in that he had aided their Enemies against them,

These quarrels with Philip, that promised

CHAP III

mans from necessity of sending Emballa- appointed by the Senate to joyn with scipio dours to Carthage, upon the like errand. He in commission. liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrel had been wholly on the Romans fide; was given, and accepted, without any confaying, that it was the fault of some violent troversie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fumen, through which the Peace was broken. gitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up Yet could he not altogether excuse the City, to Scipio: likewise the Gallies, and the Elethat had been too vehement, in the profe-phants. Scipio took more vengeance upon cution of bad counfel. But if Hanno, and the Renegado's than upon the Fugitives; himself might have had their wills, the Carthaginians, even at the best of their Fortune, the Latines, or other Halians. The Latines he should have granted the peace, which they beheaded: the Romans he crucified. About now defired. Herewithall he commended the the first payment of their money, the Carthamoderation of the Romans, as no finall ar-ginians were fomewhat troubled. For gument of their valour; by which alwayes though perhaps their common Treasury they had been victorious. To the fame ef- could have spared two hundred Talents for fect spake the rest of the Embassadours: all the present; yet since the pension was annuof them entreating to have the peace ratifi- al, and to continue fifty years: it was ed; though some with more lamentable thought meet to lay the burden upon the words than others, according to the diversi- Citizens. At the collection of the sumthere ty of their fille. They had patience enough was pitcous lamentation, as if now the Ro-

those that violate their Leagues.

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Senate from proceeding unto conclusion of than your tears. For ye should have wept when peace; for that hereby he was like to lofe Je gave gave up your ships and Elephants, and the honour, which he purposed to get by when ye bound your own hands from the use of making war in Africk. But the matter was arms, without the good leave of the Romans propounded unto the people, in whom reft- first obtained. This miserable condition keeps us ed the Soveraign Command of Kome; and under, and holds us in affired fervitude. But by them referred wholly unto the pleasure of these matters ye had no feeling. Now, when of the Senate. So it was decreed, That Scipio, a little money is wrung out of your private especial friends; of whom they gave in wri- the remedy. ting almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred ced Masamisa, and magnified him in presence of those Prisoners, which the Embassadours of the Army, with high commendations not would choose, should be sent over into undeservedly. To him also he configned Africk, and be freely restored to liberty by over those towns of King Syphax, which Scipio, when the peac was fully concluded. the Romans at that present held; wherein, So they took leave, and returned home, in to fay truth, he gave him but his due; and

one, whose good offices had kept the Ro- company of the ten Delegates, that were

At their coming into Africk, the peace and upon those of the Romans, than upon to endure such reproof of Perjury, as they man yoke had begun to pinch them; so as themselves might have laid upon the Ro- many, even of the Senators, could not formans, if their diligence and fortune had bear weeping. Contrariwife, Hannibal could been fuch as the Romans was. Among the not refrain from laughter. For which, when rest, when one of the Senators demanded, he was checked by Asarubal Healus, and told, by what gods they would five ar to keep the That it worft of all befeemed him to laugh, peace hereafter: Afdrubal made answer; since he had been the cause why all others Even by the Same gods, that are so severe unto did weep; He answered, That laughter did not alwayes proceed from jey; but sometimes Lentulus the Conful, interpoling the au- from extreamity of indignation: Tet, faid He, thority of his office, would have hindred the My laughter is more scassinable, and less absurd, with ten Delegates, fint unto him from purfes, ye have thereof some sense. God grant Rome of purpole, should make a League with that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye the Carthaginians, upon such Conditions as | Shall acknowledge, that it was the very leaft feemed best : which were none other, than part of your misery for which ye have fled these the same which he had already propound tears. Thus discoursed Hannibal unto thok, ed. For this fayour the Carthaginian Embal. who tafting the bitter fruits of their own fadours humbly thanked the Senate; and malicious counfel, repented when it wastoo craved licence, that they might vifit their late; and instead of curfing their own dif-Countrymen, which were priloners in Rome: orders, which had bred this grievous diafterwards, that they might ransome and sease, accused the Physician, whose noble carry, home with them fome that were their endevours had been employed in procuring

of the Romans, to infult over the calamities African.

that which otherwise he knew not well how of mighty Princes, by leading them contuto bestow. But the love of the Romans, and meliously in Triumph; yea, though they friendship of scipio, was fully answerable, were such, as had alwayes made fair and now and hereafter, to all the defervings of courteous war. But hereof we shall have this Numidian King. About Carthage there better example ere the same age pass. It refled no more to be done. Wherefore the was neither the person of syphax, nor any Romans embarqued themselves for Sicil: other glory of the spectacle, that so much where when they arrived at Lylibaum, Scipio beautified the Triumph of Scipio; as did the with some part of his Army took his way contemplation of that grievous war past, home to Rome by land; and fent the rest whereof the Romans had been in a manner Except, & before him thither by Sea. His, journey without hope that ever they should fet Italy free. Polyb. through Italy was no less glorious than any This made them look cheerfully upon the lib. 16. triumph : all the people thronging out of Author of so great a conversion; and filled the Towns and Villages, to do him honour them with more joy, than they well could as he passed along. He entred the City moderate. Wherefore they gave to Scipio the in Triumph : neither was there ever be- Title of the African: stilling him by the name fore, or after, any triumph celebrated with of that Province, which he had subdued. fo great joy of the people, as was this This honourable kind of furname, taken of Scipio; though, in bravery of the pomp, from a conquered Province, grew afterthere were others in time shortly follow- wards more common, and was usurped by ing, that exceeded this. Whether syphax men of less desert: especially by many of were carryed through the City in this Tri- the Cafars, who fometimes arrogated unto umph, and dyed foon after in prison; or themselves the title of Countreys, wherewhether he were dead a while before: it in they had performed little or nothing; cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be as if fuch glorious Attributes could have avowed. That it was a barbarous custome made them like in vertue unto Scipio the

CHAP. IV.

Of Philip the father of Perseus King of Macedon; his first Asts and War with, the Romans, by whom he was subdued.

How the Romans, grew acquainted in the East-Countreys, and desirous of War there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The Atolians over-run Peloponnesus. Philip and his Associates make war against the Atolians. Alteration of the State in Sparta. The Ætolians invade Greece and Macedon, and are invaded at home by Philip.

F the great fimilitude found in observed in the change of Empires, before worldly events, the limitation those times whereof we now write, how the of matter hath been affigned as Affyrians or Chaldeans invaded the kingdom a probable cause. For fince Na- of the Medes, with two hundred thousand ture is confined unto a subject Foot, and threescore thousand Horse; but that is not unbounded; the works of Na- failing in their intended conquest, they beture must needs be finite, and many of them came subject within a while themselves unto relemble one the other. Now in those acti- the Medes and Persians. In like manner ons, that feem to have their whole depen- Darius, and after him Xerxes, fell upon the dance upon the will of man, we are less to Greeks with such number of men, as might wonder, if we find less variety: fince it is no have seemed resistless. But after that the Pergreat portion of things which are obnoxi- sians were beaten home again, their Emous unto humane power; and fince they pire was never secure of the Greeks: who at are the fame affections, by which the wills all times of leifure from intestine War, of fundry men are over-ruled, in managing devifed upon that conquest thereof, which the affairs of our daily life. It may be finally they made under the great Alexander.

with his well-trained Army, had made at- Philip and Alexander had shewed a way: tempt upon Greece 5 the iliue might, in hu-which, or perhaps a better, they might learn, mane reason, have been far different. Yet by getting more acquaintance with the Nawould it then have been expedient for tion. them, to employ the travel and vertue of their men, rather than the greatness of their ended, which followed foon after the wars names against those people; that were no of Pyrrhus and of the Tarentines; then less valiant, though less renowned, than their tets variant, though tets renowned, to all the news in Greece; and to entertain any own. For the menacing words used by Cyrus, and some small displeasures done to the good occasion, that should be on that side Greeks (in which kind it may be, that Nabuckodonofor likewife offended the Medes and rersians) were not so available to vi-Ctory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdoms, when they decay in be withed, that the Hyrian Queen Testa strength, suffer as did the old Lion, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolf, gored by the Bull, yea and ing their Towns, only because they were kickt by the Afs. But Princes are often carryed away from reason, by mil understanding the language of Fame : and despising the vertue that makes little noife, adventure flow to give them cause. And their happy ac Lib, co. to provoke it against themselves; as if it complishing of that war, which they made latter were not possible that their own glory should be foiled by any of less-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat Xerxes, and before him (as I take it) Evilmerodach, thing hapned: though they fent Embaffahad flumbled, Fyrrhus the Epirot had dasht dours, as it were to offer themselves; by fighis foot. He was not indeed the King of all | nifying, that for the love of Greece they had Greece; though most of mark, and a better Souldier than any other Greekifb King, when the first acquaintance betwirt the Greeks he entred into the war against the Romans. and Romans: which afterwards encreased This war he undertook as it were for his very haftily, through the indifcretion of minds take; having received no injury; but King Philip the Macedonian; whose business hoping by the glory of his name, and of the Greeks that ferved under him, to prevail ry, it is meet that we should relate (though to eafily against the barbarous Romans, that they should only serve as a step to his further intended conquests, of Sicil and Africk. spana pre- But when the Romans by their victory readed in against Pyrekus had found their own vertue in the most of all Countreys known; and 3, in the most of all Countreys known; and 3, in the most of all Countreys known; and 3, of the greatest Navy, be- to be of richer metal, than was the more ing beaten shining valour of the Greeks: then did all the bravery of the Epirot (his Elephants, and whatfoever elfe had ferved to make him ter- the third of the Olympiad following. For what what he was to make the Romans, in in this time died Selencus Cerannus King of in this time died Selencus Cerannus Cer spain; and time following, to think more highly of having broken the themselves. * For since they had overcome the best Warrior in Greece, even Him, that, Fleet that being thus beaten by them, could in a year after make himself Lord of Greece and Macedon: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those unwarlike Provinces, which in compass of 12. years a Macedonian King of late memory had won? Cercount of his preparatainly there was hereunto requifite no

If Nabuchodonofor with his rough old Soul- Greece: all the reft, this done, would foldiers, had undertaken the Medes : or Cyrus low it felf. How to deal with the Greeks,

CHAP. IV.

When therefore the first Punick war was presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwife very skilfull Marriners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could made at the same time cruel war upon the Greeks: wasting their Countrey, and fackunable to refift, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrel, if the Romans were desirous to enter; the Queen was not with Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to be defired by the Greeks. But no such undertaken this Illyrian war. Thusbegan with them, being now the subject of our stosomewhat briefly) the beginning of his reign, and his first Actions. It was like to prove a busie time in the world, when, within the space of 4. years, new Kings began to reign of them young boyes, in 3. of the greatest kingdoms. This hapned from the third year of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, nnto Asia and Syria, in whose room succeeded his brother Antiochus, afterwards called the Great. Ptolomy Philopater fucceeded in the Kingdom of Egypt unto his father Energetes. And Philip the fon of Demetrius, being 16, or 17. years old, received the Kingdom of Macedon, together with the Patronage of the Achaans and most of the Greeks, by the decease of his Uncle Antigonus Doson, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the more, than to bring to their own devotion fame time also was the like change in capby some good means, the whole Country of padocia, Lacedamon, and the Countreys about Mount Taurus. For Ariarathes then began his Army. He suffered them to pass quietly reign in Cappadocia. Lycurgus found means along with their booty, through a part of to make himself King over the Lacedamoni- the Country, wherein he might very easily ans, whose Common-weal, fince the flight of have distressed them; and afterwards prefof Cleomenes, had continued in a manner fed them so near, when they had recovered headless; and Achama a kinsman of Antiochus, ground of advantage, that they easily debut a Rebel unto him, occupied the Regions feated all his Army. So they departed home near unto Mount Taurus, and kept a while rich, and well animated to return again. the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the As for the Acheans, they got hereby onfecond and third years of the one hundred ly the friendship of the Messenians: with and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war whom, by licence of King Philip, they made brake out between Rome and Carthage; Confederacy. Shortly after, the Ætolians and that Hannibal began his great Invalion invaded Pelopounesus again: having no more upon Italy. Those troubles of the Western to do, than to pass over the narrow world, which were indeed the greatest, Straights of the Corinthian Bay, called we have already followed unto an end: now the Gulph of Lepanto, where they might Of Antiochus, Ptolomy, and the rest; we shall land in the Countrey of the Eleans. There speak hereafter, when the Romans find joyned with them, in this their second inva-

them out.

reign, came into Peloponnesus; greatly defired them by the Romans, of setting out no ships of the Acheans, and many other his depen- of war unto the coast of Greece: made bold dants. That Countrey, having freed it felf to feek adventures again, and did great mifby the help of Antigonus from the danger chief. Demeirius Pharius, a creature of the (accounted great) of an easie subjection unto Romans, commanded a part of these Illyri-Cleamenes; was now become no less obnoxi- ans: who shortly repented him of this his ous to the Macedonian, than it should have voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingbeen to the spartan; and therewithal it lay dome, as is shewed before. But this Demetrius open unto the violence of the Ætolians; who went another way, and fell upon the Islands despised even the Macedonian Kings, that of the Cyclades in the Egean sea: whence rewere Patrons thereof. The Etolians were no turning, he did some good offices for King men to be idle:nor were much addicted unto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the Mcffenians that were their own Clients, and (excepting the Eleans, that were anciently of their ponnesus: who made greater havock in the confanguinity) the only good friends which Country now, than in their former Ezpedithey had at the prefent in Peloponnesso. Their tion, and returned home without finding invasion was no less unexpected, than it was any resistance. unjust: whereby with greater case they made spoil of the Countrey; finding none unto Philip, when he came to Corinth. And prepared to make refistance. The Acheans, because men were desirous to satisfe themwere called by the Messenians to help: which | selves with some speedy revenge: there they did the more willingly: because the were that urged to have some grievous pu-Ætolians passing without leave through nishment laid noon the Lacedamonians; who their Territory, had (as was their manner) were thought underhand to have favoured done what harm they listed. Old Aratus the Ætolians, in meer despight of the Achaans could hardly abide these Ætolians; as both and Macedonians, by whom themselves had knowing well their nature, and remembring lately been subdued. It is true, that the the injuries, wherewith most ingratefully Lacedamonians had been so affected: and they had requited no small benefits done to (which was worse) at the arrival of Philip, them by the Achaens. He was therefore so they slew such friends of his, as having hasty to fall upon this their Army, that he checked their inclination, seemed likely to could hardly endure to flay few dayes until appeach them of the intended rebellion. the time of his own Office came; being Neither durft they well commit themselves chosen Prator of the Achaans for the year to judgement but intreated the King, that following. But his anger was greater he would abstain from coming to them with than his courage: and he shewed himself a an Army: since their Town was lately much man fitter (as hath been already noted of disquieted with civil discord, which they

fion, a great number of the Illyrians: who. Philip, foon after the beginning of his neglecting that Condition imposed upon Philip, or his friends. The rest of the Illgrians under scerdilaidas, or scerdiletus, having gotten what they could elsewhere by roving at Sea, accompanied the Ætolians into Pelo-

Of these things great complaint was made him) for any other service, than leading of hoped soon to appease, and meant always to

remain Iiiiii

ever the Spaniards gathered together, made ac988

fatisfied with this: not for that he (or rather culed, until Philip (of whole meaning they old Aratus, who then wholly governed him) needed not to have made any doubt) should did mif-understand the Lacedamonians: but first proclaim the war. The Messenians, for for that a greater work was in hand, which whose cause the war was undertaken, exought not to be interrupted. There met at Co- cufed themselves, by reason of a Town which rinth in presence of the King, the Embasiadors of the Acheans, Baotians, Epirots, and faid, that they durft not be over-bold, until Acarnanians: all complaining upon the Æto- that bridle were taken out of their mouths, lians: and defiring to have war decreed As for the Lacedemonians, the chief of them against them, by common assent. Philip sent studied only, how to manage the treason his letters unto the Atolians, requiring them for which their City had been so lately parto make ready their answer in some conve-doned; and therefore dismissed the Embasnient time: if they could alledge any thing fadors of the Confederates, without any in excuse of that which they had done. They answer at all. They had three years togereturned word, that a Diet should be holden ther continued subject aganst their wils to at Rhium for that purpose: whither if it plea- the Macedonians, expecting still when Cleafed him to come, or fend, he should be well menes should return out of Egypt to reign informed of them and their whole meaning. over them again, and maintain, as he was The King prepared to have been there at wont, the honour of their City. In this the day. But when the Etolians understood regard they chose not any Kings, but were this for certain, they adjourned the Councel contented with the rule of Ephori. Of these unto a further time: laying, That luch weigh ty matters ought not to be handled, fave lick fafety to confift, in holding their faith in the great Parliament of all Ætolia. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were, to shew how well they had deserved it, made election of Scopas to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Invasions made on Peloponnesus; and the only man, in a fort, upon whom they must have laid the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publick.

The fifth Book of the first Part

After this, Philip went into Macedon, where he prepared builly for the war against the year following. He also assayed the Illyrian, scerdilaidas, with fair words and promises; forasmuch as the Ætolians had couzened courses to set forward their desire. Neither him of his share, when he was partner with did it suffice, that about these times there them in their late robberies. In like fort the came certain report of Cleamenes his death. Acheans, who had first of all others promore mighty, were nevertheless more cunning and reserved: so that they stood upon fame. Some of the most working spirits

remain at his devotion. Fhilip was eafily a needless point, and defired to be held exthem. And hereto they referred all their counsels: being perhaps a little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound unto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part were still devising, how to make all ready for Cleomenes against his return; and sought to joyn with the Ætolians, which were the most likely to give him ftrong affiftance. The Macedonian faction had the more authority, and durst more freely speak their minds: but the contrary fide was the more passionate, and spared not by murders or any other violent which these intended; fancying unto themsent unto the Acarnanians, Epirots, Messeni- selves the glory of their Ancestors in such ans, and Lacedamonians: requesting them Ages past, as it were not like to come again. forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war unto the Etolians; without stay- to restore them unto their greatness & hustres ing (as it were) to await the event. Hereun- which once he had in a manner performed: But fince he was dead, and that, without to the qualities of those with whom they injury to his well-deferving vertue, they dealt. The Acarnanians, a free-hearted and might proceed to the election of new Kings: valiant, though a small Nation, and borde- Kings they would have, and those of the ring upon the Etolians, of whom they frood race of Hercules, as in former times; for that in continual danger; faid, that they could without such helps, they must continue life. not honestly refuse to shew their faithful the better than subjects unto the Macedonimeaning in that war, which was concluded an, and far less by him respected, then were by general affent. The Epirots that were the Acheans. Thus were they transported among them, procured the Ætolians to fend they first made preparation. Philip was not divers Towns; whereof two he retained, the Acheans. and annexed unto the State of Lacedamon. After such open hostility, the Lacedæ-

an Embaffie to Sparta: which propounded ready: the Epirots gave uncertain answer: the matter openly unto the people, whereof the Messenians would not stir: all the burno one of the Citizens durft have made him- den must lye upon themselves and the poor felf the Author. Much disputation, and hot, Acarnanians, whom the Ætolians, by fathere was, between those of the Macedonian vour of the Eleans, could invade at pleaparty, and these their opposites:in such wife sure, as they were like to do; and by help that nothing could be concluded; until by of the Lacedamonians, could affail on all maffacre or banishment of all, or the chief, parts at once. It was not long ere the Ætothat spake against the Ætolians: the di- lians, passing over the Bay of Corinth, surversity of opinion was taken quite away. prised the Town of Agira: which if they Then forthwith a League was concluded be- could have held, they should thereby grievbetween the Lacedamonians and Etolians: oully have molested the Acheans, for that it without all regard of the Macedonians or stood in the mid-way between Egium and Acheans, who had spared the City, when they Sycion, two of their principal Cities, and might have destroyed it. Then also they gave open way into the heart of all their went in hand with the election of new Kings: Country. But as Agira was taken by furwherein their diligence was fo nice, and fo prife: fo was it prefently loft again, through regardful of their ancient Laws, as touching greediness of spoil; whilest they that should the choofing of the one King, that we may have made it their first care, to affure the justly wonder, how they grew fo careless place unto themselves, by occupying the ciin making choice of the other. In the one tadel and other pieces of strength, fell heedof their Royal Families they found Agestoo- lesly to ransack private houses, and thereby is, the son of Agestpolis, the son of King cle-ombrotus: and him they admitted to reign whom they were driven with great slaughover them, as heir apparent to his grand-ter back unto their Fleet. About the same father. This Agospolis was a young Boy, time, another Atolian Army landing among standing in need of a Guardian; and had an the Eleans, fell upon the Western Coast of Uncle, his Fathers Brother, that was fit for Achaia; wasting all the Territory of the the Government. Yet because the Law re- Dymeans and other people, that were first quired, that the son, how young soever, should beginners of the Achain Confederacy. The have his fathers whole right and title: the Dymeans and their neighbours made head Lacedamonians, though standing in need of against these Invaders; but were so well beaa man, were so punctual in observation of ten, that the enemy grew bolder with them the Law, that they made this child their than before. They fent for help unto their King, and appointed his Uncle Cleomenes to Prætor, and to all the Towns of their Sociebe his Protector. But in the other branch ty in vain. For the Acheans having lately of the Royal Family, though there was no been much weakened by Cleomenes, were want of heirs: yet would not the people now able to do little of themselves: neither trouble themselves about any of them, to could they get any strength of Mercenaries; examine the goodness of his Claim; but forasmuch as at the end of cleomenes his war made election of one Lycurgus, who having they had covetoully with-held part of their no manner of title to the Kingdome, be- due from those that served them therein. So flowed upon each of the Ephori, a Talent, through this disability of the Acheans, and and thereby made himself be saluted King insufficiency of their Prætor; the Dymeans, of sparta, and a Gentleman of the race of with others, were driven to with-hold their Hercules. This Lycurgus to gratifie his Par- contribution heretofore made for the pubtilans, and to approve his worth by action, lick service, and to convert the money to invaded rhe Country of the Argives: which their own defence. Lycurgus also with his Lalay open and unguarded, as in a time of cedamonians, began to win upon the Arcadipeace. There he did great spoil, and won ans, that were confederate with Philip and

Philip came to the borders of the Ætolians, whilst their Army was thus employed a monians declared themselves on the Ætoli- far off in Peloponnesus. The Epirots joinlian side; and proclaimed war against the ed all their forces with him: and by such their willing readiness, drew him to the siege Thus the beginnings of the war fell out of a Frontier piece, which they defired to get much otherwise, than the Acheans and into their own hands; for that, by commotheir Confedederates had expected, when dity thereof, they hoped shortly to make

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themselves Masters of Ambracia. There he whereto he was vehemently solicited by fpent forty dayes, ere he could end the the Achean Embassadors; news came out bufiness; which tended only to the benefit of Macedon, that the Dardanians were of the Epirots. Had he entred into the heart ready with a great Army to fall upon the of Ætolia at his first coming in it is thought Country. These Dardanians were a barthat he might have had an end of the war. barous people, divided by Mount Hamns But it happens oft, that the violence of great from the Northern part of Macedon, and Armies is broken upon small Towns or were accustomed to seek booty in that Forts: and not feldome, that the impor- wealthy Kingdome, when they found their tunity of Affociates, to have their own defires fulfilled, converts the preparations of that Philip was about to make a journey great Kings to those uses for which they into Peloponness ; they purposed in his never were intended; thereby hindering absence, which they thought would be the profecution of their main defigns. long, to get what they could for them-Thus was our King Henry the eighth led felves in his Countrey: as had been their afide, and quite out of his way, by Maximanner upon the like advantages. This milian the Emperour to the fiege of Tourmany: at fuch time as the French King Lewis bassadors, (whom he should have accomthe twelfth, hearing that the ftrong City panied home with his Army) and to of Termin was loft, and that his Cavallery, bid them have patience until another wherein rested his chief confidence, two year. So he took his way home-wards: thouland were beaten by the Earl, of and as he was palling out of Acarnania Effex with seven hundred English; was into Epirus, there repaired unto him Dethinking to withdraw himself into Britain, metrius Tharius, with no more than one in fear that Henry would have come to Ship; that was newly chased out of his

The stay that Philip made at Ambrachus, in fuch fort, as their Prættor Scopas adventu- returning in his last Voyage from the Cyclared to lead all their forces out of the Coun- des, was ready at their first request, to take try; and therewith not only to over-run part with Philips Captains. The fe, or the like Thessale, but to make impression into Mace- considerations, made him welcome unto don. He ran as far as to Dium, a City of the Macedonian King: whose Counsellor he Macedon upon the Egean Sea: which, being was ever after. The Dardanians hearing of forfaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, the Kings return, brake up their Army, and he took, and razed to the ground. He spared gave over for the present their invasion of neither Temple, nor any other of the good. Macedon, towards which they were already ly buildings therein, but overturned all: and on their way. among the reft, he threw down the Sta All that fummer following the King refted tua's that were there erected, of the Macedo at Lariffa in Theffalie, whilest his people nian Kings For this he was highly honoured grthered in their Harvest. But the Ætolians by his Country-men at his return; for a fmuch refted not. They avenged themselves upon as hereby they thought their Nation to be the Epirots: whom for the harms by them grown terrible, not only (as before) unto and Philip done in Etolia, they requited Peloponnesus, but even to Macedon it self. with all extremities of War, among which, But this their pride was foon abated; and the most notable was the ruine of the most they rewarded thortly at home in their own famous Temple of Dodona. When Winter Country, for their pains taken at Dium. grew on, and all thought of war, until ano-Philip having dispatched his work at Am-ther year, was laid aside: Philip stole a bracus, made a ftrong invafion upon Æto- journy into Peloponnesus, with 5000. Foot, & lia. He took Phatia, Metropolis, Oeniade, about 400. Horse. As soon as he was within Peanium, Eleus, and divers other Towns Corinth; He commanded the gates to be and Castles of theirs: of which he burnt shut, that no word should be carryed forth fome, and fortified others. He also beat of his arrival. He sent privily for old Arathe the Ætolians in fundry skirmishes: and tus to come thirher unto him: with whom wasted all the Countrey over, without he took order, when, and in what places, receiving any harm. This done, while he would have the Achean Souldiers ready he was about to make a cut over the to meet him. The enemies were then abroad Straights into Peloponnessus, and to do the in the Country, without somewhat more like spoil in the Country of the Eleans, than two thousand Foot, and an hundred

Kingdom by the Romans. This Demetrius had lately shewed himself a friend to Antidid wondroully embolden the Ætolians: gonus Doson in the wars of Cleomenes: and

fition. Indeed they had little cause to fear: him, that he could not overtake them, till fince the Achaans themselvs were not aware they had covered themselves within the that the King was in their Land with his Town of Samicum; where they thought to Macedonians; until they heard, that these have been fafe. But Philip affaulted them two thousand Eleans, Etolians, and their fel- therein so forcibly, that he made them glad lows, were by him furprized, and all made to yield the place; obtaining license to deprisoners, or flain. By this exploit which he part with their lives and arms. Having perdid at his first coming, Philip got very much formed so much in this expedition, the King reputation, and likewise he purchased reposed himself a while in Megalopolis, and both reputation and love, by divers actions then removed to Argos, where he fpent all immediately following. He won Pfophis, an the rest of the winter. exceeding strong Town, in the borders of Before the Kings arrival in Peloponnesus, Arcadia, which the Eleans and Etolians the Lacedemonians, with Lycurgus their then held. He won it by affault at his new King, had gotten somewhat in Arcadia; first coming: wherein it much availed and threatned to do great matters. But when him, that the Enemy, not believing that he they were admonished, by the calamity that would undertake fuch a piece of work at fell upon the Eleans, of the danger hanging such an unseasonable time of the year, was over their own heads; they guitted their careless of providing even such store of wea- winnings, and withdrew themselves home. pons, as might have served to defend it. The This Lycurgus, as he had no other right to Town was preferred by the King from fack; Kingdome of Sparta, than that which he and given to the Acheans of his meer moti- could buy with mony, so was he neither free on, before they requested it. Thence from danger of conspiracies made against went he to Lasion, which yielded for very him: nor from those jealousies, with which fear; hearing how easily he had taken Pfophis. Usurpers are commonly perplexed. There This Town also he gave to the Achaans. The was one Chilon, of the Royal blood, that like liberality he used towards others, that thinking himself to have best right unto the had ancient title unto places by him recove- Kingdome, purposed to make way thereunto red. Then fell he upon the Country of Elis, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards where was much wealth to be gotten: for to confirm himself, by propounding unto the that the people were addicted to husbandry, multitude such reformation of the State as and lived abroad in Villages; even such as was most popular: namely, by making an were of the wealthier fort among them. So equal distribution of all the lands among the he came to the City of Olympia: where have whole number of the Citizens, according to ing done facrifice to Jupiter, feasted his Cap- the ancient institution of that Commontains, and refreshed his Army three days: He wealth. He won to his party some two hunproceeded on to the spoil of those, that had dred men; with whom he fel upon the Ephori. taken pleasure to share with the Ætolians, as they were together at supper & slew them in the spoils of their otherwise-deserving all. Then went he to Lycurgus his house: who neighbours. Great abundance of Cattel he perceiving the danger, stole away and fled. took, with great numbers of flaves, and It remained that he should give account much wealth of all forts, fuch as could be of these doings to the people, and procure found in rich villages. Then he fell in hand them to take part with him. But their with the Towns, whereinto a great multi- minds not being hereto predisposed; they so tude of the Country people were fled. Some little regarded his goodly offers, as even of these were taken at the first assault. Some whilst he was using his best perswasions, they yielded for fear. Some prevented the labour were consulting how to apprehend him. Chiof his journey, by fending Embassadors to lon perceived whereabout they went, and yield before he came. And some that were shifted presently away. So he lived afterheld with Garrisons against their wils, took wards among the Acheans a banished man, courage to fet themselves at liberty, by see- and hated of his own people. As for Lycurgus ing the King so near: to whose Patronage he returned home: & suspecting thenceforth thenceforth they betook themselves. And all those of Hercules his race, found means many places were spoiled by the Ætolian to drive out his fellow-King young Agestpolis Captains; because they distrusted their whereby he made himself Lord alone. His ability to hold them. So the King won more doings grew to be suspected, in such fort, as Towns in the Country, than the sharp- once he should have been apprehended by

Horse; little thinking to meet with oppo- the Ætolians: but they made such haste from

ness of winter would suffer him to stay there the Ephori. But though his actions hitherto days. Fain he would have fought with might have been defended; yet rather

than to adventure himself into judgment, to take and whip them. If any of them ofhe chose to slie for a time, and sojourn among fered (as there were some of them that his friends the Ætolians. His well-known could not refrain) to help their fellows; wehemency in opposition to the Macedoni- them he laid by the heels, and punished as ans had procured unto him fuch good liking Mutiners. Hereby he thought to bring it to among the people, that in his absence they passby little and little, that they should be began to consider the weakness of their own qualified with an habit of blind obedience: furmifes against him; and pronouncing him and think nothing unjust that pleased the innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. King. But these Acheans were tenderly sen-But in time following, he took better heed lible in matters of liberty: whereof if they unto himself: not by amending his conditi- could have been contented to suffer any liton (for he grew a Tyrant, and was fo ac- tle diminution, they needed not have trouknowledged) but by taking order, that it bled the Macedonians to help them in the fhould not be in the power of the Citizens war against Cleomenes. They be moaned to expell him when they ilifted. By what themselves unto old Aratus: and besought actions he got the name of a Tyrant; or at him to think upon some good order, that what time it was, that he chased Agesipolis they might not be oppressed by degrees. out of the City; I do not certainly find. Aratus forthwith dealt earnestly with the Like enough it is, That his being the first of King; as in a matter more weighty than at three usurpers, which followed in order first it might feem. The King bestowed one after another, made him to be placed in gracious words upon those that had been the rank of Tyrants; which the laft of the wronged, and forbade Apelles to follow the three very justly deserved. Whatsoever he course begun. Hereat Apelles was inwardprovident man, and careful of his Countreys good.

ø. II.

How Philip was misadvised by ill Counsellors: who afterwards wrought treason against the Ætolians a second time : and forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted unto them.

Hilest the King lay at Argos devising upon his business for the largest devising. lowing, some ambitious men that were ting him know, that as long as he continued about him, studied so diligently for their to make much of Aratus, he must be sain own greatness, as they were like to have to deal precisely with the Achaans, and as it spoiled all that he took in hand. Antigonus Doson had left unto Philip such Counsellors, the Contract: whereas if he would be pleaas to him did feem the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chief of these was Apelles; that had the charge of his perfon, and also the ordering of his Treasures. be quickly brought to conform themselves This man, seeming to himself a great Politician, thought that he should do a notable such persuasions, he drew the King to be piece of service to his Prince, if he could present at Ægium, where the Achaans were reduce the Acheans unto the same degree of to hold election of a new Prætor. There fubjection, wherein the Macedonians lived, with much more labour, than would have Tobring this to pass 3 during the late Ex- been needful in a business of more imporpedition he had caused some of the Mace- tance, the King by fair words and threatdonians to thrust the Achaans out of their nings together, obtained so much, That Epelodgings, and to strip them of the booty ratus, a very insufficient man, but one of that they had gotten. Proceeding further, Apelles his new favourites, was chosen Præas occasion fell out; he was bold to chastile tor, instead of one more worthy, for whom fome of that Nation; causing his Ministers Aratus had laboured. This was thoughta

was toward fome private Citizens, in the war against philip, he behaved himself as a Project, that he could not endure to lay it afide ; being perhaps unable to do the King any valuable fervice, in business of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to begin at the head : fince, in biting at the tail, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be than that him; and were justly punished. He invadeth among the Acheans there were some, who bore no hearty affection to Aratus. These he enquired out, and fending for them, entertained them with words of Court : promifing to become their especial friend, and commend them unto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himself: letwere by Identure, according to the letter of fed, to give countenance unto those others whom he himself commended, then should the Achaens, and all other Peloponnesians, unto the duty of obedient Subjects. By good introduction unto greater matters ning to the Kings offers. All this was a falle that should follow. The King from thence | lye, divised by Apelles himself, upon no other passed along by Patras and Dyma, to a very ground than his own malice. Philip had ftrong Castle held by the Eleans, which was no sooner heard this tale, but in a great called Tichos. The garrison yielded it up rage he sent for the two Arati, and bade Afor fear, at his first coming : whereof he pelles rehearse it over again to their faces. was glad, for that he had an earnest defire Apelles did so, and with a bold countenance, to bestow it upon the Dymeans, as he pre-talking to them as to men already convicted.

while he heard of no mellengers from the this clause, as it were, in the Kings name: Since Eleans, to fue for peace. For at his departure out of their Country the last Winter, wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliahe had let loofe one Amphidamus a Captain ment of the Acheans; and therein having of theirs, that was his prisoner; because he made it known what ye are, to depart into found him an intelligent man, and one that Macedon, and leave you to your felves. Old undertook to make them for fake their alli- Aratus gravely admonished the King; That ance with the Ætolians, and joyn with him whenfoever he heard any accutation, efpeupon reasonable terms. This if they could be cially against a friend of his own, or a man contented to do, he willed Amphidamus to of worth, He should forbear a while to give let them understand, That he would render | credit, untill he had diligently examined the unto them freely all prisoners which he had | business. For such deliberation was Kingly, of theirs 3 That he would defend them from and he should never therof repent him. At all forrain invalion; and that they should the present he said there needed no more, hold their liberty entire, living after their than to call in those that had heard his talk own Laws, without paying any manner of with Amphidamus, and especially him that Tribute, or being kept under by any garri- had brought this goodly tale to Apelles. For fon. These conditions were not to be despifed, if they had found credit, as they might King should make himself the Author of a have done. But when Philip came to the report in the open Parliament of Achaia, Caftle of Tichos, and made a new invation upon their Country: then began the Eleans, (that were not before over-hafty to believe fuch fair promiles) to suspect Amphidamus as a Traitor, and one that was fet on work for no other end, than to breed a mutual diffidence between them and the Ætolians. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and fend him prisoner into Ætolia. But he perceived their intent, and got away to Dyma: in good time for himself; in betfellor, thereby took occasion to supplant discerned. Aratus. He faid that old Aratus, and his fon ing this message; nor the Eleans in heark- which drave away flyes out of the chimny;

And when he had faid all the rest, ere either The King thought it strange, that all this Philip or they spake any word; He added the King hath found you fuch ungrateful whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans yea, and anothers no. Hereof the King liked well; and faid that he would make sufficient inquiry. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilest Apelles delayed to bring in the proof, which indeed he wanted, Amphidamus came from Elis, and told what had befaln him there. The King was not forgetful, to examine him about the conspiracy of the Arati: which, when he found no better than a meer device against his honourater for Aratus. For the King (as was faid) ble friends; he entertained them in loving marvailing what should be the cause, that manner as before. As for his love to Apelles, he heard no news from the Eleans, concernthough it was hereby fomewhat cooled; yet ing the offers which he had made unto by means of long acquaintance and daily them by Amphidamus: Apelles his Coun-employment, no remusiion therein could be

The unrefiful temper of Apelles, having together, had fuch devices in their heads, as with much vehemency brought nothing to tended little to the Kings good : And long Fals, began (as commonly Ambition uleth) of them he faid it was, that the Eleans did to fwell and grow venemous for want of thus hold out. For when Amphidamus was his free motion. He betakes himfelf to his dismissed home, the two Arati, (the father cunning again: and as before, being checkt and the fon) had taken him aside and given in his doings with those of the vulgar, he had himto understand, that it would be very prepared a snare for the Arati: so failing of prejudicial to all Peloponnesus, if the Eleans them, he thinks it wisdom to lay for the King once became at the devotion of the Mace- himself, and for all at once which were donian: And this was the true cause, why about him. In such manner sometime, the neither Amphidamus was very careful in do- Spider thought to have taken the Swallow

but was carryed (net and all) into the Air by spiracy with Leontius and Megaleas: bindthe bird, that was too firong to be caught, ing himself and them by Oath, to cross and and held by the subtle workmanship of a bring to nought, as well as they were able. Cob-web. Of the four that next unto Apel- all that the King should take in hand. By so Cob-web. Of the four that next time Appear and that the Ming month take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to pass, that doing, they thought to bring it to pass, that doing, they thought to bring it to pass, that doing, they thought to bring it to pass, that doing, they thought to bring it to pass, that doing, they thought to bring it to pass, they want of ability to do any thing without them; should make him speak them fair, and be glad to submit himself to their discovered to the pass of the submit to not be corrupted. The other two, Leontius rections. The King it is like had flood in Captain of the Targettiers, and Megaleas some awe of them whilest he was a child: chief of the Secretaries, were eafily won and therefore these wise men perswaded to be at Appelles his disposition. This politician therefore studied how to remove the and imputing unto him all that fell out ill other two from their places, and put some through their own milgovernment of his Creatures of his own into their rooms. A- affairs, they might rule him as a child fill. gainst Alexander he went to work the ordi- Apelles would needs go to Chaleis, there to nary way, by calumniation and privy detra-take order for the provisions, which wereto fron. But for the supplanting of Taurion he come that way out of Macedon: The other used more finencis; loading him with dai- two staid behind with the King, to play ly commendations, as a notable man of war, their parts; all more mindful of their wickand one, whom for his many vertues the ed oath, than of their duty. King might ill spare from being alwayes in His Fleet and Army being in a readines: his prefence. By such Art he thought to have Philip made countenance, as if he would removed him, as we fay. Cut of Gods bleff- have bent all his forces against the Eleans; ing into a warm Sun. In the mean feasion to whose aid therefore the Atolians sent Aratus retired himself: and sought to avoid men, little fearing that the mischief would the dangerous friendship of the King, by have fallen, as soon after it did, upon themforbearing to meddle in affairs of State. Selves. But against the Eleans and those that As for the new Prator of Achaia, lately came to help them, Philip thought it enough chosen by such vehement instance of the to leave the Acheans, with some part of his King; He was a man of no dispatch, and one and their Mercenaries. He himself with the that had no grace with the people. Where- body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in fore a great deal of time was loft, whilest the lile of Cephalenia: whence the Etolians, Philip wanted both the money and the dwelling over against it, used to furnish Corn, wherewith he should have been fur- themselves of shipping, when they went to nished by the Achaans. This made the rove abroad. There he belieged the Town King understand his own errour: which he of Palea, that had been very serviceable to wifely fought to reform betimes. He per- the Enemy against him and his Confedefwaded the Acheans to rejourn their Parli- rates; and might be very uleful to him, if he ament from Egium, to sycion, the Town of could get it. Whilest he lay before this Aratus. There he dealt with the old man and Town, there came unto him fifteen ships of his son, perswading them to forget what was war from Scerdilaidas; and many good past; and laying all the blame upon Apelles, Souldiers, from the Epirots, Acarnanians, on whom thenceforth he intended to keep a and Messenians. But the Town was obstinate; more diligent eye. So by the travel of these and would not be terrified with numbers. worthy men, he easily obtained what he It was naturally fenced on all parts save one, would of the Acheans. Fifty talents they gave on which fide Philip carryed a Mine to the him out of hand; with great store of Corn; wall, wherewith he overthrew two hunand further decreed, That fo long as he him- dred foot thereof. Leontius Captain of the felf in person followed the wars in Pelepon- Targettiers, was appointed by the King to nesus, he should receive ten talents a moneth make the assault. But he, remembring his Being thus enabled, he began to provide covenant with Apelles, did both wilfully fhipping, that so he might invade the Atoli- forbear to do his best : and caused others to ans, Eleans, and Lacedamonians, that were do the like. So the Macedonians were put maritime recople, at his pleasure, and hinder to foile, and many slain, not of the worst their excursions by Sea.

things go forward to well without his help 3 if the Treason of their Captain, and some even by the minifrry of those whom he most by him corrupted, had not hindred the hated. Wherefore he entred into con- victory. The King was angry with this,

Souldiers: but fuch as had gotten over the It vexed Apelles beyond measure, to see breach, and would have carried the Town,

thought upon breaking up the fiege. For it got not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief was easier unto the Towns-men to make up of all belonging unto the #tolians; in rememthe gap in their wall, than for him to make brance of their like courtefie, shewed upon it wider. Whilest he stood thus perplexed the Temples of Dium and Dodana. This burand uncertain what course to take : the ning of the Temple, might (questionless) Messenians and Acarnanians lay hard upon more for the Kings honour have been forhim, each of them defirous to draw him into born. But perhaps he thought, as Monlieur their own Countrey. The Messenians alledg- du Gourgues the French Captain told the ed, that Lycurgus was busie in wasting their Spaniards in Florida, That they which had Countrey: upom whom the King might no faith, needed no Church. At his return come unawares in one day; the Etestan winds from Thermum, the Ætolians laid for him: which then blew, ferving fitly for his Navi- which that they would do, he believed begation. Hereto allo Leonius perfwaded; fore, and therefore was not taken unawares, who confidered that those winds, as they would easily carry him thither, so would ing in ambush, fell upon his skirts: but he they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-dayes) and make him spend the Summer to small or no surpose. But Aratus gave better counsel, and prevailed: they were busily charging in Rear the Aratus gave better counsel, and prevailed: he shewed how unfitting it were, to let the my that went before. So with slaughter of Etolians over-run all Theffaly again, and the enemy, he returned the same way that some part of Macedon, whilest the King he came; and burning down those places that withdrew his Army far off to feek small he had taken before, as also wasting the adventures. Rather, he faid that the time | Country round about him, He fafely carried now served well to carry the war into Æto- all that he had gotten aboard his fleet. Once lia: fince the Prætor was gone thence abroad the Ætolians made countenance of fight, ifonroving, with the one half of their strength. Suing out of stratus in great bravery. But As for Lycurgus, he was not strong enough they were beaten home faster than they to do much harm in Feloponnesus: and it came, and followed to their very gates. might fuffice, if the Achaens were appointto this advice, the King set sail for Ætolia, (as commonly happens) by any finister acciborders; and joyned with him as many of his fellow Megaleas. They came because they

but there was no remedy: and therefore he | ing all that could not be carried away, for-

The joy of this victorious expedition beed to make head against them. According | ingevery way compleat, and not deformed and enters the Bay of Ambracia, which di- dent; it pleafed the King to make a great feaft vided the Ætolians from Acarnania. The unto all his friends and Captains. Thither Acarnanians were glad to fee him on their were invited among the rest Leontius, with them as could bear arms, to help in taking could not choose: but their heavy looks vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He argued, what little pleasure they took in the marched up into the inland Countrey: and Kings prosperity. It grieved them to think, taking some places by the way, which he that they should be able to give no better filled with Carrifons to aflure his Retreat; account unto Apeller, of their hindering the Hepassed on to Therman, which was the Receive for the Etolians, and surest place of be shewed anon, had played his own part defence in all extremities. The Countrey with a most mischievous dexterity. Finding round about was a great fastness, environed Aratus on the way home to his Tent: they with rocky Mountains of very narrow fleep, fell to reviling him, throwing flones at him, and difficult ascent. There did the Atolians so that they caused a great uprore: many use to hold all their chief meetings, their running in (as happens in such cases) to take Fairs, their election of Magistrates , and part with the one or the other. The King their folemn Games. There also they used sending to enquire of the matter, was truly to bestow the most precious of their goods, informed of all that had passed. Which made as in a place of greatest security. This opi- him send for Leontius and his fellows. But nion of the natural strength, had made them Leontins was gotten out of the way: Megacareless in looking unto it. When Philip leas, and another with him, came. The King therefore had overcome the bad way, began to rate them for their disorder: and there was nothing else to do than to take they, to give him froward answers: insospoil: whereof he found such plenty, that he much, as they said at length, That they thought the pains of his journy well recom- would never give over, till they had repenced. So he loaded his Army: and confum- warded Aratus with a mischief as he deser-

Kkkkkk

ward. Leontius hearing of this comes boldly Countrey. All Greece and Macedon was up to the King, with his Targettiers at his heels: in arms against them, and their weak Allies and with a proud grace demanded, who it the Eleans and Lacedamonians. Neither was was that had dared to lay hands upon Me- it certain, how long the one or other of galeas, yea, and to cast him into priton? Why these their Peloponnessan friends should be faid the King, it was even I. This resolute answer, which Leontius had not expected, enough to keep the field, but had already made him depart both fad and angry; fee- fuffered those miseries of war, which by a liting himself out-frowned, and not knowing the continuance would make them glad, each how to remedy the matter. Shortly after to feek their own peace, without regard of Megaleas was called forth to his answer, and their Confederates. Wherefore the Atolians was charged by Aratus with many great readily entertain'd this negotiation of peace: crimes: Among which were, The hin- and taking truce for thirty dayes with the derance of the Kings victory at Palea, and the King, dealt with him by intercession of the Compact made with Apelles: matters no less same Embassadours, to intreat his presence touching Leontins, that flood by as a looker at a Diet of the Nation, that should be held on, than Megaleas that was accused. In con- at Rhium; whither if he would vouchafe clusion, the prefumptions against him were to come, they promised that he should find fo strong, and his answers thereto so weak; them conformable to any good reason. that he, and Crinon one of his fellows, were condemned in twenty Talents: Crinon being tins and Megaleas thought to have terrified remanded back to prison; and Leontius be- the King, by raising sedition against him in coming Bail for Megaleas. This was done the Army, But this device forted to no good upon the way home-wards, as the King was effect. The fouldiers were easily and quickly

returning to Corinth.

finels of this year. For as foon as he was at were not rewarded with fo much of the Corinth, he took in hand an Expedition booty, as they thought to belong of right against the Lacedamonians. These and the unto them. But their anger spent it self in a Eleans had done what harm they could in noise, and breaking open of doors, without Peloponnesus, whilest the King was absent. further harm done. This was enough to in-The Acheans had opposed them as well as form the King (who easily pacified his men they could; with ill fuccess, yet so, as they with gentle words) that some abouthim were hiudred them from doing such harm as else very falle. Yea, the Souldiers themselves rethey would have done. But when Fhilip came, he over-ran the Country about Lace- the Authors of the tumult fought out, and demon: and was in a manner at the gates of punished according to their deferts. The Sparta, ere men could well believe that he King made shew as if he had not cared to was returned out of Atolia. He took not in make fuch inquisition. But Leontius and Methis Expedition any Cities, but made great galeas were afraid, lest the matter would waste in the fields: and having beaten the foon come out of it self to their extream danenemy in some skirmishes, carried back with ger. Wherefore they sent unto Apelles, the him to Corinth a rich booty of cattel, flaves, and other Country spoil. At Corinth he sting him speedily to repair unto Corinth, found attending him, Embassadors from the where he might stand between them and Rhodians and Chians, that requested him to the Kings displeasure. Apelles had not all fet Greece at quiet, by granting peace unto this while been wanting to the bufiness, the Etolians. They had gracious audience: undertaken by him and his treacherous and he willed them to deal first with the companions. He had taken upon him, as a Ætolians, who if they would make the same man that had the Kings heart in his own requeft, should not find him unreasonable. hand : and thereby was he grown into The Atolians had feed ill that year:neither fuch credit, that all the Kings Officers in faw they any likely hopes for the years following. The Army that they had fent forth unto him, and received from him their dito waste Thessay and Macedon, found such in severy business. Likewise the Greek opposition on the way; that not daring to in all their flattering Decrees, took co proceed, it returned home without bringing casion to magnifie the vertue of Apeller, any thing to effect. In the mean feafon they making flight mention (only for fallihad been grievoully afflicted, as before is on fake) of the King: who feemed no

ved. Herencon the King committed them to | shewed, by Philip in the centre of their own able to hold out, fince they were not ftrong

The fifth Book of the first Part

Whilest these things were in hand, Leonincenfed against many of the Kings friends, Philip dispatched well a great deal of bu- who were said to be the cause, why they penting of their insolence, defired to have Head and Architect of their treason, reque-

this Politician obtained his hearts defire. fame time. Now taking his journey from Chalcis in the else he would have been, to take away the Multitude.

better than the Minister and Executioner sink under the burden of his own poverty, of Apelles his will and pleasure. Such was the By this the King understood more perfectly arrogancy of this great man, in fetting him the fallhood, not only of Megaleas, but of felf out unto the people : but in managing Apelles; whose cunning head had laboured the Kings affairs, he made it his special care, all this while to keep him so poor. Wherethat money and all things needful for the fore he fent one to pursue Megaleas that publick service, should be wanting. Yea, was fled to Thebes. As for Apelles, he comhe enforced the King for very need, to mitted both him, his fon, and another that fell his own Place and houshold vessels: was inward with him, to prison; wherein thinking to resolve these and all other dif- all of them thortly ended their lives. Meficulties, by only faying, sir, beruled wholly galeus also, neither daring to stand to trial, by me, and all shall be as you would wish. Here- nor knowing whither to flie, was weary to if the King would give affent, then had of his own life; and flew himfelf about the

The Atolians, as they had begun this Ifle of Eubwa, to the City of Corinth where war upon hope of accomplishing what they Philip then lay: he was fetcht in with great lifted in the Nonage of Philip: so finding that pomp and royalty, by a great number of the vigour of this young Prince tempered the Captains and Souldiers; which Leon- with the cold advice of Aratus, wrought tius and Megaleas drew forth to meet him very effectually toward their overthrow: on the way. So entring the City with a they grew very defireus to make an end of goodly train, he went directly to the Court, it. Nevertheless, being a turbulent Nation, and towards the Kings chamber. But Philip and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, was well aware of his pride, and had vehe- when they heard what was happened in the ment suspition of his falihood. Wherefore Court, the death of Apelles, Leontius, and one was fent to tell him, that he should wait Megalers, together with some indignation a while, or come another time, for the King thereupon conceived by some of the Kings was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that was a pretty thing, that fuch a check as this these troubles would be long lasting, and made all his attendants for fake him, as a man thereupon brake the day appointed for the in difgrace; in such fort, that going thence to meeting at Rhium. Of this was Philip nothing his lodging, he had none to follow him fave forry. For being in good hope throughhis own Pages. After this, the King vouch-fafed him now and then fome flender graces: it much to concern his own honour, that but in consultations, or other matters of pri- all the blame of the beginning and contivacy, he used him not at all This taught Me- nuing the War should rest upon themselves. galeas to look to himself, and run away Wherefore he willed his Confederates to betimes. Hereupon the King fent forth Tau- lay afide all thought of peace, and to prerion his Lieutenant of Peloponnesus, with all pare for War against the year following; the Targettiers, as it were to do some piece wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. of service, but indeed of purpose to appre- Then gratified he his Macedonian Souldiers, hend Leontius in the absence of his follow- by yielding to let them winter in their own ers. Leontius being taken, dispatched away Country. In his return homeward, he cala messenger presently to his Targettiers, to led into judgement one Ptolomy, a companifignifie what was befaln him: and they on with Apelles and Leontius in their Treaforthwith fent unto the King in his behalf. fons: who was therefore condemned by They made request, That if any other the Macedonians; and suffered death. These thing were objected against him, he might were the same Macedonians, that lately not be called forth to trial before their re- could not endure to hear of Leontius his turn: as for the debt of Megaleas, if that were imprilonment; yet now they think the man all the matter, they said they were ready to worthy to die that was, but his adherent. make a purse for his discharge. This affection So vain is the confidence, on which Reof the fouldiers made Philip more hasty then bels use to build, in their favour with the

Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters During his abode in Macedon, Philip won of Megaless were intercepted, which he tome bordering Towns, from which the wrote unto the Etolians; vilifying the King Dardanians, Etolians, and other his ill with opprobrious words, and bidding them neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes not to hearken after peace, but to hold out into his Kingdom: when he had thus proa while, for that Philip was even ready to vided for fafety of his own; the Atolians. Kkkkkka

Rhodians and Chians, with others from Ptolo- pleasure dispute about finishing War bemy King of Agyt, and from the City of tween themselves, without being molested Fizantium, recontinuing the former foliciby the Barbarians. For when once either tation about the peace. This fashion had the Romans or Carthaginians had subdued been taken up in matters of Greece, ever one the other; it was not to be doubted, fince the Kings that reigned after Alexander, that they would forthwith look Eaftward, had taken upon them to fet the whole Coun- and feek by all means to fet footing in try at liberty: No fooner was any Province Greece. For this cause he said it were good, or City in danger to be oppressed and subdued by force of war, but presently there in it self: and that rbitip, if he were were found Intercessors, who pittying the effusion of Greekish blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his advantage, his Dominion, by winning somewhat in By doing such friendly offices in time of Italy. need, the Princes and States abroad fought to bind unto them those people, that were howfoever weak in numbers, yet very good fouldiers. But hereby it came to pass, that the more froward fort, especially the Etolians, whose whole Nation was addicted to fallhood and robbery, durst enter good counsel, that they invited the Roboldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well affured that if they had the worst, The love of Greece would be sufficient for to redeem their quiet. They had, fince the late Treaty of Peace, done what harm they could in Peloponnefur: but That every one should keep what they being beaten by the Achaans, and standing in fear to be more foundly beaten at home, they defired now, more earnestly than be- past. fore, to make an end of the War as foon as they might. Philip made fuch answer unto the Embassadours, as he had done the former year; That he gave not occasion to the beginning of this War, nor was at the present afraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it : But that the Ætolians , if they had a defire to live in rest, must first be dealt withal, to signific plainly their determination, whereto himself would return such answer as he should think

to the Peace, being a young Prince, and in away, till the great battel of Canne: after hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the War. But it happened in the hath been shewed before. Demetrian Phamiddelt of this Negotiation, that he was rim bore great malice unto the Romans; advertised by latters out of Macedon, what a and knew no other way to be avenged upon notable victory Hannibal had obtained them, or to recover his own loft Kingdom, against the Romans in the battel at Thrasymene. These letters he communicated unto Demetrius Pharius: who greatly encouraged to take part with their enemies. It had to take part with their enemies. him to take part with Hannibal: and not to otherwise been far more expedient for Phifit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian lip, to have supported the weaker of those War. Hereby he grew more inclinable than two great Cities against the more mighty. before unto Peace with the Etolians: which For by fo doing, he should perhaps have was concluded shortly in a meeting at Nau- brought them to peace upon some equal patius. There did Agelaus an Atolian make terms; and thereby, as did Hiero, a far

might well know what they were to expect. | a great Oration: telling, how happy it was But there came again Embassadors from the tor the Greeks, that they might at their own that their Country should be at peace withdefirous of War, should lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly ferving to enlarge

> Such advice could the Ætolians then give, when they frood in fear of danger threatning them at hand: but being foon after weary of rest, as being accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so far from observing and following their own mans into Greece, whereby they brought themselves and the whole Country (but themselves before any other part of the Country) under servitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for dammages

ø. III.

Philip, at the persuasion of Demetrius Pharius, enters into League with Hannibal against the Romans. The tenour of the League between Hannibal and Philip.

His being agreed upon: the Greeks betook themselves to quiet courses of life; and Philip to prepare for the business of Italy, about which he consulted with Philip had at this time no great liking un- Demetrius Pharius. And thus rafted the time which he joyned in league with Hannibal, as than by procuring the Macedonian, that was weaker Prince, have both fecured his own Nations with which we hold friendship in Italy, Atolians did put him to in Greece; and the King Philip and the Macedonians, and other Peace which they made with him for a the Greeks his Affociates, be faved and pretime, upon such Conditions that might ea- ferved by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the fily be broken, have been related in another Uticans, and by all Cities and Nations that place, as belonging unto the second Punick | obey the Carthaginians, and by their Associates War. Wherefore I will only here fet down and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in the tenour of the League between him and Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, that are of our busie piece.

The Oath and Covenants be-Macedon.

friends, familiar, and brethren, upon Cove- mon confent. nant, that the fafety of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of Hannibal the General, and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the Carthaginians, using the same Laws, and of the Uticans, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiers and Affociates, and of all Towns and

Estate, and caused each of them to be de- Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom we shall firous of chief place in his friendship. The hold friendship, or make alliance hereafter in issue of the counsel which he followed, will this Region; be preserved by King Philip and appear soon after this. His first quarrel with the Macedonians, and such of the Greeks the Romans, the trouble which they and the as are their Affociates. In like manner, shall Carthage, which may feem not unworthy Alliance, or Shall bereafter joyn with Us in to be read, if only in regard of the form it Italy. We Shall not take Counsel one against self then used: though it had been over- | the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the long to have been inferted into a more other. With all readiness and good will without deceit or subtlety. We shall be enemies unto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, Towns, and Havens, with which We have already league and friendship. We also shall be enemies to the enemies of King tween HANNIBAL General of the Philip, excepting those Kings, Cities, and Na-Carthaginians, and XENOPHANES, tions, with which we have already league and Embassaduri, and Philip King of friendspip. The War that We have with the Romans, have ye also with them, untill the Gods shall give Us a new and happy end. Te shall aid Us with those things whereof we have "His is the League ratified by Oath which need, and shall do according to the Covenants Hannibal the General, and with him between Us. But if the Gods shall not give Mago, Myrcal, and Barmocal, as also the se- unto rou and Us their help in this War against nators of Carthage that are present, and all the Romans and their Associates; then if the the Carthaginians that are in his Army, have Romans offer friendship, Weshall make friendmade with Xenophanes the son of Cleoma- Ship in Such wife, that ye shall be partakers of chus Athenian, whom King Philip the son the same friendship, With Condition, That of Demetrius hath sent unto us, for himself and they shall not have power to make War upon the Macedonians, and his Affociates: Before Tou: Neither shall the Romans be Lords over Jupiter, and Juno, and Apollo, before * the the Corcyraans, nor over those of Apollonia, God of the Carthaginians, Hercules and To- nor Dyrrhachium, nor over Pharus, nor Dilaus: before Mars, Triton, Neptune: before | malle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They the Gods accompanying Arms, the Sun, the Shall also render unto Demetrius Pharius all Moon, and the Earth: before Rivers and that belong unto him, as many as are within Meddows, and Waters: before all the Gods | the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans that have power over Carthage: before all the | (after such peace made) shall make War upon Gods that rule over Macedon, and the rest of Tou or Us; We will succour one another in Greece: before all the Gods that are Presidents that War, as either shall have need. The of War, and present at the making of this same shall be observed in War made by any League. Hannibal the General hath faid, and other, excepting those Kings, Cities, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the States, with whom we hold already league Carthaginians in his Army: Be it agreed be- and friendship. To this league, if We or tween You and Us, that this Oath stand for Ye Shall think fit to add or detract, Such adfriendship and lowing affection, that We become dition or detraction shall be made by our com-

ø. IV.

and grows bateful to the Achæans.

vertuous Prince. And though with old man: but talked in private with such of more commendation of his wildom, he might the Meyerians as repaired unto him. He have offered his friendship to the Romans, asked the Governours, what they meant to that were like to be opprefied, than to the stand thus disputing : and whether they had Carthaginians, who had the better hand: not Laws to bridle the insolence of the unyet this his medling in the Punick War, ruly Rabble: Contrariwife, in talking with proceeded from a royal greatness of mind, the heads of the popular Faction, he said it with a defire to fecure and increase his own was strange, that they being so many would estate, adding therewithal reputation to suffer them elves to be opposed by a few as his Country. But in this business he was if they had not hands to defend themselves guided (as hath been faid) by Demetrius from Tyrants. Thus whilest each of them Pharius: who looking throughly into his prefumed on the Kings affiftance; they nature, did accommodate himself to his de- thought it best to go roundly to work, ere fires: and thereby fhortly governed him as that he were gone, that should countenance he listed. For the vertues of Philip were not their doings. The Governours therefore indeed fuch as they feemed. He was luftful, would have apprehended fome feditious bloody, and tyrannical: defirous of power Orators, that were, they faid the stirrers up to do what he listed, and not otherwise list- of the multitude unto sedition. Upon this ing to do what he ought, than fo far forth, occasion, the people took Arms : and runas by making a fair shew he might breed in ning upon the Nobility and Magistrates, kilmen fuch good opinion of him, as thould led of them in a rage, almost two hundred. help to serve his turn in all that he took in Philip thought, it seems, that it would be easie hand Before he should busie himself in Italy, to worry the Sheep, when the Dogs their he thought it requifite in good policy, to guardians were flain. But his falshood and bring the Greeks that were his Affociates, under a more absolute form of subjection Hereunto Apelles had advised him before: tell him of it in publick, with very bitter and he had liked reasonably well of the and disgraceful words. The King was ancourse. But Apelles was a boysterous Coun-gry at this. But having already done more fellor, and one that referring all to his own than was commendable, or excusable; and glory, thought himself deeply wronged, if yet further intending to take other things he might not wholly have his own way, but in hand wherein he should need the help were driven to await the Kings opportuni- and countenance of his best friends; he was ty at other times. Demetrius Pharius could content to smother his displeasure, and well be contented to observe the Kings make as fair weather as he could. He led humours: and guided, like a Coach-man, old Aratus afide by the hand; and wentup with the reins in his hand, those affections into the Castle of Ithome, that was over which himself did only seem to follow. Messene. There he pretended to do sacri-Therefore he grew daily more and more fice: and facrifice he did. But it was his in credit: 6 as, without any manner of con- purpose to keep the place to his own use: tention, he supplanted Aratus; which the for that it was of notable strength, and violence of Apelles could never do.

Faction among the Mejjenians, between the which he had already, commanded the en-Nobility and Commons: their vehement trance into that Country. Whilest he was thoughts being rather diverted (as happens therefore facrificing, and had the entrails often after a forreign War) unto domestical of the beast delivered into his hands, as was objects, than allayed and reduced unto a the mannershe shewed them to Aratas, and more quiet temper. In process of no long gently asked him, whether the tokens that

time, the contention among them grew for violent, that Philip was intreated to com-How Philip yielded to his natural vices, being pound the differences. He was glad of this: therein foothed by Demetrius Pharius. His resolving so to end the matter, that they defire to tyrannize upon the free states his should not henceforth strive any more about Associates: With the troubles into which he their Government: for that he would asthereby fell, whilest he bore a part in the same it wholly to himself. At his coming this fecond Punick War. He poisoneth Aratus : ther, he found Aratus busic among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own fecret purpole Where-Itherto Philip had carried himself as a fore he consulted not with this reverend double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger Aratus forbear to would serve to command the further parts There arole about these times a very hot of Peloponnesus, as the Citadel of Cormth,

he faw therein did fignifie, That being now | whence they should procure friends to help Soothfayer, thou maift go thy ways, and let flip only maintained the Epirots against him, this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou but procured the Ætolians to break the Oxe by both his horns. Thus he spake ; re- him. fembling Ithome and Acrocorinthus unto the Thus began that War; the occurrents two horns of Peloponnesus. Yet would Philip whereof we have related before, in the place needs hear the opinion of Aratus: who told whereto it belonged. In managing wherehim plainly, That it were well done to keep of, though Philip did the offices of a good the place, if it might be kept without breach | Captain : yet when leisure served, he made of his faith unto the Messenians: But if, by it apparent that he was a vicious King. He feizing upon Ithome, he must lose all the had not quite left his former defire, of opother Castles that he held, and especially the pressing the liberty of the Messenians; but ftrongest Castle of all that was lest unto made another journey into their Country, him by Antigonus, which was his credit; with hope to deceive them as before. They then were it far better to depart with his understood him better now than before; and fouldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had therefore were not hasty to trust him too done hitherto, by their own good wills, than far. When he saw that his cunning would by fortifying any strong places against not serve, he went to work by force; and

all, to deal any longer in the Kings affairs, | naught in following times. The worlethat or be inward with him. For, as he plainly he sped, the more angry he waxed against discovered his tyrannous purposes; so like- those that seemed not to savour his injuriwise he perceived, that in resorting to his ous doings. Wherefore, by the ministery house, he had been dishonest with his sons of Taurion, his Lieutenant, he poisoned old wife. He therefore staid at home: where at | Aratus; and shortly after that, he poysoned good leasure he might repent, that in de- also the younger áratus: hoping that these Pight of Cleomenes, his own Countrey-man, thlings would never have been known, beand a temperate Prince, he had brought the cause they were done secretly, and the poy-Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Ju into Epirus, wherein Aratus refused to the people of Achaia, decreed unto Aratus bear him company. In this journey he found more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, by experience what Aratus had lately told Hymns, and Processions, to be celebrated him, That unhonest counsels are not so pro- every year twice, with a Priest ordained fitable in deed, as in appearance. The Epi- unto him for that purpole; as was accustorots were his followers and dependants; and med unto the Heroes, or men, whom they so they purposed to continue. But he would thought to be translated into the number needs have them so to remain, whether they of the gods. Hereunto they are said to have Purposed it or not. Wherefore to make been encouraged by an Oracle of Apollo: them the more obnoxious unto his will, he which is like enough to have been true, feized upon their Town of Oricum, and laid fince the help of the Devil is never failing flege to Apollonia; having no good colour to the increase of Idolatry. of the doings: but thinking himself ftrong

The loving memory of Aratus their Pa-

in possession of this place, he should quietly them. Thus instead of setling the Coungo out of it, or rather keep it to himself. He try, as his intended Voyage into Haly rethought perhaps, that the old man would quired he kindled a fire in it which he have foothed him a little; were it only for could never quench, until it had laid hold desire for to make amends for the angry on his own Palace. Whilest he was thus lawords newly spoken by his son. But as Ara-bouring to bind the hands that should tus food doubtful what to answer, Demetri- have fought for him in Italy, M. Valerius us Pharius gave this verdict: If thou be a the Roman came into those parts; who not must not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Peace, which they had lately made with

them, to make them of his friends become calling them his enemies, invaded them with open War. But in that War he could do To this good advice, Philip yielded at little good; perhaps, because none of his the present: but not without some dislike | Consederates were desirous to help him in thenceforth growing between him and the luch an enterprise. In this attempt upon Arati; whom he thought more froward Messene, he lost Demetrius Pharius; that was than beseemed them, in contradicting his his Counsellor and Flatterer, not his Perverwill. Neither was the old man defirous at ter; as appears by his growing daily more fons themselves were more fure than mani-Philip made a Voyage out of Peloponne- fest in operation. The Sicyonians, and all

enough to do what he lifted, and not feeing tron, and fingular Benefactor, could not but

work in the Acheans a marvellous diflike of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsel for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally known or believed: neither were they in case to subsist, without his help that had committed it. The Ætolians were a most outragious people, great darers, and shameless robbers. With Philopamen, whole notable valour, and great these the Romans made a league: whereof skill in Arms, made the Nation of the Achethe Conditions were foon divulged, especially that main point, concerning the division of the purchase which they should make, times they had needed against the violence namely, That the Ætolians should have the of their neighbours. This is that Philone-Country and Towns; but the Romans the men, who being then a young man, and fpoil, and carry away the people to fell for having no command, did especial service to flaves. The Aclians, who in times of greater Antigonus at the battel of Sellafia against quiet, could not endure to make strait alli- Cleomenes. Thence forward untill now he ance with the Etolians, as knowing their had spent the most part of his time in the uncivil disposition; were much the more life of Crete: the Inhabitants whereof beaverse from them, when they perceived how ing a valiant people, and select mor never at they had called in the Barbarians (for fuch | peace between themselves ; he bettered did the Greeks account all other Nations excep their own) to make havock of the the Art of War. At his return home, he had Country. The same consideration moved alfo the Lacedamonians to stand off a while, before they would declare themselves for the Ætolians, whose friendship they had embraced in the late war. The industry therefore of Philip, and the great care which all exercise of service, that he made the he feemed to take of the Acheans his Confederates, sufficed to retain them: especially, at fuch time, as their own necessity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himself the Dymaans by an inestimable benefit: recovering their Town, after it had been taken by the Romans and Atolians; and redeeming their people wherefoever they might be found, that had been carried away captive, and fold abroad for flaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences past: if the malignity of his natural condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to understand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodness. Among other foul acts, whereof he was not ashamed, he took Polycratia the wife of the younger Aratus, and carried her into Macedon: little regarding how this might serve to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of fuch faults he shall be told, when the Romans make war upon him the fecond time: for, of that which happened in this their first Invasion, I hold it superfluous to make repetition.

ø. V.

Of Philopæmen General of the Achæans: and Machanidas, Tyrant of Lacedæmon, A battel between them, wherein Machani-

IT happens often, that the decease of one eminent man discovers the vertue of another. In the place of Aratus there frood up ans redcubtable among all the Greeks, and careless of such protection, as in former among them his knowledge, and practice in charge of the Horle: wherein he carrried himself so strictly, travelling with all the Cities of the Confederacy to have his followers well mounted, & armed at all pieces; as also he so diligently trained them up in Acheans very strong in that part of their forces. Being afterward chosen Prætor or General of the Nation, he had no less care to reform their military discipline throughout, whereby his Country might be strong enough to defend it self, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He perswaded the Achaans to cut off their vain expence of bravery, in apparel, houshold-stuff, and curious fare, and to bestow that cost upon their Arms: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to prove the better Souldiers, and sutable in behaviour, unto the pride of their furniture. They had ferved hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast afar off; that were useful inskirmishing at some distance, or for surprises, or fudden and hafty Expeditions, whereto Aratus had been most accustomed. But when they came to handy-strokes, they were good for nothing, fo long as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. Philopæmen altered this: caufing them to arm themselves more weightily, to use a larger kind of shield, with good fwords, and strong pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order, and altered the form of their em- his light armature a good way before him; battelling: not making the Files fo deep as fo as Machanidas was fain to do the like. To hands.

than were theirs.

timea 3 where was fought between thema that error which might restore the victory. great battel. The Tyrant had brought into The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gave chace the field upon Carts a great many of engines, unto those that fled: leaving behind him in wherewirh to beat upon the Squadrons of good order of battel his Lasedemonians 5 his enemies, and put them in diforder. To whom he thought fufficient to deal with Frevent this danger, Philopemen fent forth the Acksans, that were already dishearted

had been accustomed, but extending the second these, from the one and the other Front, that he might use the service of many side came in continual supply; till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the Acheans Eight moneths were spent of that year, and of Machanidas, were drawn up to the in which he first was Pretor of the Acheans; fight: being so far advanced, each before when Machanidas the Tyrant of Lacedamon their own Phalanx, that it could no othercauled him to make trial, how his fouldiers wife be discerned which pressed forward or had profited by his discipline. This Macha- which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. nidas was the successor unto Lycurgus, a man Thus were Machanidas his engines made unmore violent than his fore-goer. He kept ferviceable, by the interpolition of his own in pay a ftrong Army of Mercenaries: and he men; in fuch manner as the Cannon is hipkept them not only to fight for Sparta, but dered from doing execution, in most of the to hold the City in obedience to himself per- battels fought in these our times. The merforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to cenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: force. Wherefore it behaves, that were favo-take part with the Acheans, that were favo-rers of liberty; but to firengthen himfelf (as Polybins well observet) by furmounting Polyb bind. by friendship of the #tolians: who, in making their opposites in degree of courage; where-Alliances, took no further notice of vice or in usually the hired Souldiers of Tyrants vertue, than as it had reference to their own exceed those that are waged by free States. profit. The people also of Lacedamon, For as it is true, that a free people are much through their inveterate hatred unto the more valiant than they which live oppressed Argives, Acheans, and Macedonians, were by Tyranny, fince the one, by doing their in like fort (all or most of them) inclinable best in figl t, have hope to acquire someto the Ætolian Faction. Very unwifely. For what beneficial to themselves, whereas the in feeking to take revenge upon those, that other do fight (as it were) to affure their had lately hindered them from getting the own servitude: so the Mercenaries of a Ty-Lordship of Peloponnesus; they hindered rant, being made partakers with him in the themselves thereby from recovering the Ma- fruits of his prosperity, have as good cause flery of their own City. This affection of to maintain his quarrel as their own; whereas the Spartans, together with the regard of they that serve under a free State, have no his own security, and no small hope of good other motive to do manfully, than their that would follow, fuffered not Machanidas bare stipend. Further than this, when a to be idle; but alwayes made him ready to free State hath gotten the victory, many fall upon his neighbours backs, and take of companies (if not all) of forreign Auxiliatheirs what he could, whilest they were en- ries are presently cast; and therefore such forced, by greater necessity, to turn face good fellows will not take much pains to another way. Thus had he often done, espe- bring the war to an end. But the victory of cially in the ablence of Philip: whose sudden a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more coming into those parts, or some other op- such helpers; because that after it he doth position made against him, had usually made wrong to more, as having more subjects; and him fail of his attempts. At the present he therefore stands in sear of more, that should was stronger in men, than were the Achaans, seek to take revenge upon him. The stipenand thought his own men better Souldiers diaries of the Ackaans, being forced to give ground, were urged fo violently in their re-Whilest Philip therefore was busied else-treat by those of Machanidas, that shortly where, he entered the Country of the Man- they betook themselves to flight: and could tineans: being not without hope to do as not be fraid by any perfuafions of Philopa-Clemenes had done before himsyea and permen, but ran away quite beyond the battel haps to get the * Lordship of Peloponnesus, as of the Acheans. This disafter had been sufhaving fronger friends and weaker oppofition, than Cleomenes had found. But Fhi- of the day; had he not wifely observed the lopemen was ready to entertain him at Man-demeanour of Machanidas, and found in him

LIIIII

by the flight of their companions. But when this his raffiness had carried him out of Philip having peace with Rome, and with all fight, Philopamen advanced towards the Lacedemonians that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the Country a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for Foot. The Lacedamonians adventured over it, as think- ed they indeed after a while (fuch was their ing themselves better fouldiers than the discipline and continual exercise) to ac-Acheans; who had in a manner already lost count themselves in matter of war inferiour the day But hereby they greatly disordered to any, that should have brought against their own Battel; and had no fooner the them no great odds of number. As forthe foremost of them recovered the further Macedonian, he made no great use of them. bank, than they were floutly charged by the But when he had once concluded peace with Achains, who drave them headlong into the the Romans and Ætolians, he studied how ditch again. Their first ranks being broken, to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; fince all the rest began to shrink: so as Philopemen the fortune of his friends the Carthaginians getting over the ditch, eafily chaced them declined in the West. He took in hand maout of the Field. Thilopamen knew better ny matters together, or very neerly togehow to use his advantage, than Machanidas ther, and some of them not honest wherehad done. He suffered not all his Army to in if the Acheans would have done him disband and follow the chace, but retained fervice, they must by helping him to oppress with him a sufficient strength, for the custo- others that never had wronged him, have dy of a bridge that was over the ditch, by taught him the way how to deal which he knew that the Tyrant must come with themselves. He greatly hated Attalus back. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries re- King of Pergamus, who had joyned with the turning from the chace, looked very heavily Romans and Etolians in war against him. when he faw what was fallen out. Yet, with a lusty troop of Horse about him, he made vet a Nobleman, otherwise than as he was towards the bridge: hoping to find the Ache- emobled by his own, and by his Fathers ans in disorder; and to set upon their backs, vertue. His fortune began in Philetarus his as they were carelesly pursuing their Vi- Uncle : who being guelded, by reason of a ctory. But when he and his Company faw milhap which he had when he was a child, Philogemen ready to make good the bridge grew afterwards thereby to be the more against them; then began every one to look, estreemed: as great men in those times rewhich way he might flift for himself. The posed much considence in Eunuchs, whose Tyrant, with no more than two in his com- affections could not be obliged unto wives pany, rode along the ditch fide; and fearch- or children. He was entertained into the faed for an easie passage over. He was easily mily of Docimus, a Captain following Antidiscovered by his purple Cassock, and the gonus the first; and after the death of Anticostly trappings of his Horse. Fhilopamen gonus, he accompanied his Master, that betherefore leaving the charge of the bridge took himself to Lysimachus King of Thrace. unto another coasted him all the way as he Lysimachus had a good opinion of him; and rode; and falling upon him at length in the put him in truft with his money and acditch it felf, as he was getting over it, flew him there with his own hand. There died in of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant; this Battel on the Lacedamonians fide about he fled into Afia, where he feized upon the four thousand: and more than four thoufand were taken prifoners. Of the Achean lents belonging to Lysimachus. The town Mercenaries, probable it is, that the loss was not greatly cared for; fince that War he offered unto Selenem the first, that then was at an end, and for their money they was ready to give Lysimachus battel. His might hire more when they should have need.

o. VI.

The fifth Book of the first Part

Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and their Lineages. Of the Galatians.

Y this victory the Achaens learned to Think well of themselves. Neither need-

This Attalus, though a King, was scarce counts. But when at length he stood in fear Town of Pergamus, and nine thousand taand money, together with his own service, offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that seleucus, having flain Lysimachus, died shortly after himself, before he made use of Phileterus or his money. So this Eunuch still retained Pergamus, with the Country round about it; and reigned therein twenty years as an absolute King. He fuch time, they were raised by the for- sharp exaction whereof, they had no more tune of this Eunuch. Phileterus left his respect unto Attalus, than to any that had Kingdom to the elder of these, or to the worse deserved of them. By this they comton of the elder, called Eumenes. This Eu- pelled him to fight against them: and he bemenes enlarged his Kingdom; making his ing victorious, compelled them to contain advantage of the diffention between selen- themselves within the bounds of that Proens Calinicus and Antiochus Hierax, the vince, which took name from them in time tons of the fecond Antiochus. He fought a following, and was called Galatia. Yet conbattel with Hierax, neer unto Sardis, and tinued they still to oppress the weakest of won the victory. At which time, to animate their neighbours, and to fill up the Armies his men against the Gaules that served under of those that could best hire them. his Enemy, he used a pretty device. He wrote The Kings reigning in those parts, were the word * Victory upon the hand of his the posterity of such, as had saved them-Soothfayer, in such colours as would easily selves and their Provinces, in the slothful come off: and when the hot liver of the reign of the Persians; or in the busine times beaft that was facrificed, had cleanly taken of Alexander, and his Macedonian followers. the print of the letters, He published this The Cappadocians were very ancient. For unto his Army as a Miracle, plainly fore- the first of their line had married with Atosshewing that the gods would be affistant in sa, fister unto the great King Cyrus. Their that Battel.

tation; and found themselves work in quar- have already sometimes mentioned. rels of their own making. They caused Prustas King of Bithynia to cease from his war against Bizantium. Whereunto when he had condescended; they nevertheless within a while after invaded his Kingdom. He obtained against them a great victory; and used it with great cruelty, sparing neither age nor fex. But the fwarm of them increafing, they occupied the Region about Hellepont: where, in feating themselves, they were much beholding unto Attalus. Never-

had two brethren: of which the elder is thelefs, prefuming afterwards upon their faid to have been a poor Carter; and the strength, they forced their Neighbour Prinvounger perhaps not much better, before ces and Cities to pay them tribute: in the

Country was taken from them by Perdiccas, After this Victory, he grew a dreadful as is shewed before. But the son of that enemy to Selencus: who never durft attempt King, whom Perdiceas crucified, espying his to recover from him, by War, the Territory time while the Macedonians were at civil that he had gotten and held. Finally, when wars among themselves; recovered his Dohe had reigned two and twenty years, he minion, and passed it over to his off-spring. died by a furfeit of over-much drink, and The Kings of Pontus had also their beginleft his Kingdom to Attalus, of whom we ning from the Perstan Empire; and are faid now entreat, that was fon unto Attalus the to have iffued from the royal house of Achayoungest brother of Phileterus. Attalus was menes. The Paphlagonians derived themselves an undertaking Prince, very bountiful, and from Pylemenes, a King that affifted Priamus no less valiant. By his own proper forces he at the war of Troy. These, applying themrestored his friend Ariarathes the Cappado- selves unto the times, were alwayes conformcian into his Kingdom, whence he had been able unto the strongest. The Ancestors of expelled. He was grievously molested by Prusias had begun to reign in Bythinia, some Acheus: who setting up himself as King few generations before that of the great against Antiochus the Great, reigned in the Alexander. They lay somewhat out of the leffer Asia. He was besieged in his own City Macedonians way: by whom therefore, haof Pergamus: but by the help of the Tetto- ving other employment, they were the less sage, a Nation of the Gauls, whom he called molested. Calantus, one of Alexanders Capover out of Thruce, he recovered all that he tains, made an expedition into their Counhad loft. When these Gauls had once got- try, where he was vanquished. They had ten footing in Asia, they never wanted em- afterwards to do with a Lieutenant of Antiployment, but were either entertained by gonus, that made them somewhat more humsome of the Princes reigning in those quar-ble. And thus they shuffled, as did the ters, or interposed themselves without invi-rest, untill the reign of Prussias, whom we

ø. VII.

The Town of Chios taken by Philip, at the instance of Prusias, King of Bithynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and the like actions, Philip grows hateful to many of the Greeks: and is warred upon by Attalus King of Pergamus, and by the R.hodians.

Rustas as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with Attalus; whose greatness LIIIII 2

he suspected. He therefore frrengthened him- faith of this King. But most of all others felf, by taking to wife the daughter of Phi- was Attalia moved with confideration of the lip; as Attalus, on the contrary fide, entred Macadonians violent ambition, and of his into a strict Consederacy with the Etolians, own estate. He had much to lose; and was Rhedians, and other of the Greeks. But not without hope of getting much, if he when Philip had ended his Atolian war, and could make a strong party in Greece. He had was deviling with Antiochus about sharing already, as a new King, followed the exambetween them two the Kingdome of Egypt, ple of Alexanders Captains, in purchasing wherein Ptolomy Philopater, a friend unto with much liberality the love of the Albethem both, was newly dead; and had left wians; which were notable Trumpeters of his fon Fiolomy Epiphanes, a young child, his other mens vertue, having loft their own. On heir: the Ejikinian entreated this his Fa- the friendthip of the Ætolians he had cause ther-in-law to come over into Afia, there to to prefume; having bound them unto him by win the Town of the Giani, and beftow it good offices, many & great, in their late war upon him. Profess had no right unto the with Philip. The Rhodians that were mighty Town, nor just matter of quarrel against it: at Sea, and held very good intelligence with but it was fully feated for him, and there- the Egyptians, Syrians, and many other with a rich. Philip came, as one that could Princes and States, he eafily drew into a not well deny to help his Son-in-law. But streight alliance with him, by their hatred hereby he mightily offended no small part newly conceived against Philip. of Greece. Emballadours came to him whilft he lay at the fiege, from the Rhodians, and most of all, in the ready affiftance of the divers other States: intreating him to for- Hhodians, Attalus prepared to deal with the fake the enterprite. He gave dilatory, but Macedonian by open war. It had been unotherwife gentle answers: making shew as seasonable to procrastinate, and expect if he would condescend to their request, whereto the doings of the enemy tended; when he intended nothing less. At length since his desire to fasten upon Asia was manihe got the Town where, even in presence fest, and his falshood no less manifest, than of the Embassadours, of whose solicitation was such his defire. They met with him he had feemed fo regardful, he omitted no shortly not far from Chior, and fought with part of cruelty. Hereby he rendred him him a battel at Sea: wherein though Attalua felf odious to his neighbours, as a perfidi- was driven to run his own ship on ground, ous and cruel Prince. Especially his fast was hardly escaping to land:though the Admiral detefted of the Rhodians, who had made of the Rhodians took his deaths wound and vehement intercession for the poor Ciani: though Philip after the battel took harbour and were advertised by Emballadours of under a Promontory, by which they had purpose sent unto them from Philip, That fought, so that he had the gathering of the howfoever it were in his power to win the wracks upon the shore: Yet for a much as Town as soon as he listed, yet in regard of he had suffered far greater loss of ships, and his love to the Rhodians, he was contented men, than had the enemy; and fince he durft to give it over. And by this his clemency, not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when the Embassadours said, that he would mani- Attalus and the Rhodians came to brave him fest unto the world what slanderous in his Port; the honour of the victory was tongues they were, which noised abroad adjudged to his enemies. This notwithfuch reports, as went of his falshood and standing, philip afterwards besieged and oppression. Whilest the Embassadours were won some towns in Caria: whether only in declaming at Rhodes in the Theater to this a bravery, and to despight his opposites or effect; there came some that made a true whether upon any hopeful desire of conrelation of what had hapned: shewing that quest, it is uncertain. The stratagem, by Philip had facked and destroyed the Town which he won Prinassus worthy of noting. of Cior, and, after a cruel flaughter of the He attempted it by a mine: and finding the Inhabitants, had made flaves of all that earth fo ftony, that it refifted his work; he escaped the fword. If the Rhodians took nevertheless commanded the Pioners to this in great despight, no less were the Ætolians inflamed against him: since they had the night time he raised great mounts about drawn from their Confederacy to his own to the Towns men, that by his undermining, what little trust was to be reposed in the two acres of their wall stood only upon

CHAP. IV.

Upon confidence in these his friends, but fent a Captain to take charge of the Town; the entrance of the mine, to breed an opinibeing warned before by his doings at Lyft- on in the befreged, that the work went marmachia and Chalcedon (which he had with- velloufly forward. At length he feat word entred by a Breach, they should expect no all their mony: neither had they as vet rephilip could not fray to fettle himfelf in those parts. Attalus and the Rhodians were too firong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haste back into Macedon; whither they followed him all the way in manner of purfuit.

6. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian war. feek matter of quarrel against Philip. The Athenians upon Slight cause, proclaim war against Philip; moved thereto by Attalus; whom they flatter. Philip wins divers Towns; and makes peremptory answer to the Roman Embassadour. The furious re-Solution of the Abydeni.

Hefe Afiatique matters, which no way to make a noise in Rome; and fill the peo- things must be published abroad, if only to ples heads, if not with a defire of making predifpole men unto the war, and give it war in Macedon, at least with a conceit that the more honest colour. it were expedient fo to do. The Roman Senate was perfectly informed of the flate of therefore could not thrive by intermedling those Eastern Countries; and knew, that in the affairs of those that were more mighthere was none other Nation than the ty than himself. He was too unskilful, or Greeks, which lay between them and the otherwise too unapt, to retain his old Lordship of Asia. These Greeks were facti- friends: yet would be needs be seeking new ous, and seldome or never at peace. As for enemies. And he found them such, as he dethe Macedonian; though length of time, and served to have them: for he offered his help continual dealings in Greece ever fince the to their destruction, when they were in mireigns of Fhilip and Alexander, had left no fery, and had done him no harm. It behoved difference between him and the Naturals: him therefore, either to have strained his yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, forces to the utmost in making war upon because he was originally forsooth a Barba- them; or in delisting from that injurious rian: many of them hated him upon anci- course, to have made amends for the wrongs entquarrels: and they that had been most past, by doing friendly offices of his own beholding unto him, were nevertheless wea- accord. But he, having broken that League ry of him, by reason of his personal faults. of peace, which is of all other the most naespecially since the divisions of the Country ly provoked; was afterwards too fondly apt to take Counsel apart for it self; with- the Romans, because of the written Covenants out much regarding the generality. But of peace between him and them. There is the poor Commonalty of Rome had no great not any form of Oath, whereby such Araffection to such a chargeable enterprise. ticles of peace can be held inviolable, save + Sir Frans

wooden props, to which if he gave fire, and they had given by Loan to the Republike, mercy. The Prinaffians little thought, that he ceived, neither did they receive until fifteen had fetch all his earth and rubbilh by night or fixteeu years after this, their whole fum a great way off, to raise up those heaps back again. That part of payment also which they faw; but rather that all had which was already made, being not in prebeen extracted out of the mine. Wherefore fent mony, but much of it in Land: it bethey fuffered themselves to be out-faced, hoved them to rest a while; and bestow the and gave up the Town as loft, which the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by enemy had no hope to win by force. But how much they were the less able to bestow cost. Wherefore they took no pleasure to hear, that Attalus and the Rhodians had fent Embassadours to solicite them against Philip, with report of his bold attempts in Asta: or that M. Aurelius, their Agent in Greece, had fent letters of the fame tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that folicited not only the Towns upon the Continent, but all the Islands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadours, as one that meant thortly to hold war with the Romans upon their own ground. Philip had indeed no fuch intent : neither was he much too strong either of himself, or by his alliance in Greece, to be refifted by Attalus and the Rhodians; especially with the help of the Ætolians their good friends, and (in a manconcerned the Romans, yet ferved well ner) his own professed enemies. But such

Philip was a man of ill condition; and All this gave hope, that the affairs of Greece tural, binding all men to offer no violence would not long detain the Roman Armies: willingly, unless they think themselves justwere such, that every petty Estate was perswaded, that he might well be secure of

They were already quite exhausted, by that grievous war with Hannibal: wherein ellips, which whilest it binds one party, or v terms.

CHAP. IV.

that he shall be a loser who starts from the Citizens, with their wives and children, in Conditions; it may fo long (and fo long as folemn a pomp as they could devise, to only) be prefumed, that there shall be no meet and honour the King. They enterbreach. Till Hannibal was vanquished, the tained the Romans that were with him, in Romans never hearkened after Philip: for very loving manner: but towards Attalus necessity made them let him alone. But himself they omitted no point of observance when once they had a peace with Carthage; which their flattery could suggest. At his then was the River of styx dryed up: and first coming into the City, they called the then could they fwear as * Mercury did in people to Affembly : where they defired supplies, the Comedy, by their own felves, even by him to honour them with his presence, and their good fwords, that they had good reason let them hear him speak. But he excused to make war upon him. The voyage of so- himfelf; faying, That with an evil grace he pater into Africk, and the present war against should recount unto them those many be-Attalus, were matter of quarrel as much nefits, by which he studied to make them as needed: or if this were not enough; know what love he bore them. Wherefore the Athenians helped to furnish them with it was thought fit, that he should deliver in

of no more then their own barren Territory, claration were; first, what he had willingly took state upon them nevertheless, as in done for their fake: then, what had lately their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen passed between him and Philip: lastly, an exof Acarnania entring into the Temple of Ce- | hortation unto them, to declare themselves wes, in the dayes of Initiation (wherein were against the Macedonian, whilest he with delivered the mysteries of Religion, or ra- the Rhodians and the Romans, were willing ther of idolatrous superstition, vainly said to and ready to take their part: which if they be available unto felicity after this life) now refused to do, he protested, that afterdiscovered themselves by some importinent wards it would be vain to crave his help. questions, to be none of those that were ini- | There needed little intreaty: for they were tiated. Hereupon they were brought before as willing to proclaim the war, as he to the officers: and though it was apparent, defire it. As for other matters, they loaded that they came into the place by meer error, him with immoderate honours: and obtainnot thinking to have therein done amissyet, ed, That unto the ten Tribes, whereof the as it had been for some hainous crime, they body of their Citizens confisted, should were put to death. All their Country-men be added another, and called after his at home took this in ill part; and fought to name; as if he were in part one of their revenge it as a publick injury, by war upon | Founders. To the Rhodians they also dethe Athenians. Procuring therefore of Phi-creed a Crown of Gold, in reward of their lip some Macedonians to help them , they vertue; and made all the Rhodians free Cientred into Attica: who wasted it with fire tizens of Athens. and fword; and carried thence a great booty. This indignity stirred up the highminded Athenians; and made them think part; Attalus and the Rhodians taking all upon doing more, than they had ability to upon them. But while these were vainly misperform. All which at the present they could spending the time, in seeking to draw the do, was to fend Embassadors to King Attalus; Atolians to their party: that contrary to gratulating his happy success against Philip, their old manner were glad to be at quiet: and intreating him to visit their City. Atta- Philip won the Towns of Maronea and Alus was hereto the more willing, because he nus, with many other strong places about understood that the Roman Embassiadors, the Hellespont. Likewise passing over the hovering about Greece for matter of intelli- Hellespont, he laid siege unto Abydus; and gence, had a purpose to be there at the same won it, though he was fain to stay there time. So he went thither, accompanied, be- long. The Town held out, rather upon fides his own followers, with some of the an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour Rhodians. Landing in the Piraus, he found from Attalus and the Rhodians, than any the Romans there, with whom he had much great ability to defend it felf against so mighfriendly conference: they rejoycing that he ty an Enemy. But the Rhodians fent thither continued enemy to Philip; and he being only one Quadrireme Gallie: and Attalia no les glad, when he heard of their purpole no more than three hundred men, fartoo to renew the war. The Athenians came out weak an aid to make good the place. The

both unto performance, making it apparent, of their City, all the Magistrates, Priests, and writing, what he would have to be pro-The Athenians, being at this time Lords pounded. He did so. The points of his De-

great negligence of them that had taken fo fador ; and had the Town immediately much upon them.

lius, and P. Sempronius, were fent unto Ptolo- ry one of them, and fet their Town on fire; lamy Epiphanes King of Egypt, to acquaint binding themselves hereto by a fearful oath him with their victory against Hannibal and when Philip denied to accept them upon the Carthaginians; as also to thank him for reasonable conditions. But having in despehis favour unto them shewed in that war; rate fight, once repelling him from the and to defire the continuance thereof, if Breach, lost the greatest number of their they should need it against Fhilip. This Egyp- Youth; it was thought meet by the Govertian King was now in the third or fourth nours and Ancients of the City to change year of his reign, which (as his father this resolution; and take such peace as could Philopater had done before him) be began a be gotten. So they carried out their Gold very young boy. The courtesie for which the and Silver to Philip: about which, whilest Romans were to thank him, was that out of they were busie, the memory of their oath Egypt they had lately been supplied with wrought so effectually in the younger sort: corn, in a time of extream Dearth; when that, by exhortation of the Priests, they fell the miseries of War had made all their own to murdering their women, children, and Provinces unable to relieve them. This mcf- themselves. Hereof the King had so little fage could not but be welcome to the Egyp-And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his Councel for him, should offer to supply the Romans with corn: since this their Macedonian Expedition concerned his The Romans decree war against Philip, and Estate no less than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complemental; so had the Embassadors both leifure and direction from the Senate, to look unto the things of Greece by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that M. Emylius the youngest of them should step aside, and them with the like. Do you also (faid Emylius) requite these poor Abydeni with such ter-

Roman Embassadors wondred much at this | than the Roman. So he dismissed the Embasyielded to his discretion. The people had These Embassadors, C. Claudius, M. Emy- entertained a resolution, to have died evecompassion, that he said, he would grant the tian: fince it was well know, how Philip and Abydeni three dayes leifure to die: and to Antiochus had combined themselves against that end forbade his men to enter the town; him, conspiring to take away his Kingdom. or hazzard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fools.

v. IX.

fend one of their Confuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederates. How poor the Athenians were at this time both in quality and estate.

"His calamity of the Abydeni, was likened by the Romans unto that of the Savisit Philip, to trie if he could make him guntines: which indeed it neerly resembled: leave the fiege of Abydus; which else he though Rome was not alike interested in the was like to carry. Emplius, coming to Phi- quarrel. But to help themselves with prelip, tells him that his doings are contrary to tence for the War, they had found out the League that he had made with the Ro- another Saguntum, even the City of Athens: mans. For Attalus and the Rhodians, upon which if the Macedonian (hould win, then whom he made war, were Confederate with rested there no more to do, than that he Rome: and the Town of Abydus, which he should presently embarque himself for was now befieging, had a kind of depen- Italy, whither he would come, not as Handancy upon Attalus. Hereto Philip answered, nibal from Saguntum, in five moneths, but in That Attalus and the Rhodians had made the short space of five days sayling. Thus war upon him : and that he did only requite P. Sulpitius the Conful told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make War upon Philip; which at his first propounding they rible War, for any the like Invasion by them had denied. The example of Pyrrhus was first made upon you? The King was angry to by him alledged; to shew, what Philip, hear himself thus taken short: and there- with the power of a greater Kingdom, fore he roundly made answer to Emylius: might dare to undertake: as also the for-It is your youth, Sir, and your beauty, and (above tunate voyage of Scipio into Africk; to shew all,) your being a Roman, that makes you thus the difference of making War abroad, and presumptuous. But I would wish je to remem- admitting it into the bowels of their own ber the League that ye have made with me, and Country. By such arguments was the Comto keep it : If ye do otherwise, I will make ye monalty of Rome induced to believe, that understand, that the Kingdome, and Name of this War with the Macedonian was both Macedon is in matter of War, no less noble just and necessary. So it was decreed: and

towards Macedon, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue. a readiness, by order from the Senate 5 who followed other Motives than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the Athenian Embassadors, for the Athenians themselves, they that had of their constancy (as was said) in not been wont, in ancient times to undertake the changing their faith at fuch times as they flood in danger of being befreged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not upon the fame occasion. For the people of Rome had no cause to think it a benefit unto themselves; that any Greek open-ones, not much better than long boats. Town, refuling to fue unto the Macedonian Yet thought they not themselves a whit the for peace, requested their help against him. But the Senate, intending to take in hand glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it the Conquest of the Eastern parts, had reafon to give thanks unt those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue fuggestion, That Philip was making ready for Italy: and fince neither Attalus. the Khodians, nor any other State in those quarters, defired the Romans to give them protection: these busie-headed Athenians, who falling out with the Acarnanians, and confequently with Philip, a matter of Maygame, (as was shewed before) sent Embaffactors into all parts of the World. even to Ptolomy of Egypt, and to the Romans, as well as to Attalus and others their neighborrs; must be accepted as cause of the War, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence; the doings of P. Sulpitius the Conful were fuch, as might have argued Athens to be the least part of his care. He failed not about Peloponnesus, but took the ready way to Mace- best a while to sit still, and try what might don, and landing about the River of Apples, be done for obtaining of peace, or whether betwee Dyrrhacium and Apollonia, there to make opposition, and resist these Invaders began the War. Soon upon his coming, with all his forces: he received advertilethe Athenian Embassadours were with him ment from Chalcis of a grievous mishap there and craved his help: whereof they could befallen him, by procurement of the Athemake no benefit whilest he was far from nians. For C. Claudius with his Romans, them. They bemoaned themselves as men finding no such work at Athens as they had befieged, and intreated him to deliver expected, or was answerable to the fame them. For which cause he sent unto them that went abroad, purposed to do somewhat C.Claudius with twenty Gallies, and a com- that might quicken the war, and make his petent number of men: but the main of his own imployment better. He grew soon weaforces he retained with him, for the profe- ry of fitting as a Scar-crow, to fave the cution of a greater defign. The Athenians Athenians grounds from spoil; and therefore were not indeed belieged: only some Ro- gladly took in hand a bufiness of more vers from Chalcis, in the Isle of Enbaa, and importance. The Town of Chalcis was vefome bands of adventurers out of Corinth, ry negligently guarded by the Macedonian used to take their ships, and spoil their Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enefields, because they had declared themselves my at hand: and more negligently by the against King Philip, that was Lord of these Towns-men, who reposed themselves upon two Towns. The robberies done by these their Garrison. Hereof Claudian having

immediately the fame Conful hafted away Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more cloquent than war-like Athenians, in this called a Siege. From fuch detriment the arrival of claudius, and shortly after of three Rhodian Gallies, eafily preferved them. As conquests of Egypt, Cyprus, and Cicil; to make war upon the great Persian King, and to hold fo much of Greece in Subjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the rest; had now no more than three ships, and those worse men, but stood as highly upon the had been still their own.

o. X.

The Town of Chalcis in Euboea taken and fackt by the Romans & their Associates that lay in Garrison at Athens. Philip attempteth to take Athens by furprise; wasteth the Country about, and makes a journy into Pe-Ioponnesis. Of Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife. Philip offers to make war against Nabis for the Achaans. He returneth home through Attica, which he (boileth again: and provides against the Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Divers Princes joyn with them. Great labous ring to draw the Ætolians into the war.

Hilip returning home from Abydus, heard news of the Roman Conful his being about Apollonia. But ere he stirred forth togive him entertainment, or perhaps before he had well refolved, whether it were

marched from thence away speedily to- them unexpected. ward Athens: thinking it not inpossible to ready for defence. Within a few hours Phi- spoiling the men, then hers in sleecing their lip was there; who feeing the many lights, wives; whom she would never suffer to be and other figns of busie preparation usual in at quiet, till they had presented her with of his coming; and therefore willed his fo delighted with her property, that he men to repose themselves till it were day. It caused an Image to be made, lively repreis like, that the paucity of his followers fenting her; and apparelled it with fuch though Claudius were not yet returned men Hereof he made use, when he meant to (who was to fetch a compass about by sea, try the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling and had no cause of haste) yet having in the unto him some rich man, of whose money he Town some mercenary Souldiers, which they was desirous; he would bring him into the

advertisement, sailed thither by night, for kept of their own, besides the great multifear of being descried: and arriving there tude of Citizens; they adventured to issue a little before break of day, took it by Sca- forth at a gate, whereto they faw Philip lado. He used no mercy, but slew all that make approach. The King was glad of this; came in his way: and wanting mento keep reckoning all those his own, that were thus it. (unless he should have left the heartless hardy. He therefore only willed his men to Athenians to their own defence) he set it on follow his example; and presently gave fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of charge upon them. In that fight he gave fin-Corn, and all provisions for War, which gular proof of his valour; and beating down were plenteoufly filled. Neither were he many of the Enemies with his own hands, and his Affociates contented with the great drave them with great flaughter back into abundance of spoil which they carried the City. The heat of his courage transportaboard their ships, and with inlarging all ed him further than discretion would have those, whom Philip, as in a place of most allowed, even to the very gate. But he retifecurity, kept there imprisoned: but to red without harm taking; for that they flew their despight and hatred unto the which were upon the Towers over the gate. King, they overthrew and brake in pieces could not use their casting weapons against the Statues to him there erected. This him, without much indangering their own done, they hasted away towards Athens: people that were thronging before him into where the news of their exploit was like to the City. There was a temple of Hereules, a be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then place of exercise, with a Grove, and many at Demetrias, about some 20. miles thence; goodly Monuments besides, neer adjoyning whither then these tidings, or part of them, unto Athens: of which he spared none; but were brought him, though he faw that it suffered the rage of his anger to extend, was too late to remedy the matter; yet he even unto the sepulchres of the dead. The made all haste to take revenge. He thought next day came the Romans, and some Comto have taken the Athenians, with their trufty panies of Attalus his men from Egina; too friends, busie at work in ransacking the late in regard of what was already past; but Town, and loading themselves with spoil: in good time to prevent him of satisfying but they were gone before his coming. Five his anger to the full, which as yet he had thousand light-armed foot he had with him, not done. So he departed from thence to and three hundred horse: whereof leaving | Corinth, and hearing that the Acheans held at Chalcis only a few to bury the dead, he a Parliament at Argos, he came thither to

The Acheans were deviling upon war: take his enemies in the joy of their Victory, which they intended to make against Nabis as full of negligence, as they had taken Chal- the Tyrant of Lacedamon: who being startcis. Neither had he much failed of his expe- ed up in the room of Machanidas, did greater ctation, if a Foot-post that stood Scout for mischief than any that went before him. This the City upon the borders, had not descried Tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenahim afar off, and swiftly carried word of ries: and of his subjects had no regard. He his approach to Athens. It was mid-night was a cruel oppreffor, a greedy extortioner when this Post came thither: who found upon those that lived under him; and one all the Town asleep, as fearless of any dan- that in his natural condition smelt rankly ger. But the Magistrates, hearing this re- of the Hangman. In these qualities, his port, caused a trumpet out of their Citadel wife Apega was very fitly matched with to found the Alarm, and with all speed made him, since his dexterity was no greater in fuch a case, understood that they had news all their jewels and apparel. Her husband was tiv. 1.32. did help well to animate the Citizens, which coftly garments as she used to wear. But it Except. beheld them from the walls. Wherefore was indeed an Engine, ferving to torment Polybel 13.

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and there use all his art of perswasion, to get Nabis, he brake up the Assembly, with every what he defired, as it were by good will. mans good liking; whereas in former times, If he could not fo fpeed, but was answered he had been thought no better than one of with excuses; then took he the refractory the Kings Paralites. denyer by the hand, and told him, that per- It grieved the King to have thus failed haps his Wife Apega (who fate by in a Chair) in his purpose with the Acheans. Neverthecould perfivade more effectually. So he led less he gathered up among them a few him to the image, that role up and opened | Voluntaries; and foreturned by Corinth back the arms as it were for imbracement. Those into Attica. There he met with Fhilocles arms were full of that piron nails, the like one of his Captains, that with two thousand whereof was also flicking in the breafts, men had been doing what harm he might though hidden with her clothes: and here-unto the Country. With this addition of with the griped the poor wretch, to the strength, he attempted the Castle of Eleaging, pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his the haven of Pyreus, and even the Chy of cruel death. Such, and worfe (for it were Athens. But the Romans made such haste were long to tell all here that is spoken of after him by Sca, thrusting themselves into him) was Nabis in his government. In his every of these places; that he could no more dealings abroad he combined with the Æto- than wreak his anger upon those goodly lians, as Machanidas and Lycurgus had done Temples, with which the Land of Allies before him. By these he grew into acquain- was at that time singularly beautified so he tance with the Romans; and was compre- destroyed all the works of their notable

their own fafety in the Towns.

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them not to trouble themselvs with the care his friendship. Thus was Philip occuof this business; for almuch as he alone would pied. ease them of this War, and take the burden upon himself. With exceeding joy and upon the River of Apfus. Thence helent thanks they accepted of this kind offer. forth Apuftius his Lieutenant, with part of But then he told them, That whileft he the Army, to waste the borders of Micedon. made War upon Lacedemon, he ought not to Apuftius took fundry Cassles and Towns; leave his own Townsunguarded. In which using such extremity of sword and fire at respect he thought they would be pleased Antipatria, the first good Town which he to fend a few men to Corinth, and fome Com- won by force, that none durst afterwards panies into the Ille of Eubæa; that so he make resistance, unless they knew themselves bis. Immediately they found out his device; Conful with his spoil, he was charged in the might securely pursue the War against Nawhich was none other, than to engage their Reer, upon the passage of a brook, by Nation in his War against the Romans. Athenagoras a Macedonian Captain: but the Wherefore their Prator Cycliades made him Romans had the better, and killing many answer, That their Laws forbade them to of these enemies, took prisoners many more, conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was affembled.

So passing the Decree was which the last of the conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was affembled. So passing the Decree, upon which they had The success of this Expedition, though

room where this counterfeit Apega stood, agreed before, for preparing War against

hended in the League which they made with Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; Philip, at the end of their former War. Of which they had in plenty of their own: or Philopemens vertue he stood in sear: and having long ago been Masters of the Sea, therefore dufft not provoke the Achaens, as had brought from other places, where belt long as they had fuch an able Commander. choice was found. Neither did he only But when Cycliades, a far worse Captain, was pull all down: but caused his men to break their Prætor, and all, or the greatest part of the very stones, that they might be unsertheir Mercenaries were discharged; Phi-viceable to their reparation. His loss at lopemen being also gone into Crete, to fol- Chalers being thus revenged upon Athens, low his belowed occupation of War; then he went home into Macedon: and there did Nabir fall upon their Territory; and made provision, both against the Roman wafting all the fields, made them diftrust Conful that lay aboout Apollonia; and against the Dardanians, with other his bad Against this Tyrant the Acheans were neighbours, which were likely to infest him. preparing for War, when Philip came among Among his other cares, he forgot not the them , and had fet down what proportion Ætolians: to whose Parliament, shortly to of Souldiers every City of their Corporato be held at Naupattus, he fent an Émtion thould furnish our. But Philip willed bassage, requesting them to continue in

> Sulpitius the Roman Consul encamped able to hold out. Returning towards the

it were not great, yet ferved to draw into then against it, who fought to break it now. the Roman friendship those that had for- It would have troubled the Romans, to merly no good inclination to the Macedoni- frame a good answer to these objections. For an. These were Pleuratus, the son of scerdi- the Macedonian had spoken the very truth. laidas the Illyrian: Aminander King of the in shewing whereunto this their Patronage. Athamanians, and Bato the fon of Longarus, which they offered with fuch importunity. Prince of the Dardanians. They offered did tend. Wherefore the Athenians were fet their affiltance unto the Conful, who thank- on by them to speak next: who had store ed them: and faid, That he would shortly of eloquence, and matter of recrimination make use of Pleuratus and Bato, when he en- enough, to make Philip odious. These aftred into Macedon: but that the friendship strend, that it was a great impudence in the of Aminander, whose Country lay between Macedonian Embassador, to call the Komans the Atolians and Theffaly, might be perhaps by the name of Barbarians; knowing in available with the Ætolians, to stir them what barbarous manner his own King had,

up against Philip.

CHAP. IV.

good cause to be carried away after other not defended them. mens fancies. He prayed them to confider, defence of the Ætolians, and yet notwithstanding had been angry, that the Ætolians, by making peace with Philip, had no longer need of such their Patronage. What might which these Barbarians bore unto the Greeks. For even after the same fort had they lent Carthaginian Tyrants; but now both Syracuse and Messana, were subject unto the Rods and Axes of the Romans. To the same effect he alledged many examples, adding, That in like fort it would happen to the Ætoli-Greece, must not look hereafter to hold, as to consult about War and Peace: the Ro-

in few dayes past, made War upon the gods So the present care was wholly set upon themselves, by destroying all their Temples the Atolian Parliament at hand. Thither in Attica. Herewithal they made a pittiful came Embassadors from the Macedonian, Ro- reherfal of their own calamities: and said, mans, and Athenians. Of which, the Mace- that if Philip might have his will, Atolia, donian spake first, and said : That as there and all the rest of Greece, should feel the was nothing fallen out, which should occa- same that Attica had felt; yea, that Athens it fion the breach of peace between his Master self, together with Minerva, Jupiter, Ceres, and the # tolians; so was it to be hoped, that and other of the gods, were like to have they would not suffer themselves, without selt, if the Walls and the Roman arms had

Then spake the Romans: who excusing, how the Romans heretofore, had made flew, as well as they could, their own oppression as if their war in Greece tended only to the of all those in whose defence they had heretofore taken Arms, went roundly to the point in hand. They faid, that they had of late made War in the Atolians behalf, and that the Ætolians had without their conit be that made them to buffe, in obtruding | fent made peace: whereof fince the Ætolians their protection upon those that needed it | must excuse themselves, by alledging that not? Surely it was even the general hatred, the Romans, being busied with Carthage, wanted leifure to give them aid convenient; fo this excuse being now taken away, and their help to the Mamertines; and afterwards | the Romans wholly bent against their comdelivered Syracuse, when it was oppressed by mon Enemy, it concerned the Atolians to take part with them in their war & victory. unless they had rather perished with Philip.

It might eafily be perceived, that they which were so vehement, in offering their help ere it was defired, were themselves carans: who if they drew fuch masters into ried unto the War by more earnest motives, than a simple desire to help those friends, now, free Parliaments of their own, wherein with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cause, why mans would ease them of this care, and Dorymachus the Etolian Prætor shifted fend them such a Moderator, as went every them off a while with a dilatory answer: year from Rome to syracuse. Wherefore he though he told his Country-men, That by concluded, that it was best for them, whilst reserving themselves, till the matter were as yet they might, and whilst one of them as inclined one way or other, they might afyet could help the other, to continue in terwards take part with those that had the their League with Philip: with whom if at better fortune. His answer was, first, in any time, upon light occasion, they hapned general terms; That over-much haste was to fall out, they might as lightly be recon- an enemy to good counsel: for which ciled: and with whom they had three years | cause they must further deliberate, ere they ago made the peace which still continued; concluded. But coming nearer to the matalthough that the very same Romans were ter in hand, he passed a Decree, That the

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the states, and therein conclude upon this bu- that the King was unwilling to hazzard all fines: any Law to the contrary notwithstand- at first upon a Cast, and therefore fent for ing: whereas otherwise it was unlawful to Ferseus with his Companies, to increase his treat of fuch affairs, excepting two of their own forces: yet being no less unwilling to great Parliaments, that were held at fet losetoo much in reputation; he made shew times.

skirmishing with them on his borders. The Æsolians invade his Dominions, and are the Roman Fleet.

of the Atolians. He thought them hereby ed fome notable detriment, if the Kings didifappointed in the very beginning, of one rections had been well followed. For when great help; and meant himself to dilappoint Athenagoras began to fall back, they them of another. His fon Perfeus, a very charged him so hotly, that they drave him boy, was fent to keep the Streights of Pelagonia against the Dardanians; having with as they were able. But the Captains of the him some of the Kings Councel, to govern both him and his Army. It was judged, as may feem, that the prefence of the Kings fon, how young foever, would both encourage his Followers, and terrifie the Enemies, by making them at least believe, that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reason, why the same Perseus, a few years before this, was in like manner in order, with Elephants in the front: a left upon the borders of Ætolia by his fa- kind of help which the Romans had never ther; whom earnest business called thence | used before, but had taken these of late another way. No danger of enemies be- | from the Carthaginians. Such are the alteing left on either hand; it was thought that rations wrought by Time. It was fcarce the Macedonian Fleet under Heraelides, above fourscore years ere this, that Pyrrhus would ferve to keep Attalus, with the carried Elephants out of Greece into Italy, 10 Rhodians and Romans, from doing harm by affright the Romans, who had never feen Sea, when the Kings back was turned: who any of those beasts before. But now the same the Conful.

Desfaretii, a people in the utmost borders of phants with them: whereof the Macedoni-Macedon towards Illyria, about the Mountains of Candavia; that running along from ence to let the Conful brave him at his Hemus in the North, until they joyn in the Trenches: wherein he did wifely; for the Ro-South with Pindus, inclose the Western man had greater need to fight, than he. sulwith skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the Romans, and driven back pleasure: even till their presumption, and his

Prator might at any time call an Affembly of into their Camp. Now although it was for a day aftet as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and fo The meeting of Philip with the Romans, and gave charge to Athenagoras, one of his Captains, to provoke out the Romans to fight; instructing both him and his Targettiers. beaten home. Some doings of Attalus and how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The Romans had no mistrust of any ambnis, having Hilip was glad to hear, that the Romani foughcupon the fame ground a day before, had feed no better in their folicitation | Wherefore perhaps they might have sustainto an hasty slight, and pursued him as hard Targettiers, not flaying to let themrun into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the work to which they were appointed. The Conful hereby gathered, that the King had some defire to try the fortune of a battel: which he therefore prefented the fecond time: leading forth his Army, and fetting it took his journey Westward against sulpicius | Romans (whilst possibly some were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of Pyr-The Armies met in the Country of the rhus) come into Macedon, bringing Eleans and Greeks have none. Philip had patiparts of Macedon. Two or three dayes they picius was unwilling to lole time: neither lay in fight the one of the other, without could he without great danger, lying to near making offer of battel. The Conful was the the Enemy that was frong in horfe tend his first that issued forth of his Camp into the men to fetch in cornout of the fields. Whereopen field. But Philip was not confident in fore he removed 8 miles off: prefuming that the strength which he had then about him 3 Philip would not adventure to meet him on and therefore thought it better to fend forth even ground and fo the more boldly he fuffome of his light-armed Mercenaries, and fered his Forragers to over-run the Counfome part of horse, to entertain them try. The King was nothing forry of this but own supposed fear, should make them care- | Consul with as much dulness, for his dayes

ed with improvident rashness; and the therefore he returned back to Apollonia.

lesse. When this was come to pass, he took fervice. A little longer stay would have deall his horfe, and light-armed foot, with livered the King from these enemies withwhich his occupied a place in the mid-way, out any blow : fince when all the fields which the center and their Camp. There he ftayed in covert with part of his have retired back to the Sea. On the other forces, to keep the passages that none side, it was not thought unlikely. That if thould escape. The rest he sent abroad the the Romans following the King, had set up-Country, to fall upon the stragglers : wil- on his Camp, at such time as he fled thither, ling then to put all to the fword, and let half amazed with either being flain or tanone run home with news to the Camp. The ken, they might have won it. But that noflaughter was great : and those which esca- ble Historian, Livie; (as is commonly his ped the hands of them that were fent abroad manner.) hath judiciously observed. That to cowre the fields, lighted all or most of neither the one, nor the other, were much them upon the King and his companies in too blame in this days work. For the main their flight: so as they were cut off by the body of the Kings Army lay safe in his way. Long it was ere the Camp had news Camp; and could not be fo altonished with of this. But in the end there escaped some: the loss of two or three hundred horse, that who though they could not make any per- it should therefore have abandoned the defect relation how the matter went : yet by fence of the Trenches. And as for the King telling what had hapned to themselves, himself, he was advertised, that Pleuratus raifed a great multitude. Sulpicius here- the Illyrian, and the Dardanians, were falmoon fends forth all his horse, and bids them len upon his Country; when they found the help their fellows where they faw it need- passage thereinto open, after Perseus was full: He himself with the Legions follow- called away from custody of the Streights. ed. The companies of horse divided them. This was it which made him adventure to selves, accordingly as they met with adver- do somewhat betimes; that he might set tilements upon the way, into many parts . | the Romans going the fooner, and afternot knowing where was most of the dan- wards look unto his troublesome neighger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philips* bours: In confideration of this, *Philip* was Troops, that were canvaffing the field, took defirous to clear himself of the *Romans*, as their talk where they found it: But the foon as he might. And to that purpose he sent main bulk of them fell upon the King him- unto the Conful; requesting a day of truce felf. They had the disadvantage; as coming for burial of the dead. But instead of so dofewer, and unprepared, to one that was reading, he marched away by night, and left fires dy for them. So they were beaten away; as in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he their fellows also might have been, if the had not stirred out of the place. Sulpicius, King had well bethought himself, and given when he heard of the Kings departure, was over in time. But while, not contented not flow to follow him. He overtook the Mawith fuch an harvest, he was too greedy cedonians in a place of strength, which they about a poor gleaning; the Roman Legions | had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by appeared in fight: which emboldened their cutting down trees, and laying them athwart horse to make a re-charge. Then the dan- the way where it was most open. In making ger apparent, enforced the Macedonians to of fuch places good, the Macedonian Phalook to their own fafety. They ran which lanx was of little use; being a square batway they could: and (as men that lie in tel of pikes, not fit for every ground. The wait for others, are feldom heedfull of that Archers of Crete were judged, and were inwhich may befall themselves) to escape the deed, more serviceable in that case. But they Enemy, they declined the fairest way; so were few; and their arrows were of small as they were plunged in Marithes and Bogs, force against the Roman shields. The Macewherein many of them were loft. The Kings donians therefore helped them by flinging of horse was slain under him: and there had stones. But to no purpose. For the Romans been cast away, if a loving subject of his got within them; and forced them to quit he had not alighted, mounted him upon his the place. This victory (fuch as it was) laid own horse, and delivered him out of open unto the Consul some poor Towns perill, at the expence of his own life, thereabout; which partly were taken by that running on foot was overtaken and strong hand, partly yielded for fear But the spoil of these, and of the fields adjoyning, In the common opinion Philip was charg- was not sufficient to maintain his Army; and

The Dardanians, hearing that Philip was having been long ablent from Italy: whither come back, withdrew themselves apace out fain they would have returned, when by of the Country. The King fent Athenagoras their Colonels they were shipped for Maceto wait upon them home; whilest he him- don. How Villius dealt with them, it is uncerfelf went against the Atolians. For Damo- tain. For the History of his yeer is lost. critus the Prætor of the Ætolians, who had whereof the miss is not great, fince he did referved himself and his Nation unto the nothing memorable. Valerius Antius, as we event of things, hearing report, that Philip | finde in Livie, hath adorned this Villius with was beaten once and again: as also that a great exploit against Philip. Yet since Livie Pleuratus and the Dardanians were fallen himself, an Historian to whom few of the upon Macedon; grew no less busie on the best are matchable, could finde no such fudden, than before he had been wife. He thing recorded in any good Author: we perswaded his Nation to take their time: may reasonably believe, that Villius his year and fo, not staying to proclaim War, joyned his forces with Aminander the Athamanian; and made invasion upon Thessaly. They the Romans found more trouble than could took, and cruelly sacked a few Towns: have been expected with the Gauls. Their whereby they grew confident; as if, with- Colony of Placentia, a goodly and ftrong out any danger, they might do what they Town, which neither Hannibal, nor after listed. But Philip came upon them ere they him Asdrubal, had been able to sore: looked for him: and killing them as they was taken by thele Barbarians, and burnt lay dispersed, was like to have taken their in a manner to the ground. In like fort Cre-Camp, if Aminander more warie than the mona was attempted: but faved her felf. Ætolians, had not helped at need, and made taking warning by her neighbours calamithe Retrait through his own mountainous ty. Amilear a Carthaginian, that flayed be-Country.

affifted by Attalus and the Rhodians, had their enterprises. This when the Romans taken some small Islands in the Agean Sea. heard, they sent Embassadours to the Car-They took likewise the Town of Oreum in thaginians: giving them to understand, That the Isle of Eubwa: and some other places if they were not weary of the peace, it bethereabout. The Towns were given unto hoved them to call home, and deliver up, Attalus, after the same Compact that had this their Citizen Amilear; who made war formerly been made with the Atolians: in Italy. Hereunto it was added (perhaps the goods therein found were given unto lest the message might seem otherwise to the Romans: and the people, for flaves. have favoured a little of some fear) That of Other attempts on that fide were hindred : the fugitive flaves belonging to the Romans, either by foul weather at Sea : or by want there were some reported to walk up and of daring, and of means.

ø. XII.

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in Macedon. He was troubled with a mu-them all good offices. But they were sometiny of his oldest Souldiers: whereof two what scrupulous in the matter: and said, thousand, having served long in sicil and That having been, and being still (asthey Africk, thought themselves much wronged, took it) their Enemy, He ought first of all in that they could not be suffered to look to desire peace; for that the name of King, unto their own estates at home. They were was an honour which they used not to con-(belike) of the Legions that had ferved at fer upon any, fave only upon fuch as had Canne: as may feem by their complaint, of royally deferved it at their hands. The

was idle.

In the beginning of this Macedonian war. hind Afdrubal, or Mago in those parts : was About the same time the Roman Fleet, now become Captain of the Ganles, in these down in Carthage : which if it were fo, then ought they to be restored back to their Masters: as was conditioned in the late peace. The Embassadonrs that were sent Villius the Roman Consul wastes a yeer to no on this errand, had further charge to treat effect. War of the Gaules in Italy. An with Masanissa, as also with Verminathe son Embassadour of the Romans to Carthage, of Syphax. Unto Masanifa, besides matter Masanisia, and Vermina. The Macedoni- of complement, they were to signific what an prepares for defence of his Kingdom: pleasure he might do them, by lending them and T. Quintius Flaminius is sent against some of his Numidian Horse, to serve in their war against the Macedonian. Vermina had entreated the Senate, to vouchfafe unto Hus the time ran away: and P. Villius him the name of King: and promised therea new Conful, took charge of the War after to deserve it, by his readiness in doing

authority to make peace with him; was wholly committed unto these Embassadors, upon such termes as they should think fit ; The Romans begin to make war by negotiatiwithout further relation to the Senate and People: For they were then bufied with greater cares. The Carthaginians made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed Amilear : banishing him, and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitives, they had refrored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as far as was requifite, give fatisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they fent a great proportion of Corn to Rome; and the like unto the Army that

of peace.

they laid fiege unto Cremona; where L.Furius a Roman Prætor came upon them, strengthen his Kingdom, not only by exerwas expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Army.

ø. XIII.

on. T. Quintius wins apaffage against Philip. The faly wasted by Philip, the Romans, and Etolians. The Achains forfaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace, that was vain. Philip delivers Argos to Nabis the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.

He Romans had not been wont in formertimes, to make War after such a was in Macedon. King Mafanissa would have trifling manner. It was their use, to give batlent unto the Romans two thousand of his tel to the enemic, as soon as they met with Numidian horse: but they were contented him. If he refused it, they belieged his with half the number; and would accept Towns: and so forced him to try the forno more. Vermina met with the Embassa- tune of a day, with his disadvantage in redours, to give them entertainment, on the putation, when he had long forborn it (as it borders of his Kingdom 5 and without any would be interpreted) upon knowledge of diffutation, agreed with them upon terms his own weakness. But in this their War with Philip, they began to learn of the fub-Thus were the Romans busied in taking the Greeks, the art of Negotiation: wherein order for their Macdonian War, that they hitherto they were not grown fo fine, as might purfue it strongly, and without in- within a little while they proved. Their terruption. As for Amilear and his Gaules, | Treasury was poor, and stood indebted, * many years after this unto private men, for * Liv. part of those moneys that had been borrow-lib. 34.) fought a battel with them, and overcame ed in the fecond Punick War. This had them. Amilear the Carthaginian died in this | made the Commonalty averse from the Mabattel: and the fruit of the victory was cedonian War; and had thereby driven the fuch, as both made amends for loffes past, | Senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make and left the work easie to those, that after- | use of their cunning. Yet being weary of wards should have the managing of war | the slow pace wherewith their business went among those Gaules. So was there good lei- forward, they determined to increase their fure to think upon the the business of Mace- Army, that they might have the less need don: where Philip was carefully providing to relie upon their Confederates. So they to give contentment unto his Subjects, by levied eight thousand Foot, and eight hunpunishing a bad Counseller whom they ha- dred Horse (the greater part of them of ted: as also to assure unto himself the Ache- the Latines) which they fent with T. Quinans, by rendring unto them some Towns tius Flaminius, the new Consul, into Macethat he held of theirs; and finally to don. Their Navie, and other means could well have served, for the setting forth and cifing and training his people, but by forti- transportation of a greater Army; but by fying the passages that led thereinto out of straining themselves to the most of their Epirus. This was in doing when Villius, hav- ability, they should (besides other difficuling unprofitably laboured to finde way into ties incident unto the fuftenance of those Macedon, taking a journey (as Sulpicius had that are too many and too far from home) done before him) wherein he could not be have bred some jealousie in their friends of supplied with victuals, determined at Greece, and thereby have lost some friends, length to trie a new course. But then came | yea, perhaps have increased the number of advertisement, that T. Quintius Flaminius their enemies, more than of their own Soulwas chosen Consul, and had Macedon aldiers. This present augmentation of the lotted him for his Province; whose coming forces was very requisite; for that Attalus, about the same time, excused himself unto them by his Embassadour; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdom against Antiochus, who invaded it; or else that they would not take it uncourteoufly 5

Philip, and returned home, to look unto that was very easie; he was compelled to that which most concerned him. Their an- sit still, without doing any thing for the fwer was remarkable. They faid, That it space of forty dayes. was not their manner to use the aid of their friends, longer then their friends had good | lip, that the war might be ended by comopportunity, and could also be well con- position, upon some reasonable terms. He tented to affoord it; That they could not therefore so dealt with some of the Epirots, honefily take part with Attalus, their good (among whom he had many friends) that friend, though he were against Antiochus, He and the Consul had a meeting together. whom they held in the like account; but, But nothing was effected. The Conful That they would deal with Antiochus by would have him to fet all Towns of Greece Embassadors, and (as common friends unto at liberty; and make amends for the injuboth of the Kings) do their best to per ries, which he had done to many people in fwade an atonement between them. In fuch his lateWars, Philip was contented to giveliloving fashion did they now carry them- berty to those whom he had subdued of later felves, towards their good friend the King | but unto fuch, as had been long subject unto Antiochus; who reciprocally at their intrea- him and his Ancestors, He thought it ty, withdrew his Army from the kingdom against all reason, that he should relinquish of Attalus. But how little they regarded his claim and dominion over them. He these terms of friendship, after that once also said, That as far forth as it should ap-

very foon appear.

betimes into his Province, with the supply feem convenient in the judgement of some decreed unto him; which confifted for the free State, that had not been interested in most part, of old Souldiers, that had served | those quarrels. But herewithall Quintius in spain and Africk. He found Villius the was not fatisfied. There needed (he faid) old Conful, (whom at his coming he pre- no judgement or compromise; for as much as fently discharged) and King Philip of Mace- it was apparent, that Philip had alwayes don, encamped one against the other, in the been the invader; and had not made War, Streights of Epirus; by the river of Appus, or as one provoked, in his own defence. After Aous. It was manifest, that either the Ro- this altercation, when they should come to mans must fetch a compass about, and seek particulars: and when the Consul was retheir way into Macedon, through the poor quired to name those Towns, that he would Country of the Dassaretians; or else win, have to be set at liberty; the first that he by force, that passage which the King de- named were the Thessalians: These had fended. In taking the former way, they had been subjects (though conditional) unto the already two years together mif spent their Macedonian Kings, ever fince the dayes of time, and been forced to return back with- Alexander the Great, and of Philip his Faout profit, for want of victuals: whereof ther. Wherefore, as foon as Flaminius had they could neither carry with them store named the Thessalians; the King in a rage fufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they demanded what sharper condition He could once get over these Monntains, which would have laid upon him, had he been but divided the South of Epirus from Thessay, vanquished. And herewithall abruptly he then should they enter into a plentiful slang away: refusing to hear any more of Country; and, which by long dependance fuch discourse. on the Macedonian, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdom, whereof it made or three dayes together, to have prevailed the South border. Nevertheless, the defire against the difficulties of that passage which of winning this passage, was greater than Philip kept. When he had well wearied the likelihood. For the river of Appus run- himself, and could not resolve what course ning along through that valley which alone to take: there came to him an Heards man was open between the Mountains, made it sent from Charopus a Prince of the Epirots all a deep Marifu and unpassable Bogge: a that favoured the Romans, who having long very narrow way excepted, and a path cut kept beafts in those Mountains, was out of the main rock by mans hand. Where- throughly acquainted with all by paths, and fore Quintius affailed to climb in the Moun- therefore undertook to guide the Romans, tains: but finding himself disappointed of without any danger, to a place where they

courteoully, that he quitted the War with my, who neglected not the guard of them

This long time of rest gave hope unto Phithey had made an end with Philip, it will pear that he had done wrong unto any Town or people whatfoever, He could well T. Quintius hasting away from Rome, came | be pleased to make such amends, as might

After this the Conful strove in vain two this hope, through the diligence of his ene- hould have advantage of the Enemy. This fall bound : and being promised a great re- of Macedon. ward, in case he made good his word, had in his hasty retrait he could visit, to forsake | feet) mastered it all. their Towns and Country, carrying away In the mean time L. Quintius the Confuls to make him break off his purpose, and Romans.

guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was withdraw himself home into his Kingdom

The Etolians and Athamanians, when fuch Companies as was thought fit, appoint- this fell out, were even in a readiness to ined to follow his directions. They travelled vade Theffaly; whereinto the ways lay more by night (it being then about the full of the open, out of their feveral Contries. When Moon) and refted in the day-time, for fear therefore they heard for certainty, that of being discovered. When they had recove- Philip was beaten by the Romans; they forered the hill-tops, and were above the Mace- flowed not the occasion, but made all speed. doniums, (though undiscovered by them, each of them to lay hold upon what they because at their banks) they raised a great might. T. Quintius followed them within a fmoke, whereby they gave notice of their little while: but they had gotten fo much fuccels unto the Conful. Some skirmishes, before his coming that he, in gleaning after whilst these were on their journy, T. Quinti- their harvest, could not find enough to us had held with the Macedonan; thereby maintain his Army. Thus were the poor to avert him from thought of that which Theffalians, of whose liberty the Romans a was intended. But when on the third mor- few days fince had made flew to be very dening he saw the smoke arise more and more sirous, wasted by the same Romans and their plainly, and thereby knew that his men Confederates; not knowing which way to had attained unto the place whither they turn themselves, or whom to avoid. were fent, he pressed as near as he could un- T. Quintius won Phaleria by assault: Metroto the Enemies Camp, and affailed them in polis and Piera yielded unto him. Rhage he their strength. He prevailed as little as in befieged : and having made a fair breach. former times, until the shoutings of those yet was unable to force it: so stoutly it was that ran down the hill, and charged Philip defended both by the Inhabitants, and by on the back, aftonished so the Macedonians, a Macedonian garrison therein. Philip also at that they betook themselves unto flight. The the same time, having somewhat recollected King upon first apprehension of the danger, his spirits, hovered about Tempe with his made all speed away to save himself. Yet Army, thrusting men into all places, that anon confidering, that the difficulty of the were like to be diffressed. So the Conful, paffage must needs hinder the Romans having well near spent his victuals, and seefrom pursuing him: he made a stand at the ling no hope to prevail at Rhage: brake up end of five miles, and gathered there toge- his fiege, and departed out of Thessaly. He ther his broken troops, of whom he found had appointed his ships of burden to meet wanting no more than two thousand men. | him at Anticyra, an Haven Town of Phocis, The greatest loss was of his Camp and pro- on the Gulph of Corinth: which Country bevisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputa- | ing friend to the Macedonian, he presently tion: for that now the Macedonians began invaded; not fo much for hatred unto the to stand in fear, lest being driven from a people, as because it lay conveniently seated place of fuch advantage, they should hard- | between Thessaly and other regions, wherely make good their party against the Ene- in he had business, or was shortly like to my upon equal ground. Neither was Philip have. Many Towns in Phocis he won by himself much better perswaded. Wherefore affault: many were yielded up unto him for he caused the Thessalians, as many of them as fear; and within short space he had (in ef-

with them as much as they were able, and brother, being then Admiral for the Rospoiling all the rest. But all of them could mans in this war, joyned with King Attalus not be perswaded, thus to abandon (for the and the Rhodian Fleet. They won two Cipleasure of their King) their ancient habita- ties in Eubea; and afterward laid siege unto tions, and all the substance which they had Cenebree, an Haven and Arcenal of the Cogotten. Some there were that forcibly re- rinthians on their Eastern Sea. This enterlisted him; which they might the better do, | prise did somewhat help forward the Achafor that he could not stay to use any great ans, in their defire to leave the part of Phicompulsion. He also himself took it very lip; since it might come to pass, that Cogrievously, that he was driven to make such rimb it self, ere long time were spent; and waste of a most pleasant and fruitful Coun- that Cenchree, with other places appertaintry, which had ever been well affected uning to Corinth, now very shortly should be to him: so that a little hindrance did serve, rendred unto their Nation, by favour of the

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the Atherns to preferr the friendship of the their Masters cause. Rather it gave the Komans, before the patronage of Philip; Acheans to understand, That he, who could whereto they had been long accustomed. be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew For this King had so many ways offended himself unable to gratifie them in any rethem in time of peace, that they thought it ciprocal demand. Yet were there many in best course to rid their hands of him, whilst that great Councel, who remembring the being intangled in a dangerous War, he benefits of Philip and Antigonus, laboured wanted means to hinder the execution of earnestly for the preservation of the ancifuch counsel as they should hold the fafest. ent League. But in fine, the sense of late in-His tyrannous practifes to make himself juries, and expectation of like or worse their absolute Lord: his poyloning of Ara- from him in the future; prevailed against tus their old Governour: his falle dealing the memory of those old good turns, which with the Messenians, Epirots, and other peo- he (and Antigonus before him) had partly ple their Confederates, and his own de-fold unto them, and partly had used as baits, pendants: together with many particular outrages by him committed: caused subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the them long fince to hold him as a necessary least importance; That the Romans were evil, even whilst they were unable to be strong, and likely to prevail in the end. So without his affiftance. But fince by the ver- after much altercation, the Decree paffed. tue of Philopamen, they were grown some. That they should thence-forward renounce what confident in their own ftrength: fo as the Macedonian, and take part with his enewithout the Macedonians help they could as mies in this War. With Attalus and the Rhowell subfist, as having him to friend: then did dians they forthwith entred into society; they only think how coil he was; and there- with the Romans (because no League would upon rejoyce the more, in that he was become no longer necessary. It angred him to approved it they forbore to decree any soperceive how they stood affected; and there-*Pluting tore he sent murderers to take away the life those Embassadars from Rome, which they Philogem. of * Philogemen. But failing in this enterprise; and being detected, he did thereby only fet fire to the Wood, which was throughly dry done their best for the Macedonian, as by before, and prepared to burn. Philopemen wrought fo with the Acheans, that no difcourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the Macedonian.Cycliadas, a principal man among them: and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing himself passionate in the cause of Philip; and Ariftanus chosen Præter, who laboured to | for escaping how they might, out of the joyn them in fociety with the Romans.

These news were very welcome to T. Quintins. Embaliadors were fent from the gos, the affection of the Citizens discovered Romans and their Confederates, King Atta- it felf fo plainly, in the behalf of Philip, that lus, the Rhodians and Athenians, to treat they which were his Partifans within the with the Acheans, making promife, that they should have Corinth restored unto them, if they would for fake the Macedonian. A Parliament of the Acheans was held at Sycion, to deliberate and refolve in this weighty had manfully defended against the Romans case. Therein the Romans and their adhe- and Attalus. Him the Conspirators drew to rents defired the Acheans to joyn with them Argos; whither coming on a fudden, and in making War upon Philip. Contrariwife, finding the multitude ready to joyn with the Embafiadors of Philip, whom he had him, he eafily compelled the Achean Garrialso sent for this business, admonishing the son to quit the place. and of their faith due unto him; requested good defence of Corinth, and some other Achaens of their Alliance with the King, them, that they would be contented to re- Towns, as it helped Philip a little in his remain as Neuters. This moderate request putation, so they gave him hope to obtain

But there were other motives, inducing of Philips Embaffadors did no way advance be of force, until the Senate and people had ciety at the present, until the return of determined to fend thither of purpose. The Megalopolitans, Dymeans, and Argives, having many respects they were bound, role up out of the Councel, and departed before the paffing of the Decree; which they could not relift, nor yet with honesty thereto give affent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the Argives had so little thank; that all the rest of the Acheans may be the better held excused, hands of fo fell a Prince.

Soon after this, upon a folemn day at Ar-Town, made no doubt of putting the City into his hands, if they might have any fmall affistance. Philocles a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in Corinth , which he

This getting of Argos, together with the

fome good end by Treaty, whileft as yet felf by force of Arms. He answered them (as the whole Country, leaving it free; and with touching Corinth, that he would further al to deliver up unto them, whatfoever he deliberate with Titus himself. Thus he held that had at any time been theirs. Nei- addressed himself wholly to the Roman ther were they herewithal content: but in- General; unto whom if he could give fatisfolently declaimed against him, for that faction, he cared little for all the rest. With which he had lately done in Thessaly; cor- Attalus and the Rhodians, his late war (he rupting (as they faid) the rewards of the Vi- faid) was only defensive; they having been ctors, by destroying, when he was vanquish- the offerers : or if he gave them any occaed, those Towns, which else they might have sion, it was only in helping Prusias, his songotten. To answer these malapart Ætolians, in-law; neither did he see why they should Philip commanded his Gally to be rowed rather feek amends at his hands, than he at nearer the shore. But they began to plie him theirs. For whereas they complained afresh: telling him that he must obey his that spoiling a Temple of Venus, he had betters, unless he were able to defend him- cut down the Grove, and pleasant walks

with his honour he might feek it: and when he was much given to gybing) with fundry (the Winter being now come on) a new scoffs; and especially with one, which made Conful would shortly be chosen who should the Roman Consul understand what mantake the work out of Titus his hands, if it ner of companions these Etolians were. For were not concluded the fooner. Titus had he faid, That he had often dealt with them; the like respect unto himself; and therefore as likewise the best of the Greeks; desiring thought it best, fince more could not be them to abrogate a wicked law, which perdone, to pre-dispose things unto a Conclu- mitted them to take spoil from spoil: yet tion, for his own reputation. The meeting could he get no better an answer, than that was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, they would sooner take Ætolia out of Ætolia. was appointed to meaning in the Bay then called the Malian, or Lami- Titus wondred what might be the meaning Except of the Malian of the Malia an Bay, now (as is supposed) the Gulf of Ziton; of this strange Law. So the King told him, Polybl.17. in the Agean Sea, or Archipelago. Thither That they held it a laudable custome, as came Titus with Animander the Athamani- Often as War happened between their an; an Embastador of Attalus; the Admiral friends, to hold up the quarrel, by sending Rhodes; and some Agents for the Etolians Voluntaries to serve on both sides, that and Acheans. Philip had with him some few should spoil both the one and the other. As of his own Captains, and Cycliadas, lately ba- for the liberty of Greece, he faid it was nished for his sake out of Achaia. He refu- strange, that the Atolians should be so carefed to come on shore: though fearing (as he ful thereof, since divers Tribes of their own faid none but the immortal Gods: yet mif- which he there named, were indeed no doubting some treachery in the Ætolians. Gracians: wherefore he would fain know, The demands of Titus in behalf of the Ro- whether the Romans would give him leave mans, were, That he should set all Cities of to make slaves of those Ætolians, which Greece at liberty; deliver up to the Romans | were no Greeks. Titus hereat smiled, and and their Confederates, all prisoners which was no whit offended, to hear the Ætolians he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewife well ratled up; touching whom he began whatfoever he held of theirs in Illyria: and to understand, how odious they were in all whatfover about Greece or Asia he had got- the Country. As for that general demand ten from Ptolomy then King of Egypt, after of fetting all Greece at liberty, Philip achis fathers death. Attalus demanded restitu- knowledged, that it might well beseem the tion to be made, entire of Ships, Towns, and | greatness of the Romans; though he would Temples by him taken and spoiled in the also consider, what might beseem his own late War between them. The Rhodians dignity. But that the Etolians, Rhodians, would have again the Country of Perea,ly- and other petty Estates, should thus presume. ing over against their Island; as also that he under countenance of the Romans, to take should withdraw his garrisons out of divers upon them, as if by their great might he Towns about the Hellespont, and other Ha- should be thereunto compelled: it was, he vens of their friends. The Acheans defired | faid, a strange and ridiculous insolence. restitution of Argos and Corinth: about the The Ackeans he charged with much ingraone of which they might, not unjustly, quar- tude; reciting against them some Decrees rel with him; the other had been long his of their own; wherein they had loaden both own by their consent. The Ætolians took | Antigonus and him, with more than huupon them angerly, as Patrons of Greece: mane honours. Nevertheless, he said, that willing him to depart out of it, even out of he would render Argos unto them: but as

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thereabouts: what could be do more, than a time unfit for service in the War; and fend Gardners thither with young plants; fince, without authority of the Senate, he if one King of another would stand to ask should be unable to proceed resolvedly eifuch recompence? Thus he jefted the mat- ther in War or Peace. Further, he willed ter out: but offered nevertheles, in honour them to send their several Embassadors to of the Romans, to give back the Region of Rome, which intimating unto the Senate Perea to the Khodians; as likewife to Attalus, what each of them required, should eafily the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he hinder Philip from obtaining any thing to had then possession. Thus ended that dayes their prejudice. Among the rest, he perswadconserence, because it was late: Philip re- ed King Aminander to make a journey to quiring a nights leifure to think upon the Rome in person : knowing well, that the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counsel, wherewith to advise of so many Embassadors, would serve to about them. For your being so ill provided of make his own actions more glorious in the Counsel (faid Titus) you may even thank City. All this tended to procure that his your felf; as having murdered all your friends, own command of the Army in Greece might that were wont to advise you faithfully. The be prorogued. And to the same end had he next day Philip came not, untill it was late at dealt with some of the Tribunes of the peonight; excusing his long stay by the weighti- ple at Rome: who had already (though as yet nels of the things propounded, whereon he he knew not so much) obtained it for him. could not fuddenly tell how to refolve. But partly by their authority, partly by good reait was believed, that he thereby fought to fons which they alledged unto the Senate. abridge the Atolians of leifure to rail at The Embassadors of the Greeks, when they him. And this was the more likely, for that had audience at Rome, spake bitterly against he defired conference in private with the the King, with good liking of the Senate; Roman General. The fum of his discourse, as which was more desirous of victory, than Titus afterward related it, was, That he of fatisfaction. They magnified the honouwould give the Acheans both Argos and Co- rable purpose of the Romans, in undertakrinth; as also that he would render unto Attalus and the Rhodians what he had promi- said) could never be effected: unless especial fed the day before; likewise to the Ætoli- care were taken, that the King should be ans, that he would grant some part of their dispossessed of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetridemands; and to the Romans, whatfoever as. In this point they were fovehement, prothey did challenge. This when Titus his affo- ducing a Map of the Country, and making ciates heard, they exclaimed against it, say- demonstration how those places held all the ing. That if the King were suffered to retain rest in servility; that the Senate agreed to anything in Greece, he would shortly get have it even so as they defired. When possession of all which he now rendred up. The noise that they made came to Philips brought in, and began to have made a long ear: who thereupon defired a third day of Oration; they were briefly cut off in the meeting; and protested, that if he could not | middest of their Preface, with this one deperswade them, he would suffer himself to mand : Whether their Master would yeild up be perswaded by them. So the third day | Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. Hereto they they met early in the morning at what made answer, That concerning those places, time the King intreated them all, that they the King had given them no direction or would with fincere affection hearken unto commission what to say or do. This was good offers of peace; and immediately con- enough. The Senate would no longer hearclude it, if they could like well of those ken to Philips defire of peaces wherein they Conditions which he had already tendred; faid he did no better than trifle. Yet might or otherwise, that they would make truce his Embassadors have truly said, That neiwith him for the present, and let him ther the Atolians, Achaans, nor any of their fend Embassadors to Rome, where he would fellows, had in the late Treaty required by

might happen to defraud him of the honor, ans had fome right; (though their right which he expected by ending of the Warr were no better, than that, having from the So he eafily prevailed with the rest to as from one Macedonian King in a night, they fent hereunto: forasmuch as it was Winter, had, after mature deliberation, made it

name of a King together with the confluence

ing to fet Greece at liberty. But this (they referr himself to the courtesse of the Se- name, that Chalcis and Demetrias should be yielded up. For which of them indeed This was even as Quintius would have it: could make any claim to either of these who flood in doubt, left a new Conful Towns? As for Corinth, whereto the Acheready condescended to give it back unto of the King, by some of T. Quintius his friends; that so he might have had honour to conclude the war, if a fuccessor had been decreed unto him. But fince he was appointed to continue General: neither his friends at Rome, nor he himfelf, after the return of the Embassadours into Greece, cared to give the matter : or played the theeves in pur-

ear unto any talk of peace.

Philip feeing that his Acheans had forfaken him, and joyned with their common enemies; thought even to deal with them | Tyrant began to make popular laws : namein the like manner, by reconciling himfelf ly, fuch as might ferve to make him graciunto Nabis, whom they hated most. There ous with the rascall multitude: abrogating were not many years past, since the Laceda- all debts, and dividing the lands of the rich monians under Cleomenes, with little other among the poor. By fuch art of oppreffing help then their own strength, had been al- the great ones, it hath been an old custom most strong enough both for the Macedoni- of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulans and Acheans together. But now the con- gar for a time. dition of things was altered. Nabis his force confisted, in a manner, wholly in his Merce- the news to T. Quintius and others to joyn naries: for he was a Tyrant, though stiling himself King. Yet he sorely vexed the Achaans: and therefore seemed to Philip one likely to fland him in great flead, if he meet with Nabis. They had foon agreed could be won. To this purpose it was (though King Attalus who was present with thought meet, that the Town of Argos, the Conful, made some cavil touching Arwhich could not otherwise be easily defended, should be configned over into his hands; fix hundred of his Mercenaries of crete: in hope, that fuch a benefit would ferve to as also he agreed with the Acheans, upon tie him fast unto the Macedonian. Philocles a Truce for four moneths, reserving the the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed | finall conclusion of peace between them unto deal with Nabio, added further, That it till the War of Philip should be ended 5 was his Masters purpose to make a streight which after this continued not long. alliance with the Lacedamonian, by giving fome daughters of his own in marriage unto Nabis his fons. This could not but be well taken. Yet Nabis made some scruple in accepting the Town of Argos; unless by decree of the Citizens themselves he might be called into it. Hereabout Philocles dealt with the Argives: but found them so averse, that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the Tyrant, with command of the Army, without any other many railing words. Nabis hearing of this, limitation of time, than during the pleasure thought he had thereby a good occasion to of the Senate; made all things ready for rob and sleece them. So he willed *Philocles*, diligent pursuit of the War. The like did by night; and gave him possession of the War, meant afterwards wholly to rely upon strongest places therein. Thus dealt Philip himself. with the Argives : who for very love had

way by bargain unto another) Philip had al- fled out of the City at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and them, And this perhaps would have been their goods conficated. The rest of the chief alledged, even against the Greeks, in excuse Citizens that stayed behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Also a great imposition of money was laid upon all those that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more a do. But if any stood long upon loyning their own goods: they were put to the whip, and besides loss of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the

> As foon as Nabis had gorten Argos, He fent with him against Philip. Titus was glad of it: fo as he took the pains to cross over the Streights into Peloponnesus, there to gos) and the Tyrant lent unto the Roman.

o. XIV.

The battel at Cynoscephale, wherein Philip was vanquished by T. Quintius.

Titus Quintius, as soon as he under flood that he was appointed to have without more a do, to make over the Town | Philip: who having failed in his negotiwhich he was ready to recieve. Philocles ac- ation of peace, and no less failed in his cordingly did let him with his Army into it hopes of getting Nabis to friend in that

Titus had in his Army about fix and twenforfaken the *acheans*, to take his part Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himfelf number. But neither of them knew the o-wit. T. S. master of all the gates. A few of the prin- there strength, or what his Enemy intended Flam. cipal men, understanding how things went, to do. Only Titus heard that Philip was in

to feek him out. They had like to have met him good to fee that they of his own light unawares, neer unto the City of Phera: armature were busie in fight, almost at the where the vant-currers on both sides discovered each other; and sent word thereof had repelled so far. He had also liberty to unto their feveral Captains. But neither of choose his ground, as might serve best his them were over-hafty to commit all to ha- advantage; for a for a sthe Romans were zard upon so short warning. The day fol- quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But lowing each of them fent out three hundred of this commodity he could make no great Florie, with as many light-armed Foot, to lufe : the roughness of the place among make a better discovery. These met, and those Dogs heads, as they were called, ferfought a long while: returning finally back ving nothing aptly for his Phalanx. Neverinto their feveral Camps, with little ad- thelefs he found convenient room, wherein vantage unto either fide. The Country a- to marshall the one part of his Army: and bont Phera was thick fet with trees: and o gave order unto his Captains, to follow therwife full of gardens and mud-walls; with the rest; embattelling them as they which made it unproper for the fervice of might. Whilest he was doing this: He perthe Macedonian Phalanx. Wherefore the ceived that his Horsemen and light armature King diflodged, intending to remove back began to shrink; as being fallen upon the into Scotula in the Frontier of Macedon; Roman Legions, by force whereof they where he might be plentifully ferved with were driven to recoyle. He fets forward all necessaries. Titus conceived a right his to help them : and they no less hastily meaning: and therefore purposed also to draw unto him for succour; having the march thitherwards; were it only to waste Romans not far behind them. theCountry. There lay between them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from Philip commanded those of his Phalanx to knowing what course the other took. Ne- charge their pikes, and entertain them. vertheless they encamped not far afunder. Here Titus found an extream difficult piece both the first and the second night; though of work. For this Phalanx being a great neither of them understood what was be- square battel of armed pikes, like in all come of the other. The third day was very points to those which are now used in our tempestuous; and forced each of them to modern Wars: and being in like manner take up his lodging where he found it by | used, as are ours; was not to be resisted by chance. Then fent they forth discoverers the Roman Targettiers, as long as the Phaagain, in greater number than before. These lanx it self held together undissolved. The meeting together, held a long fight, where- Macedonians were embattelled in very close in at first the Macedonians had the worse. order: so that two of them stood opposite But Philip anon fent in such strong supply; to one of the Romans; as also the pikes of that if the refistance of the Atolians had the first rank had their points advanced not been desperate, the Romans their fel- two or three foot before their fore-man. lows had been driven back into their Camp. | Wherefore it is no marvel if the Romans Yet all refistance notwithstanding, the Ma- gave back: every one of them being troucedonians prevailed: fo that Titus himfelf | bled (as it were) with ten enemies at once; was fain to bring forth his Legions, that and not able to come nearer to the next of were not a little discouraged, by the defeat them, than the length of a dozen foot, or of all their Horse, to animate those which thereabout. Titus finding this, and not

pose to put the fortune of a battel in trust down all which came in the way. But in that day, with so much of his Estate as might the mean while he observed, That they thereon depend. But the news came to him which were appointed by Philip to make his thick and tumultuoufly, how the enemies left wing, were not able through the much fled, and how the day was his own, if he unevenness of the ground, to put themcould use an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was alter his purpole: infomuch as he embattel- worse) upon defire either of beholding the led his men; and climbed up those hills, pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in which, for that the knops thereon had some the work, ran foolishly along by the side resemblance unto Dogs heads, were called, of their fellows, which were occupied in by a word fignifying as much, Cynoscephala. fight.

Thessay, and thereupon addressed himself. As soon as he was on the hill-top; it did

As the Legions began to climbe the Hill; knowing how to remedy it, was greatly It was altogether besides the Kings pur-troubled: for that still the Phalanx bare

Of this their diforder he made great and | work ; and mainly helpful to making present use. He caused the right wing of of the victory compleat. He considered his battel to march up the Hill against these that Philip, in pursuing the right wing of the ill-ordered troops: his Elephants leading Romans, was run on fo far, as that himself the way, to increase the terrour. The Ma- with his fellows, in mounting the Hill to cedonians were readier to dispute what charge the left wing of the Macedonians. should be done in such a case, than well ad- was already gotten above the Kings head. vifed what to do; as having no one man ap- Wherefore he turned to the left hand, and pointed to command that part in chief. In- making down the Hill after the Kings Phadeed if they should have done their best, it lanx, fell upon it in the Rere. The hindercould not have ferved; fince the ground most ranks of the Phalanx, and all of them whereon they stood, made their weapons indeed fave the first five, were accustomed, unuseful. For let it be supposed, that Phi- when the battels came to joyning, to carry lip having fix and twenty thousand in his their pikes upright; and with the whole Army (as he is said to have been equal to weight of their bodies to thrust on their the Enemy in number) had four thousand fore-men: and so were they doing at the Horse, four thousand Targettiers, and fonr present. This was another great inconvenithousand light-armed : so shall there remain ence in the Macedonian Phalanx. That it fourteen thousand Pikes: whereof himself | served neither for offence nor defence, exhad embattelled the one half in a Phalanx; cept only in Front. For though it were fo, the other half in the left wing, are they that Alexander, when he was to fight with whom Quintius is ready now to charge. Darius in Mesopotamia, arranged his Phalanx The Phalanx having usually fixteen in File, in such order, that all the four fides of it must, when it consisted of seven thousand, were as so many Fronts looking sundry have well-near four hundred and forty in wayes, because he expected that he should rank : but four hundred would ferve, to be encompassed round : yet is it to be unmake a Front long enough; the other forty | derstood, that herein he altered the usual or seven and thirty Files might be cut off, form; as also at the same time he embatteland reckoned in the number of the Target- |led his men in loofe order, that so with ease tiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, they might turn their weapons which way Excepte as Polybius doth, to every man of them Popular three foot of ground: this Front must have occupied twelve hundred foot, or two hundred and forty paces; that is, very near a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champian, free from incumberance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity disjoyn | fion for resistance. Therefore his men, being this close battel of the Phalanx, was not every-where to be found. Here at Cynoscephale Philip had so much room, as would himself had thought until now, that the foronly fuffice for the one half of his men; the rest were fain to stand still and look about them, being hindred from putting themselves in order, by the roughness of the troop of horse, to see how all went; when Dogs heads. But the Romans, to whom all he beheld his men casting down their weagrounds were much alike, were not hindred from coming up unto them 5 nor found any difficulty in mastering those Enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused sed in this overthrow) until he was gotten them to give back; and the coming on of the Legions, to betake themselves to flight. A Roman Tribune or Colonel, feeing the victory on that part affured, left the profecution of it unto others: and being followed by twenty Enfignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thouland men, took in hand a notable piece of

need should require. Likewise it is to be confidered, That Alexanders men being thus disposed, were fit only to keep their own ground; not being able to follow upon the enemy, unless their hindmost ranks could have marched backwards. But in this prefent case of Philip, there was no such proviotherwise unable to help themselves, threw down their weapons and fled. The King tune of the battel was everywhere alike. and the day his own. But hearing the noise behind him, and turning a little afide with a pons, and the Romans at his back on the higher ground; he presently betook himfelf to flight. Neither staid he afterwards in any place (except only a fmall while about Tempe, there to collect fuch as were disperinto his own kingdom of Macedon.

There died of the Roman Army in this battel, about feven hundred:of the Macedonians about eight thousand were slain; and five thousand taken prisoners.

ø. XV.

T. Quintius falleth out with the Ætolians, and grants truce unto Philip, with conditions upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romans quarrel with Antiochus.

THe Atolians wonderfully vaunted themselves, and defired to have it noised through all Greece, that the victory at Cynoscephala was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the booty by facking the swerable to his desire: but seeing what bad Macedonian Camp, whilest the Romans were fortune accompanied his affairs, in all other bufied in the chale. Titus therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, and at their ravenous condition; purposed to teach | sent in all haste Limneus and Demossheres them better manners, by regarding them as with Cycliadas the banished Achaan, in flightly, as they thought highly of themfelves. He also well perceived, That by bassadours unto Titus. These had conseufing them with any extraordinary favour, rence a long while in private, with Titus he should greatly offend the rest of his confederates in Greece; who detefted the #tolians much more vehemently, than ever they had done the Macedonians. But this displeasure brake not forth yet a while.

Lariffa, a City in Theffaly, which he presently Truce for fifteen dayes: in which time, the took. Before his coming, Philip had fent King himself might come and speak with thither one of his Courtiers to burn all his the Roman General. In the mean feafon, letters, and passages whatsoever in writing, many suspicious rumours went of Titus, as betwixt him and others : of which many if he had been corrupted with great rewere there kept. It was well done of the wards from the King, to betray the Greeks King, that among the cares of fo much ad his Confederates. Of these bruits the #10verify, he forgot not to provide for the lians were chief authors: who being wont fafety of his friends. Yet by thus doing, they to regard neither friendship nor honelty, of Lariffa might well perceive, that he gave where profit led them a wrong way, judgthem as already loft. Wherefore we find ed alike of all men elle. But against the not that they, or any of their neighbours did | day appointed for the meeting betwixt him make delay of opening their gates to Titus. and Thilip, Titus had fent letters unto his At the same time, the Town of Lences, border Associates; willing them to have their Aing upon Arcanania, was taken by the Roman gents ready by a time appointed, at the en-Fleet, and very soon after, all the Arcanani- trance of Tempe, where the treaty should ans, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the be held. There when they were all affem-Ætolians ever true to Philip; gave up bled, they entred into confultation before themselves unto the Komans, hearing of the the Kings arrival, what should be most exvictory at Cynoscephale. The Rhodians also pedient for the common benefit of themall, were then in hand with the conquest of Pa- and for every state in particular. The poor rea, a Region of the Continent over against king Aminander belought them all, and the Island; whereof they had demanded especially the Romans, that they would restitution in the late Treaty of Peace, think upon him ; and , considering his They did herein more manly, than any weakness which he confessed, make such other of the Greeks: forafmuch as they provision, that after the Romans had turned awaited not the good leafure of the Ro- their backs, ane were gone home, Philip mans; but with an Army of their own, might not wreak his anger upon him who and some help which they borrowed of was not able to resist. Then spake Alexanbattel to Dinocrates the Kings Lievte ing Titus forasmuch as he had thus assembled nant, wherein they had the victory, and the Confederates to advise upon their own

consequently recovered the whole Province. It angred Philip worse then all this, that the Dardanians gathered courage our of his affliction, to invade his Kingdom: wasting and spoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Army in all hafte of 6000. Foot, and 500, horse: wherewith coming upon them, he drave them, with little or no loss of his own, and great flaughter of theirs, haltily out of the Kingdom. Which done, he returned to Theffalonica.

In this one enterprise he had success anparts at the same time, he thought it wifdom to yield unto necessity; and therefore whom he reposed much considence, Emand some of his Roman Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wife dismissed. It seems that they had Commission, to refer all unto Titus his own discretion; as Philip himself in few dayes After the battel, Titus made hafte unto after did. There was granted unto him a the Acheans and other their friends gave der, one of the Atolians: who commendthought otherwise, it should be at their Moneths. his power to molest the Greeks.

whom Titus used friendly: and suffering him States of Greece, came unto Rome, new Conyielded unto all that had been required at peace; alledging frivolous matter of their

good, and had willed them to deliver their Phaneas the Etolian, infulting over him, faid minds freely: added, That in the main of It was to be hoped, that he would then at the purpose, which he had in hand, he was length give up to the Etolians a many of utterly deceived : for that by making peace Towns, (which he there named) bidding with rhilip, he could neither affure the Ro- him speak whether he would or no. His anmans of their quiet, nor the Greeks of their fwer was, that they might take them all. But liberty. There was, he faid, none other end Titus interpoling himself, faid it should be to be made of the war, which could agree otherwise. These were Thessalan Towns.and either with the purpose of the Senate and should be all free; one of them only exceppeople of Rome, or with the fair promifes ted, which not long ago had refused to made by Titus himself unto the Greeks, than commit it self to the faith of the Romans, the chaling of Philip quite cut of his king- and therefore should now be given to the dom. And to this effect he made a long dif- Atolians. Hereat Phaneas cried out, that it courfe. But Titus answered, That this Ato- was too great an injury, thus to be defraudlim was ill acquainted, either with the good ed of the Towns that had fometimes bepleasure of the Senate and people of *Rome*, longed unto their Common-weal. Rather or with the laudable customs which they he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an angenerally held: for that it was not the cient Covenant between him and the Romanner of the Romans, to feek the utter defunction of any King or Nation, at fuch time their own, and the Romans to have nothing as they first made war with them, until by fave the pillage and captives. It is true, some rebellion they found it a matter of ne- that there had been such a condition in the cessity, to take such a rigorous course. And former war : but it ceased to be of any vahereof he alledged the Carthaginians as a lidity, as foon as the Etolians made peace notable example: adding, That victory, to with Philip. And thus much Titus gave them generous minds, was only an inducement to to understand; asking them whether they moderation. As concerning the publick be- thought it reasonable, that all the Towns nefit of Greece, it was (he faid) expedient. in Greece, which had let in the Romans by that the Kingdom of Macedon should be composition should be delivered into subjegreatly weakned and brought low; not that Ction of the Ætolians. The rest of the Confeit should be utterly destroyed: forasmuch derates were very much delighted with these as it ferved as a bar to the Thracians, Gaules, angry passages between the Romans and the and a multitude of other falvage Nations, Atolians: neither had they great reason to which would foon over-flow the whole con- fear any hard measure; fince Titus was fo tinent of Greece, if this kingdom were not carneft in the behalf of those Thessalians, to interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that give them liberty, though they had stood if Philip would yield unto those demands, out against him, even till very fear made wherewith he had pressed him in the former them open their gates. Wheresore they op-Treaty; then was there no reason to de- posed not themselves; but gave their conny him peace. As for the Etolians: if they fent willingly unto a Truce for four

own pleasure, to take counsel apart for The chief cause that moved Titus to grant themselves as they thought good. Then be- peace so readily to the Macedonians, besides gan Phaneas, another of the Ætolians, to fay, that laudable cuftom by him before alledgthat all was come to nothing: for that ere ed, was, the fame of Antiochus his coming long, Philip would trouble all the Greeks, no with an army from Syria, and drawing neer less than he had done in time before. But toward Europe. He had also perhaps yet a Titus interrupted him, and bade him leave grater motive; even the confideration that his bablings; faying, That himself would take his successor might happen to defraud him fuch order, as that Philip, were he never so of the honour, if the war should happen defirous, should thenceforth not have it in to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embaf-The next day King Philip came thither: sadors from the Macedonian, and sundry to repose himself that night, held a Coun-suls were chosen: who (especially the one cel the day following: wherein the King of them) flood very earnestly against the his hands; offering yet further to stand to own suspition, in hope to get the honour of the good pleasure of the Senate, if they concluding the war. The Senate began to would have more added to the Conditions. be doubtfully affected, between the Embassa-

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ever was demanded; and the letters of Ti- formerly had made. Letters also werethen tus, preffing them to accept this offer, on the fent by Titus unto Prussas King of Bithynia: one fide, and the importunity of the Conful giving him to understand, what agreement on the other; who faid, that all these goodly shews were fraudulent, and that the King and how the Senate held it reasonable, that would rebel, as foon as the Army was the Ciani, most miserably spoiled and opcalled out of Greece. But the matter was ta- prefled by Philip, to gratific this Bithmian ken out of the Senators hands by two of the his fon-in-law, thould be restored to liberty. Tribunes, that referred it to an Affembly of and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the People; by whose soveraign authority the Romans, which other of their Nation it was concluded, that peace should be did. What effect these letters wrought, it granted to the King. So ten Embassadors were fent from Rome, over into Greece: in mans were thorry buffed with Antiochus. which number were they that had been in fuch wife, that they had not leifure to ex-Consuls before Titus: and it was ordained amine the conformity of Prustas to their by their advice, that Titus should go through will. with the business of Peace. These would very fain have retained those three important Cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetries, until the eftate of Greece were fomewhat better fetled. But finally, Titus pre- to the rest no small part of their contentvailed fo, that Corinth was (though not im | ment. The Baotians continued to favour the mediately) rendred unto the Acheans; and Macedonian; and thereby occasioned much all the other Greek towns which Philip trouble unto themselves. There were some held, as well in Afra as in Greece, restored unliberty.

Thilip, were, That before the celebration they were no better than loft, for the good Except of the next * Ifilmian Games, He should will which they had born unto him; unless Pople Le withdraw his Garrisons out of all the Greek at this time, when he lay close by them with towns which he held, and confine them over his Army, their Prætor, which was head of to the Romans: That he should deliver up the opposite Faction, might be made away, unto them all Captives that he had of their: , | Titus refused to have a hand in the executiand all Renegado's. Likewife all his ships on, yet nevertheless did animate them in of war, releaving to himself only five of the their purpose. So they committed the fact, lefferfort, and one of extraordinary great- and hoped to have kept themselves undifneß, wherein fixteen men laboured at eve- covered. But when the murder came out, ry oar: Further, that he should pay a and somewhat was confessed by those which thousand talents, the one half in hand, the were put to torture: the hatred of the peoother in ten years following, by even porti- | ple brake out violently against the Romans: Livil 33. ons. Hereto * Livie adds, That he was for- in fuch wife, that howfoever they durit not bidden to make war out of Macedon, with- take Arms against them, yet such of them out permission of the Senate. But I find not as they found stragling from their Camp, that he observed this Article; or was at they murdered in all parts of the counany time charged with the breach of it. Four try. This was detefted within a while, and hundred talents he had already delivered many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon to Titus, together with his younger fon De- Titus requires of the Exetians, to have the metrius, to remain as holtage for his true murderers delivered into his hands; and for dealing in this matter of peace, at such time five hundred souldiers, which he had lost as he lately fent his Embassadors to Rome: by them, to have paid unto him five hundred when it was promifed, that the money, and talents. In flead of making any fuch amends, his fon, should be restored back unto him, if they paid him with excuses 5, which he the Senate were not pleafed with the agree- would not take as good farisfaction. He ment. Whither this money were reckoned fends Embaffadors to the Acheans, and Ashe. as part of the thousand talents, I cannot nians, informing them what had hapned: find: and it feemeth otherwife, forasmuch and requested them not to take it amis, as young Demetrius, who, together with though he dealt with these their friends as those four hundred talents, was given for hoftage, remained still in custody of the Ro- wasting their country; and besiegeth

dors of Philip, offering to fland to whatfo- mans, as a part of the bargain which Titue was made with Philip in behalf of the Greeks; was not greatly material; fince the Ro-

All Greece rejoyced at the good bargain which Titus had made with Philip, Only the Ætolians found themselves agrieved that they were utterly neglected: which was among them well-affected to the Romans: who, feeing how things were like to go, The Conditions of Peace granted unto made their complaint unto Titus faying that

culpable of the murders lately done. But abstain from the free Cities in Asia, and not the Embaffadors of the Achains and Athenians (especially of the Achaans, who offered, soever he had occupied, belonging to the if he needed them, to help him in this war ; Kings, Ptolomy or Philip. Moreover they wilvet befought him rather to grant peace unto led him by these his Embassadors, that he the Bastians) prevailed fo far with him, that | should not pass over his Army into Europe; he was pacified with 30 talents, and the pu- adding, That some of them would visit him nithments of fuch as were known offenders. in person ere it were long, to talk with him

CHAP. IV.

many States of Greece distracted : some they fell to accomplishing their promises among them rejoycing that they were free unto the Greeks; to the rest they gave what from the Macedonian; others greatly doubt- they had promifed. But the Phocians and Loing, that the Roman would prove a worse crians they gave unto the Ætolians; whom neighbour. The Ætolian would have been they thought it no wisdom to offend overglad of any Commotion; and therefore much, being shortly to take a greater work published rumours abroad, That it was the in hand. The Acheans of Phthiotis they anpurpose of the Romans, to keep in their own nexed unto the Thessalians; all save the hands all those places, wherein Philip lately town of Thebes in Phthiotis, the same which had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the had been abandoned by T. Quintius to the rest of the Greeks, conceive, that this Macedonian war ferved as an introduction to the Atolians contended very earnestly about war to be made in Asia against King Antio- | Pharsalus and Leucas. But they were put off chus; where grew the fruit, that was to be with a dilatory answer, and rejected unto reaped of this and many other victories. the Senate: for howfoever fomewhat the Wherefore to stay the progress of bad ru- Councel might favour them, yet was it not mors, when the Isthmian games were held, which in time of peace were never without it were in despight of Titus. So the Acheans great solemnity and concourse; Titus in were restored corinth, Triphylia, and Herea. that great affembly of all Greece, caused proclamation to be made by found of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of Rome, and Titus Quintius Flaminius the General, having vanquished King Philip and the Macedonians, did will to be at liberty, free from Impolitions, free from Garrisons, and living at their own Laws, the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Enbwans, Achaans of Phthiotis, Magnesians, Thesfalians, and Perrhabians. The fuddenness of this Proclamation aftonished men: fo as though they applauded it with a great shout, yet presently they cried out to hear it again, as if they officiously about him.

be much more available unto the Romans liberty. Orestes, a little Province of the in their war against Antiochus, then could kingdom of Macedon, bordering on Epirus, have been the possession of a few Towns, and lying towards the Ionian Sea, yet yea, or of all those Provinces which were yielded unto the Romans long ere this, and named in the Proclamation. Upon confi- lince continued true to them: for which dence hereof, no sooner were the Isthmian cause it was also set at liberty, and made it a games at an end, than Titus, with the Romans | free estate by it self. that were of his Councel, gave audience to Hagestanax and Lysias, King Antrochus his ed, that all care should be used, not how

fuch Towns of theirs, as did feem to be most unto their Lord, That he should do well to vex them with war : as also to restore what-In like fort, though not fo violently, were further concerning these points. This done, Ætolians in the last Treaty with Philip. The meet that they should have their wills, as So the Corinthians were made free indeed. (though the Romans yet a while kept the Acrocorinthus) for that all which were partakers of the Achean Common-wealth, enjoved their liberty in as absolute manner as they could defire. To Pleuratus the Illyrian were given one or two places, taken by the Romans from Fhilip: and upon Aminander were bestowed those Castles, which he had gotten from Philip during this war; to reign in them, and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his Athamanians. The Rhodians had been their own Carvers. Attalus was dead a little before the Victodurst scarce credit their own ears. The Greeks | ry; and therefore lost his share. Yet many were Crafts-masters in the Art of giving that were with Titus in Councel, would thanks; which they rendred now to T. Quin- have given the towns of Oreum and Euretia, tius with fo great affection, as that they in the Isle of Eubwa, to his fon and succeshad well-near smothered him, by thronging for King Eumenes. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the This good will of the Greeks, was like to Eubwans, should be suffered to enjoy their

These businesses being dispatcht, it remain-Embassadors: whom they willed to fignise to avoid the war with King Antiochus, but 0000002

how to accomplish it with most ease and the Romans therein. What ground and prosperity. Wherefore Embassadors were matter of War against this King, the Rofent, both to Antiochus himself, to pick mans now had, or shortly after found: as also matter of quarrel; and about unto others, how their Embassadors and Agents dealt to pre-dispose them unto the affisting of and sped abroad, I refer unto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Wars of the Romans with Antiochus the Great, and his Adherents.

6. I.

What Kings of the races of Seleucus and Ptolomy reigned in Alia and Egypt before Antiochus the Great.

by Ptolomy Ceraunus, at an Altar called Ar- He took in hand an enterprife against Ptologos; having (as is faid) been warned be- my Philadelphus: but finding ill success in L. 2. 140. fore by an Oracle, to beware of Argos, as the beginning, he soon gave it over. To this Man. the fatal place of his death. But I never King Antiochus Soter it was, that Berofus Paras. read that any mans life hath been preferv- the Chaldwan dedicated his Hiftory of Allised, or any mischance avoided by the pre- ria; the same which hath since been exceldictions of such Divellish Oracles. Rather lently falsissed by the Friar Annius. Helest I believe, that many fuch predictions of the | behind him one fon, called Antiochus Theo; Heathen gods, have been ante-dated by and one daughter, called Apame, that was their Priests; or by others, which devised married unto the King of cyrene. So he died them after the event.

Seleucus, was dearly beloved of his father: Olympiad following, in the fiftieth or one and who furrendred unto him his own wife fiftieth year of the Kingdom of the Greeks, Stratonica, when he understood how much when he had reigned nineteen years. the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore Ptolomy Ceraumus had great cause to fear, that the death of selencus would not by flattery of the Milefians; whom he delihe unrevenged by this his Successor. But vered from Timarchus, a Tyrant that oppres-Antiochus was contented to be pacified , ei- fed them. He held long and difficult, but ther with gifts, or perhaps only with fair fruitless war with Ptolomy Philadelphus words, containing himself within Asia; and King of Egypt; which finally he compoundletting Ceraumus enjoy that quietly, which ed, by taking to wife Berenice the daughter he had purchased in Europe, with the blood of Ptolomy. of Seleucus. It is faid of this Antiochus, that although he married with the Queen Stra- renice, S. Hierom and other Interpreters have tonica in his fathers life, yet out of modesty understood that Prophecy of Daniel: The was dead. So that pethaps his incestuous King of the North to make an agreement; and love was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of that which followeth. his not profecuting that revenge, whereunto Nature should have urged him. Afterwards | Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his he had wars with Antigonus Gonatus, and incestuous marriage with his own lister Arwith Nicomedes King of Bithynia. Also Luta | finoe) a very excellent Prince: howloever, rius and Leonorius Kings or Captains of the the worthiest of all that race. It was he Gauls, were fet upon him by the same Nico-that built, and furnished with Books, that famedes. With these he fought a great battel : mous Library in Alexandria : which to

Teleucus Nicanor, the first of his race, wherein, though otherwise the enemies had King of Affa and Syria, died in the end all advantage against him, yet by the terror of the hundred twenty and fourth of his Elephants, which affrighted both Olympiad. He was treacherously flain their horses and them, he won the victory. about the end of the hundred twenty and Antiochus Soter, the son and heir of this ninth Olympiad, or the beginning of the

> Antiochus, furnamed Theos, or the god, had this vain and impious title given to him,

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady Behe forbore to embrace her, till his father Kings daughter of the South shall come to the Duart.

Ptolomy Philadelphus was a great lover of

adorn, and to honour the more, he fent unto | murdered Berenice, together with a fon that at liberty as many of them, as his father the had fent unto the * Temple of God in Agpt, came to rescue her with an Army; wherefore though too late, for the was flain before. 18042 Elegar, vielding unto the Kings defire, pre-

passage of this butiness between Philadel-Concern. ladelphus was King; reckoning the time ing freed from this invalion, by occasion of wherein he joyntly reigned with his fawhich goes ther. He was exceedingly beloved of his under the people; and highly magnified by Poets, and driftens; other Writers. Towards his end he grew former years : in which time he boafted, among the that he alone had found out the way how uth, Lady- to live for ever. If this had been referred | Fleet he prepared: in furnithing and manunto his honourable deeds, it might have ing whereof he was at such charges, that he flood with reason: otherwise the Gout, scarce lest himself any other hope, if that thatis with which he was often troubled, was should miscarry. Herein he embarqued himfit, and enough to teach him his own errour. He felf; and putting to Sea, did meet with fuch the inven- was the first of the Kings derived from Ainclude lexanders Successors, that entred into a very few of his friends that hardly esca-Author. League with the Romans : as also his offit were to spring was the last among those Royal Fabeliefe milies, which by them was rooted up.

time of Vives; it may be now much more justly suspected: since a new Edition of it is come forth, purged from faults, (as the Papilts term tole Books, wherein they have changed what they please) and set forth by Middenderpines at Colen, An. Dom. 1578.

Laodice, at such time as he married with Be-

Eleazar, then high Priest of the Jews, for the had born to Antiochus. Justine reports, 148,1.27. the Books of Moses and other Scriptures. that Beernice faved her felf, together with The benefits of this King unto the Jews had the young Prince her child, a while in the formerly been very great; for he had fet Sanctuary at Daphne: and that not only some Cities of Asia prepared to succour her, held in flavery throughout all Egypt; and but her brother Ptolomy Energetes King of

With fuch cruelties Sclencus Callinicus, fented him with an Hebrew copy: which | fucceeding unto his Father, that had fifteen Ptolomy caused to be translated into Greek, years been King, began his reign. His subby seventy two of the most grave and jects were highly offended at his wicked learned persons that could be found among nature; which they discovered in his sirst all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his E-Interpreters, or (as they are commonly state would have been much endangered, if called) the seventy, Jesus the son of syrach, Ptolomy Energetes, who came against him. is thought by Genebrard to have been one; had not been drawn back into his own who that he lived in this Age, it feems to me | Countrey, by fome Commotions there in very sufficiently proved by fansenius, in his hand. For there were none that would bear Preface unto Ecclesiafticus. The whole armes against Ptolomy, in defence of their own King: but rather they fided with the phus and the high Priest, was written (as Agyptian; who took Landice the Kings mo-(a) Josephus affirms) by Aristans that was ther, and rewarded her with death as she employed therein. Forty years Ptolomy Phi- had well deserved. Wherefore Selencus, bethose domestical troubles which recalled Euergetes home into Ægypt; went about a dangerous piece of work, even to make War upon his own subjects, because of their bad more voluptuous, than he had been in his affection towards him; when it had been much better, by well deferving to have changed their hatred into love. A great a tempest, as devoured all fave himself, and ped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned nevertheless to his great good; as anon after it feemed. For when his subjects understood in what fort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiferation of his Estate ; and, presuming that he would Antiochus Theos had another wife called thenceforth become a new man, offered unto him their fervice with great alacrity. This renice the daughter of this Ptolomy. After revived him, and filled him such a spirit; as his fecond marriage, he used his first wife thinking himself well enough able to deal with no better regard, then if she had been with the Agyptian, he made ready a mighty his Concubine. Laodice hated him for this: Army for that purpose. But his fortune was yet adventured not to feek revenge, untill no better at Land, that it had been at Sea. her own son seleucus Callinicus was of ability He was vanqui hed by Ptolomy in a great to be King. This was two or three years af- battel: whence he escaped hardly; no better the death of Ptolomy Philadelphus: at ter attended, than after his late shipwrack. what time the poyloned her husband Theos; Hasting therefore back to Antioch, and searand, by permission of selencus her son, ing that the enemy would soon be at his

10,2 heels : He wrote unto his brother Antiochus | Antiochus Hierax or the Hank) which fur-Hierax who lay then in Afa, praying him to name was given him, because he fought his bring fuccour with all speed; and promi- prey upon every one, without care whether fing, in recompence of his faith and dili- he were provoked or not)foared away as far gence, the Dominion of a great part of Asia. as he could, both from his brother, and from Antiochus was then but fourteen years old, his own Gaules. Having fetcht a great combut extreamly ambitious ; and therefore pass through Mesopotamia and Armenia, He glad of fuch an occasion to make himself fell at length in Cappadocia; where his fagreat. He levied a mighty Army of the ther-in-law King Artamenes took him up, Gaules; wherewith he let forward to help He was entertained very lovingly in outhis brother, or rather to get what he could ward fnew; but with a meaning to betrav for himself. Hereof Ftolomy being adver- him. This he soon perceived : and theretiled: and having no desire to put himself fore betook him to his wings again; though in danger more then he needed; took Truce he knew not well, which way to bend his with Selenens for ten years. No fooner was flight. At length he resolved to bestow him-Sciences freed from this care of the Agypti- felf upon Ptolomy; his own conscience telling an War, but his brother Antiockus came upon him, and needs would fight with him,
his brother; and therefore what little good as knowing himself to have the better Ar- he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. my. So Scleneus was vanquithed again 5 Infidelity can find no fure harbour. Ptolomp and faved himself with fo few about him, well understood the perfidious and turbuthat he was verily supposed to have perish-lent nature of this Hierax. Wherefore he ed in the battel. Thus did Gods Juftice laid him up in close prison : whencethough take revenge of those murders by which the by means of an harlot, he got out; yet flymight have been thought) on the head of threves, by whom he was murthered. Near to hear of his brothers death, as if thereby Gaules, his Mercenaries, were gladder then he. For when he led them against Eumenes King of Pergamus, being in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reign: these perfidious Barbarians ftrip him of all that he had. They thought tented: but made him enter into such Comgathered a new Army: and prepared once third, called afterwards the Great. more to try his fortune against his brother. fit for himself, to make his profit of their discord. Antiockus fought with him, and

Crown was purchased; and settled (as ing from his keepers, he fell into the hands of this bloody King. Antiochus was very glad about the fame time died selenens. The Parthians and Baffrians had rebelled against he had purchased his hearts desire. But the him, during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a journey against Arfaces founder of the Parthian Kingdom: wherein his evil fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered to closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. Arfaces dealt friendly with him, took council against him, & devised how to and dismissed him, having every way given him royal entertainment: but in returning it very likely, that if there were none of the home, he brake his neck by a fall from his Royall house to make head against them 3 horse, and so ended his unhappy reign of it would be in their power, to do what twenty years. He had to wife Laodice the should be best pleasing to themselves, in the lister of Andromachus, one of his most trusty lower Asia. Wherefore they laid hands on Captains: which was father unto that Ache-Antiochus; and enforced him to ranfome us, who making his advantage of this affihimself with money, as if he had been their nity, became shortly after (as he stilled himlawful Priloner. Neither were they to con- [6:f] a King; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By position with them, as tended but little to Laodice he had two sons; seleneus the third, his honour. In the mean while selencus had furnamed Ceraunus; and Antiochus the

Selencus Ceraunus reigned only three Eumenes hearing of this, thought the feafon years in which time he made War upon Attalus the first, that was King of Pergamus. Being weak of body through fickness, and was beaten: which is no great marvail, in want of money, he could not keep his fince he had great reason to stand in no less men of War in good order : and finally he fear of the Gaules, his own fouldiers, than was flain by treason of Nicanor and Apaturiof the enemy with whom he had to deal. us a Gaule. His death was revenged by Ache-After this, Eumenes won much in Asia; us, who slew the Traitors, and took charge whilest Antroclus went against his brother. of the Army : which he ruled very wiely, In the second battel, fought between the and faithfully a while; Antiochus the brobrethren, seleneus had the upper hand; and ther of seleneus being a Child,

ø. II.

after the death of the Great Alexander.

was unto his Lord, and finally unto him- had befallen them. felf; the fuccess of things will shortly discover.

reign, Ptolomy Euergetes King of Agypt di- Lord unto war against the Egyptian; for ed, and left his heir Ptolomy Philopater, a the recovery of Cwlosyria and the Countries young Boy likewife, as hath elfewhere been adjoyning. This counsel was very unsealoremembred. This was that Euergetes, who nably given, when Molo, the Kings Lieuterelieved Aratus and the Acheans: who af- nant in Media, was broken out in rebellion, terwards took part with Cleomenes: and and fought to make himself absolute Lord lovingly entertained him, when he was cha- of that rich Country. Nevertheless Hermifed out of Greece by Antigonus Gonatus. He as, being more froward than wife, maintainannexed unto his Dominion the Kingdom ed stiffely, that it was most expedient and of Grene by taking to wife Bernice, the agreeable with the Kings honour, to fend daughter of King Magas. He was the third forth against a rebellious Captain, other of the Ptolomies; and the last good King of Captains that were faithful; whilest he in that race. The name of Euergetes, or the person made War upon one that was like doer of good, was given to him by the himself, a King. No man durst gain-say the Agyptians; not so much for the great spoils resolution of Hermias; who therefore sent which he brought home, after his victories Xenætas an Achean, with such forces as he in Syria; as for that he recovered some of thought expedient, against the Rebel; thole Images or Idols, which Cambyfes, when whilest in the mean season an Army was he conquered Agypt, had carried into Perpreparing for the Kings expedition into Carfia, He was ready to have made War upon lospria. The King having marched from the Jews, for that Onias their high Priest, Apamea to Laodicea, and so over the Desarts out of meer covetouinels of money, refu- into the Valley of Mallias, between the fed to pay unto him his yearly tribute of Mountains of Libanus and Anti-libanus; 20. talents: but he was pacified by the wif- found his way there stopped by Theodotus dom of Josephus a Jew, to whom afterwards an Atolian, that served under Ptolomy. So he let in farm the Tributes and customs that he confumed the time there a while to none belonged unto him in those parts of Syria effect: and then came news, that Xenatas, which he held. For Calogria, with Palaftina, his Captain, was destroyed with his whole and all those parts of the Country that lay Army; and Molo thereby become Lord of nearest unto Egypt, were held by the Egypti- all the Countrey, as far as unto Babylon. an; either as having fallen to the share of Kenætus, whilest he was yet on his journey,

Ptolomy the first, at such time as the great Antigonus was vanquished and slain in the The beginning of the Great Antiochus his battel at Ipsus; or as being won by this reign. of Ptolomy Euergetes, and Phi- Euergetes, in the troublesome and unhappy lopater, Kings of Egypt. War between reign of Seleneus Callinicus. The victories Antiochus and Philopater. The rebellion of this Energetes in Syria, with the contenof Molo: an expedition of Antiochus tions that lasted for many succeeding ages against him. The recontinuance of Anti- between the Ptolomies and the Seleucide; ochus his Ægyptian war: with the passages were all foretold by Daniel in the Prophecy between the two Kings: the victory of Pto- before cited, which is expounded by S. lomy, and peace concluded. Of Achæus, Hierome. Thus Ptolomy Euergetes reigned and his rebellion; his greatness, and his fix and twenty years; and died towards fall. Antiochus his expedition against the end of the hundred thirty and ninth the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians, Olympiad. It may feem by that which we Somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, find in the Prologue unto Jesus the son of Syrach his book, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For Siracides there Ntiochus was scarcely fifteen years old, saith that he came into Egypt in the eight when he began his reign, which lasted and thirtieth year, when Euergetes was fix and thirty years. In his minority he was King. It may therefore be, That either this wholly governed by one Hermias, an ambi- King reigned long together with his father: tious man, and one which maligned all ver- or that those eight and thirty years were the tue, that he found in any of the Kings faith- years of Jesus his own age; if not perhaps ful servants. This vile quality in a Coun-reckoned (as the Jews did otherwhiles fellor of fuch great place, how harmfull it reckon) from some notable accident that

Not long after the death of Euergetes, Hermias the Counsellor, and in a manner Soon after the beginning of Antiochus his | the Protector of King Antiochus, incited his

ceived many advertisements, by such as fled where at his first coming, he won the City: over unto him from the Enemy, That the but failing to take the Castle that was exfollowers of Molo were, for the most part, ceeding strong, returned back to Selencia. against their wills drawn by their Comman- there to give order concerning this business. der to bear arms against their King. This report was not altogether falle; but Molo tiochus, whilest he lay (as is faid before) in himself stood in some doubt lest his follow- the Vale of Maps as; filled him with great ers would leave him in time of necessity. forrow, and his Camp with trouble. He took Xenetas therefore making shew, as if he had counsell what to do in this needfull case: prepared to pass the River by Boats in face and was well advised by Epigenes, the hest of his enemy; left in the night time such man of War he had about him, to let alone as he thought meet to defend his Camp: this enterprise of Cwlosgria; and bend his and with all the flour of his Army went forces thither, where more need required over Tygris, in a place ten miles lower than them. This counsel was put in excution Molo his Camp. Molo heard of this, and fent | with all convenient hafte. Yet was Epicenes forth his herie to give impediment : but difmified by the way, and foon after flain, hearing that Xenutas could not so be stop- by the practice of Hermias: who could not ped, He himself dislodged, and took his endure to hear good counsel given, conjourney towards Media; leaving all his bag. trary to his own good liking and allowance. gage behind him in his Camp. Whether he In the journey against Molo, the name and did this, as distrusting the faith of his own presence of the King was more available. fouldiers; or whether thereby to deceive than any odds which he had of the Rebell his Enemy: the great folly of Xenetas made in strength. Molo distrusted his own followhis stratagem prosperous. For Xenetas, having born himfelf proudly before, upon the countenance of Hermias, by whom he was would ferve to hold them from returning to advanced unto this charge; did now pre- the Kings obedience, if once they beheld fume that all should give way to his authori- his person. Wherefore he thought it safest ty, without putting him to much trouble of for him to affail the Kings Camp in the night using the sword. Wherefore he suffered his time. But going in hand with this, He was men to feast with the provisions which they discovered by some that sled over from him found ready in the forfaken Camp: or ra- to the King. This caused himtoreturn back ther he commanded them so to do, by mak- to his Camp: which by some errour, took ing Proclamation. That they should cherish alarm at his return : and was hardly quiup themselves against the journey, which eted, when Antiochus appeared in sight. The he intended to take the next day, in pursuit King was thus forward in giving battel to of the Rebels that fled. And to the fame | Molo, upon confidence which he had that purpose he busied himself, in transporting many would revolt unto him. Neither was the remainder of his Army, which he had he deceived in this his belief. For not a few left on the other fide of Tygris. But Molo | men or Enfigns: but all the left wing of the went no further that day, than he could enemy which was opposite unto the King, eafily return the same night. Wherefore changed side forthwith as soon as ever they understanding what good rule the Kings had fight of the Kings person; and were men kept: he made such haste back unto ready to do him service against Molo. This them, that he came upon them early in the was enough to have won the victory: but morning; whileft they were yet heavy with | Molo shortned the work, by killing himself; the Wine and other good cheer that they had as did also divers of his friends, who for fear with him, died fighting in defence of the their own fwords. Camp: the rest were slaughtered without making resistance; and many of them ere that the Queen Lacdice daughter of Mithrithey were perfectly awake. Likewise the dates King of Pontus, which was married un-Camp on the other side of Tygris, was easily to Antiochus a while before, had brought taken by Molo: the Captains flying thence, forth a fon. Fortune seemed bountiful unto to fave their own lives. In the heat of this the King : and therefore he purposed to victory, the Rebell marched unto Selencia, make what use he could of her friendly diswhich he presently took : and, mastering position while it lasted. But now in the within a little while the Province of Babylo | Eastern parts of his kingdom, He judged nia, and all the Countrey down to the red it convenient to visit his frontiers, were it

and drew near to the River of Tygris; re- | Sea, or Bay of Persia, He hasted unto Sula:

The report of these things coming to Aners : and thought, that neither his late good fuccess, nor any other consideration, spent at supper. So Xenetas and a very few of torments, prevented the Hang-man with

After this Victory, came joyfull news,

had been concealed.

ing that he knew all, and upbraiding him press Antiochus with daily Embassadors

only to terrifie the Barbarians, that borde- with fuch infidelity, as any offender might red upon him. Hereunto his Counsellor Her- know to be unpardonable. By these means miss gave affent: not formuch respecting he emboldned the Traitor: who being althe Kings honour, as confidering what good ready detected, might better hope to mainmight thereby happen to himself. For if it tain his former actions by strong hand, than thould come to pais, that the King were to excuse them or get pardon by submission. taken out of the world by any calualty : Antiochus had at that time a vehement dethen made he no doubt of becoming Prote- fire to recover Calofria, or what elfe he Etor to the young Prince; and thereby of could, of the Dominions of Ptolomy Philolengthening his own Government. Antio- pater in those parts. He began with selenchus therefore went against Artabanes, who cia, a very strong City near to the mouth reigned among the Atropatians; having the of the River Orontes; which ere long he greatest part of his kingdom situate between won, partly by force, partly by corrupting the Calpian and Euxine Sea. This barbarous with bribes the Captains that lay therein. King was very old and fearful; and there- This was that Seleucia, whereto Antigonus fore yielded unto whatfoever conditions the Great, who founded it, gave the name of ir pleased Antiochus to lay upon him. So Antigonia: but Seleucus getting it shortly in this journey Antiochus got honour, fuch after, called it Seleucia; and Ptolomy Eueras well contented him; and then returned getes having lately won it, might if it had fo homewords. Upon the way, a Physitian of pleased him, have changed the name into his brake with him as concerning Hermias ; Ptolomais. Such is the vanity of men, that informing him truly how odious he was to hope to purchase an endless memorial unto the people; and how dangerous he would their names, by works proceeding rather be fortly unto the Kings own life. Antio- from their greatness, than from their verchus believed this, as having long suspected tue; which therefore no longer are their the same Hermias; but not during for fear of own, than the same greatness hath continuhim to utter his suspicions. It was therefore ance. Theodotus the Etolian, he that before agreed, that he should be made away on the had opposed himself to Antiochus, and defindden: which was done, he being trained | fended Cwloffria in the behalf of Ptolomy; forth by a fleight, a good way out of the was now grown forry, that he had used so Camp, and there killed without warning or much faith and diligence, in service of an undisputation. The King needed not to have thankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore used so much art in ridding his hands of a as a Mercenary, he began to have regard to man so much detested. For howsoever he his own profit: which thinking to find greaseemed gracious whilest he was alive: yet ter, by applying himself unto him that was they that for fear had been most obsequious | (questionles) the more worthy of these two to him, whilest he was in case to do them Kings; he offered to deliver up unto Antiohurt, was as ready as the foremost, to speak chus, the Cities of Tyrus and Ptolomais. of him as he had deserved, when once they Whilst he was devising about this treason, were secure of him: yea, his wife and chil- and had already sent messengers to King dren, laying then at Apamea, were stoned to Antiochus: his practice was detected, and he death by the wives and children of the Ci- befieged in Ftolomais by one of Ptolomies tizens; whose indignation brake forth Captains, that was more faithful than himthe more outrageously, the longer that it self. But Antiochus hasting to his rescue, vanguished this Captain who met him on the About these times, Acheus (of whom we way: and afterwards got possession, not onspake before) thinking that Antiochus might | ly of Tyrus and Ptolomais, with a good Fleet happen to perish in some of these expediti- of the Egyptian Kings that was in those Haons which he took in hand was bold to fet a vens: but of fo many other Towns in that Diademupon his own head, and take upon | Country, as emboldned him to think upon him as a King. His purpose was to have in- making a journey into Egypt it self. Agathovaded syria: but the fame of Antiochus his cles and Sosibius bore all the sway in Egypt returning thitherwards, made him quit the at that time: Ptolomy himself being loath to enterprise; and study to set some handsome have his pleasures interrupted, with business colour on his former prefumption. It is ve- of so small importance, as the safety of his ry strange that Antiochus neither went Kingdom. Wherefore these two agreed against Acheus; nor yet dissembled the no- together, to make provision as hastily, tice which he had taken of these his traite- and yet as secretly as might be for the War: rous purposes: but wrote unto him, signify- and nevertheless at the same time, to

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to some good agreement. There came in the son of Lagi, had won Celosyria, and the heat of this business, Embassadors from Provinces adjoyning, for himself: as also Rhodes, Byzantium, and Cyzicus, as likewife that he had fufficiently gratified Seleneus, by from the Atolians; according to the usual lending him forces to recover his Province courtefie of the Greeky, defiring to take up of Babylon, and the Countries about the Ri-

by Agathocles and Sofibius: who intreated the end of their disputation, as far from them to deal effectually with Antiochus, But concluding, as at the beginning. Ptolomy dewhilft this treaty lafted, great preparations manded restitution; Antiochus thought, that were made at Alexandria for the War: he had not as yet gotten all that was his wherein these two Counsellors perswaded own: Also Ptolomy would needs have Achethemselves reasonably, that the vistory w comprehended in the league between would be their own; if they could get, for them, as one of their Confederates; But Anmoney, a fufficient number of the Greeks to tiochus would not endure to hear of this. take their parts. Antiochus heard only what exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, was done at Memphis, and how defrous the that one King should offer to deal so with Governours of Fight were to be at quiet: another, as to take his rebel into protection, whereunto he gave the readier belief, not and feek to joyn him in Confederacy with only for that he knew the disposition of Pto- his own Soveraign Lord. When the Truce long, but because the Rhodians, and other was expired, and Antiochus prepared to take Embassadors, coming from Memphis, dil the field again: contrary to his expectation, coursed unto him all after one manner; as be he was informed, That Ptolomy, with a very ing all deceived by the cunuing of Agatho- puissant Army, was coming up against him cles and his fellow: Anticehus therefore ha- out of Egypt. Serting forward therefore to ving wearied himfelf, at the long fiege of a meet with the Enemy, he was encountred Town called Dura, which he could not win: on the way by these Captains of Ptolomy, and being defirous to refresh himself and his that had refisted him the year before. They Army in Sciencia, Curing the winter which held against him the passages of Libanus, then came on, granted to the Egyptian a whence nevertheless he drave them: and Truce for four moneths, with promife that proceeding onward in his journey, won fo he would be ready to hearken unto equal many places, that he greatly encreased his Conditions, when they should be offered. It reputation; and thereby drew the Arabians, was not his meaning to be fo courtcous, as with divers of the bordering people, to he would fain have feemed, but only to lull become his followers. As the two Kings his enemics affeep, whilest he took time to drew near together; many Captains of Ptorefresh himself; and to being Acheus to some lomy for sook his pay, and fled over to Antiogood order, whose treason daily grew more chas. This notwithstanding, the Egyptian open and violent. The fame negligence had the courage to meet his enemy in the which he thought the Egyptian would have field. The battle was fought at Raphia: where used, he used himself; as preliming that when it was not to be decided, whether the Feyptime of the year better served, little force tians or the Asiatiques were the better Soul-But Piolomies men would acknowledge no by whose valour he brake the Gross of his fuch bargain. They faid that Ptolony the enemies battel, and won the vidory:

ver of Euphrates. Thus whileft neither of These were all entertained in Memphis, them greatly cared for peace; they were in would be needful; for that the Towns diers, (for that the frength of both Armies would voluntarily yield unto him, fince Pto- confifted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the long provided not for their defence. Never- Greeks, Thracians, and Gauls;) but whether thelefs, he gave audience to the Embassadors, of the Kings was the more fortunate. Ptoloand had often conference with those that my, with Arsinoe his Sister and Wife, rode were fent out of Egspt: pleasing himself, well, up and down encouraging his men; the like to dispute about the justice of his quarrel; did Antiochus on the other side : each of which he purposed shortly to make good by them rehearling the brave deeds of his Anthe fword, whether it were just or no. He cestors; as not having of their own, whereby faid, that it was agreed between Selenem his to value themselves. Antiochus had the more Ancestor, and Ptolomy the son of Lagi, Elephants, as also his being of Asia, had they That all Spria, if they could win it from been fewer, would have beaten those of Antigonus, should be given in possession to Africk, Wherefore by the advantage of those selençus : and that this bargain was after- | beafts, He drave the Enemies before him, ward ratified, by general confent of the in that part of the battel wherein he fought Confederates, after the battel at Ipfus. himself. But Ptolomy had the better men

whilest Antiochus was heedlesly following rable. As for the Egyptian, he was not only flothful condition.

fon to take part against the more honou- The success was agreeable to that which

mon those, whom he had compelled to re- slothful, but hindred by a rebellion of his upon the had brought into the field a own subjects, from helping his friends hove seventy thousand foot, and six thousand abroad. For the people of Egypt, of whom horse; whereof though he lost scarce ten Ptolomy, contrary to the manner of his Prothouland foot, and not four hundred horse; genitors, had armed a great number to ver the fame of his overthrow took from lerve in the late expedition; began to enterhim all those places which he had lately won. tain a good opinion of their own valour. When therefore he was returned home to thinking it not inferiour to the Macedonian. Antioch: He began to stand in fear, lest Pto- Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as long and Acheno, fetting upon him both at formerly they had done: fince they less esteeonce, should put him in danger of his whole med, than they had done, the force of the Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors Kings mercenary Greeks: which had hitherto the Egyptian, to treat of peace; which to kept them in straight subjection. Thus was readily granted; it being much against brake out a war between the King and his the nature of Ptolomy to vex himself thus subjects: wherein though the ill-guided with the tedious business of War. So Ptolomy force of the multitude was finally broken; yet having staid three moneths in Syria, re- King Ptolomy thereby wasted much of his turned home into Eggpt, clad with the re- strength, and much of his time, that might putation of a Conqueror; to the great ad- have been spent, as he thought, much better miration of his subjects and all those that in revelling: or, as others thought, in sucwere acquainted with his voluptuous and couring Achaus. As for Antiochus, He had no fooner made his peace with the Egyptian. Achaus was not comprised in the league than he turned all his care to the preparatibetween these two Kings: or if he had on of war against Achaus. To this purbeen included therein; yet would not the pose he entred into League with Attalus; Egyptian have taken the pains, of making a that so he might distract the forces of his fecond expedition for his fake. The best Rebel, and find him work on all sides. Fiwas, that he thought himself strong enough, | nally, his diligence and fortune were such, if fortune were not too much against him, to | that within a while he had pent up Achaus deal with Antiochus. Neither was he con- into the City of Sardes; where he held him fident without great reason: for besides his about two years besieged. The City was very many victories, whereby he had gotten all strong, and well victualled so as there appeathat belonged unto Antiochus on this side of red not, when the second year came, any Taurus, he had also good success against At- greater likelihood of taking it, than in the talus King of Pergamus: that was an able first years siege. In the end, one Lagoras a man of war, and commanded a ftrong Army. Neither was he, as Molo the Rebel had The Castle it self was upon a very high been, one of mean regard otherwise, and rock, and in a manner impregnable; as alcarried beyond himself by apprehending fo the Town-wall adjoyning to the Castle, in the advantage of some opportunity: but that part which was called the same, was Cousin-german to the King, as hath been in like manner situate upon steep Rocks, flewed before; and now lately the Kings and almost inaccessible; that hung over a brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger deep bottom, whereinto the dead carkafes daughter of the same Mithridates King of of Horses, and other beasts, yea, and some-Pontus, which was also called Laodise, as was times of men, used to be thrown. Now it was her fifter the Queen, Antiochus his wife. observed by Lagoras, that the Ravens and Thee things had added Majefty unto him, and had made his followers greatly to re-place by reason of their foodwhich was there spect him, even as one to whom a Kingdom never wanting, used to flye up unto the top was belonging. Neither made it a little for of the Poocks, and to pitch upon the wals, him, That King Ptolomy of Egypt held him where they rested without any disturbance. in the nature of a friend: and that King An- Observing this often, he reasoned with himtiochus was now lately vanquished in the self, and concluded that those parts of the battel at Raphia; and had thereby lost all his wall were left unguarded, as being thought gettings in Syria. But all these hopes and unapproachable. Hereof he informed the likelihoods came to nothing: for the King King: who approved his judgement, and gave of Pontus, if he would meddle in that unto him the leading of such men, as he dequarell between fons-in-law, had no rea- fired for the accomplishing of the enterprise.

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Lagoras had afore conceived: and though in the faith of Bolis, and of one Cambrins with much labour, yet without refiftance, he whom Boiss had won unto the business, did fealed those rocks, and whileft a general af- somewhat trouble him. They were men fault was made, entred the Town in that part, to him unknown: and Cambylus was a folwhich was at other times unguarded, then lower of Antiochus; under whom he had the unthought upon. In the same place had the command of those Cretans, which held one Persians, under Cyrus, getten into Sardes; of the Forts that blocked up the Castle of when Cressus thought himself secure on that Sardes. Nevertheless other way to escape he fide. But the Citizens took not warning faw none, than by putting himfelf to some by the example of a loss of many ages past: | adventure. When the messenger had thereand therefore out of memory. Acheus held fore passed often to and fro, it was at length ftill the Castle: which not only seemed by concluded, That Bolis himself should come nature impregnable, but was very well fto- speak with Acheus, and conduct him forth. red with all necessaries, and manned with a There was none other than good faith meant fufficient number of fuch as were to him well by any of the rest, save only by Bolis and a trufty fellow, and one whom Achaus Captain under Ptolomy, and did not thruft comes found by examination heartily affected himself into this business; burwas invited less burwas invited less

affured. Antiochus therefore was constrained Cambylus; which were Cretans, and (as all the fee to waste much time about it: having none their Countrymen, *same sew excepted, have 1 do nor other hope to prevail, than by familhing the been, and ftill are,) falle knaves. These two carefuline inclosed. Besides the usual tediousness of held a consultation together, that was, as himself incloded. Edites the unian teniounist of expectation, his buliness called him thence (a) Polybins observes it rightly Cretical: net-Estantian the concerning the facety of him whole defeated was into the higher Afia, where the Estartian ans, and Parthians with the Hyrcanians, had liverance they undertook, nor touching the two, who erected Kingdoms taken out of his Domini- discharge of their ownfaith; but only how in once ons, upon which they still increached, to get most with least adoe and danger to shameles ons, upon which they thin introduced but he thought it not fafe, to let Achans themselves Briefly they concluded, That fift Lielabert break loofe again. On the other side there were some Agents of Ptolomy the Egyptian, them ten Talents, which they had already cother and good friends unto Achaus; that made received in hand: and then, That they would king the it their whole study, how to deliver this reveal the matter to Antiochus; offering to Country befieged Prince. If they could refcue his per- deliver Acheus unto him, if they might be with all that when he should appear in the Countrys under Taurus, he would soon have an Army at command, and be ftrong enough to should be dispatched. Antiochus hearing this learn de my at command, and be mong chough to promise of Cambylus, was no less glad, than harby hold Antiochus as hardly to work as at promise of Cambylus, was no less glad, than harby any time before. Wherefore they dealt with were the friends of Acheus well pleased with infering one Bolis a Cretian, that was acquainted the comfortable promifes of Bolis. At my nate well with all the wayes in the Country, and length when all things were in readines on edines, in particularly with the by-paths and exceed- both fides, and that Bolis with Arianus callege ing difficult passages among those Rocks, was to get up into the Castle, and conveigh and difference the Castle of sardes stood. Him Acheus thence: He first went with Camby dust had they tempted with great rewards, which he lus to speak with the King, who gave him vethould receive at the hands of Fiolomy, as ry private audience; and confirmed unto to myse well as of Achaus ; to do his best for per him by word of mouth the affurance of his verien formance of their defire. He undertook the liberal promifes. And after that, putting home bufiness: and gave such likely reasons of on the countenance of an honest man, and to be ill bringing all to good effect, that they wrote of one that was faithful unto Ptolony, whom by faithful unto Ptolony, who who was the ptolony and unto Achaus, by one Ariams, a trufty messen he had long served, he accompanied Aria gua ger, whom Bolis found means to conveigh into the Castle. At his coming this support to the Castle. The faith of these Negotiators there, he was lovingly entertained; yet son, and Acheus held most assured. They also wrote questioned at large by Achaus, touching all Achaes unto him in privie Characters, or Ciphers, the weight of the business in hand. But he again wherewith none fave he and they were ac discoursed so well, and with such gravity; where quainted: whereby he knew, that it was no that there appeared no reason of distrusted and the same of fained device of his Enemies, in the name ing either his faith or judgement. He deep the coorof his friends. As for the mellenger, he was was an old Souldier, had long been a measure of the control of the

unto their fide. But the Contents of the Epithan he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the Criticus in delected that were always Lyais evil beafts, and flow bellies. (a) 2 Pol. 10 ft. 8 hv

also taken a safe course, in winning (as it lending him their hands, and taking such feemed) that other Countriman of his, who care of him, as eafily gave Bolis to understand kept a Fort that stood in their way; and that he was the man: and so by their unseathereby had already fundry times given fonable duty, they undid their Lord. When fafe passage and repassage unto Arianus. But they came to the place where Cambilus lav against all these comfortable hopes, the in wait, Bolis whistled, and presently clapsed importance of fo great an adventure stirred Acheus about the middle, holding him fast up fome diffidence. Acheus therefore dealt that he could not ftir. So they were all tawifely, and faid, that he would yet flay ken by the Ambufli, and carried forthwith in the Castle a little longer: but that he to Antiochus; who sate up watching in his meant to fend away with Bolis three or Pavilion, expecting the event. The fight of four of his friends; from whom, when he Achaus, brought in bound unto him, did so received better advertisement, concerning aftonish the King that he was unable to speak the likelihood of the enterprise, then a word, and anon brake out into weeping. would he iffue forth himself. Hereby he Yet was he before informed of the plot, took order, not to commit himself wholly which might have kept him from admiratiunto the faith of a man unknown. But as on:as also the next morning betimes, assem-Polybius well notes, he did not confider that bling his friends together, he condemned Ahe played the Cretian with a man of Crete: cheus to a cruel death: which argues, that he which is to say, that he had to do with one, was not moved with pity towards this unwhose knavery could not be avoided by cir- happy man. Wherefore it was the general recumpection. Bolis and Cambylus had laid gard of calamities, incident unto great their plots thus, That if Acheus came forth fortunes, that wrung from him these tears; as alone, then should be easily be taken by the also the rarity of the accident, that made ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should it be so, that such a course as this of his, in that of late had trodden it oft: and Bolis following behind, should have an eye upon cording to that spanish Proverb, Auntray-Acheus to prevent him, not only from efca- dor dos allevosos. The death of Achaus ping in the tumult, but from breaking his brought such altonishment upon those which own neck, or otherwise killing himself: to held the castle, that after a while they gave the end that being taken alive, he might be up the place and themselves unto the King; to Antiochus the more welcome Present. whereby he got entire possession of all to And in such order came they now forth: Arianus going before as Guide: the rest following as the way ferved, and Bolis in the Rear. Achaus made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then fignified he the matter to his Wife

by honourable and faithful men. He had all of them very officious towards Acheus; both him and his friends to wonder: though Arianus be appointed to lead the way as one imploying two mischievous knaves against one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well;achim belonging in the leffer Afia.

Some years passed after this, ere Antiochus was ready for his expedition against the Parthians and Hyrcanians. The Parthians were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subject unto those that ruled Laodice; and comforting her with hope as in Media. In the great shuffling for Provinwell as he could, appointed four of his spe- ces, after the death of Alexander, the Governcial friends to bear him company. They ment over them was committed by Antipawere all disguised: and one of them alone ter, to one Philip, a man of small regard: took upon him to have knowledge of the shortly they fell to Eumenes; then to Antigo-Greek tongue; speaking & answering as need mus: and from him, to gether with the Medes, should require for all as if the rest had been to selencus; under whose posterity they Barbarians. Bolis followed them, craftily continued until the Reign of Selencus Calinidevising upon his business, and much perple- cus, being ruled by Lieutenants of the syxed. For (faith Polybius) though he were of rian Kings. The luftful infolency of one of Crete, and prone to surmise any thing to the these Lieutenants, together with the mismischief of another; yet could be not see in fortune of Callinicus, that was vanquished and the dark, nor know which of them was Ache- thought to be flain by the Gails, did ffir 16, or whether Achaus himself were there. up Arfaces, a nobleman of the Country, to The way was very uneafie, and in some seek revenge of injuries done x and aniplaces dangerous; especially to those that mate them to rebel. So he slew the Kings knew it not. Wherefore they were fain to Lieutenant; made himself King of the stay in divers places, and help one another up Parthians, and Lord of Hyrcania; fought profor down. But upon every occasion they were perously with those that disturbed him in

prisoner in battel, whom he royally enter- ther of the Kings hope of accomplishing his tained and dismissed. Hereby he won repudes desires, without exceeding difficulty. Wheretation as a lawful King: and by good government of his Countrey, procured unto himfelf such love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his successors; like | make a subject. as that of the Ptolomies in Egypt, and that of the Casars afterwards in Rome. Much about against Enthydemus King of the Bactrians; the same time the Bactrians rebelled : one that indeed had not rebelled against him though these at length, and all belonging or his Ancestors: but having gotten the Kingunto the Sciencida beyond Euphrates, increa- dom from those that had rebelled, kept it fed the Parthians dominion. Now Antiochus himfelf. With Euthydemus he fought a batwent against them with so strong an army, that they durst not meet him in plain field 3 ctory. But the victory was not sogreatly but kept themselves in woods or places of to his honour, as was the testimony which he strength, and defended the Straights and passages of mountains. The resistances they made availed them not. For Antiochus had with him fo great a multitude, and fo well any one maninall his Army. His horse was forted, as he needed not to turn out of the flain under him; and he himself received way, from those that lay fortified against | a wound in his mouth, whereby he lost some him, in Woods and Straights between their of his teeth. As for Euthydemus, He withdrew mountains; it being easie to spare out of so himself back unto the furthermost parts of great a number, as many as fetching a com- his Kingdom, and afterwards protracted pals about, might either get above the ene- the War, seeking how to end it by compositimies heads; or come behind, and charge on. So Embafiadors passed between the them on the back. Thus did he often imploy Kings: Antiochus complaining, That a against them his light armature: wherewith | Country of his was unjustly usurped from he caused them to dislodge, and give way him: Euthydemus answering, That he had unto his Phalanx; upon which they durst not won it from the children of the Usurpers: adventure themselves in open ground. Ar- and further, That the Ballrians, a wild Nafaces, the second of the name, (for his father tion, could hardly be retained in order, save was dead before this) was then King of Par- by a King of their own; for that they borthia: who though he was confident in the dered upon the Scythians, with whom if they fidelity of his own subjects; yet feared to should join, it would be greatly to the danencounter fomighty an Invader. His hope ger of all the Provinces that lay behind was, that the bad wayes and Defarts would them. These allegations, together with his have caused Antiochus, when he was at own weariness, pacified Antiochus, and Echatane in Media, to give over the jour- made him willing to grant Peace, upon reaney, without proceeding much further. | fonable Conditions. Demetrius, the fon of This not so falling out: He caused the Enthydemus, being a goodly Gentleman, and Wels and Springs in the Wilderness, through employed by his father, as Émbassador in this which his Enemy must pass, to be dammed | Treaty of Peace, was not a little available unup and spoiled. By which means, and the to a good conclusion: for Antiochus liked refiltance before spoken of, when he could him so well, that he promised to give him in not prevail , He withdrew himself out of marriage, one of his own daughters; and the way; fuffering the Enemy to take therewithal permitted Enthydemus to retain his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Coun- the Kingdom, causing him nevertheless to trey: wherein without some victory obtain- | deliver up all Lis Elephants; as also to bind ed, he could make no long abode. Antio- himself by oath, to such Covenants as he chus hereby found, That Arfaces was no- thought requisite. thing strongly provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of made a journey over Caucaufus, and came Parthia: and then forward into Hyrcania to the borders of India, where he renewed where he wan Tambrace, the chief City with Sophagasenns, King of the Indians, the of that Province. This indignity and ma- fociety that had been between their Anceny other losses, caused Arsaces at length, stors. The Indians had remained subject unwhen he had gathered an Army that seem to the Macedonians for a little while, after ed strong enough, to adventure a battel. Alexanders death. Eumenes in his War

his beginnings; and took Selencus Callinicus | The issue thereof was such as gave to neifore Arfaces craved peace, and at length ob-

The next expedition of Antiochus, was tel by the River Artus, where he had the vigave of his own private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more courageously, than did

So Antiochus leaving the Bactrian in quiet,

against Antigonus, raised part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when Antigonus Onto the distriction of turned Westward, and The lend reign of Ptolomy Philopater in Awas overbusied in a great civill War : then did one Sandrocottus, an Indian, stir up his Country men to rebellion; making himself their Captain, and taking upon him, as protector of their liberty. This Office and Title he foon changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Majesty of a King. Finally he got unto himfelf (having an Army of fix hundred thousand men) if not all India, yet as much of it as had been Alexanders. In this estate he had well confirmed himfelf, ere scleneus Nicanor could find leifure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himfelf at the coming of Selencus; but met him only in feeming.

S. III.

gypt: with the tragical end of his favourites, when he was dead. Antiochus prepares to war on the young child Ptolomy Epiphanes, the son of Philopater. His irresolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage towards the Hellespont. He fecks to hold amity with the Romans. who make friendly flow to him; intending nevertheless to have war with him. His doings against the Hellespont; which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrel

"His expedition being finished, Antio-Lehus had leifure to repose himself a in the field, as ready to defend his own, fo while; and fludy which way to convert the ftrongly and well appointed, that the Mace- terrour of his puillance, for the enlargedonian was contented to make both peace ment of his Empire. Within two or three and affinity with him, taking only a reward | years Ptolomy Philopater died : leaving his of fifty Elephants. This League, made by fon Ptolomy Epiphanes, a young Boy, his fucthe Founders of the Indian and Sprian king- cellour in the kingdom: unlikely by him to doms, was continued by some offices of love be well defended against a neighbour so between their children, and now renewed mighty and ambitious. This Ptolomy furpaby Antiochus: whose number of Elephants med Philopater, that is to say, a lover of his were increased thereupon, by the Indian Father, is thought to have had that surname King, to an hundred and fifty: as also he was given him in meer derision; as having made promifed, to have fome treasure fent after away both his Father and Mother. His him; which he left one to receive. Thus young years being newly past, his childparted these two great Kings. Neither had | hood when he began to reign, may seem to the Indians, from this time forwards in many discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his generations, any business worthy of remem- Fathers death: yet the beastliness of all his brance with the Western countries. The po- following life, makes him not unlike to have flerity of Sandrocottus is thought to have done any mischief, whereof he could be retained that kingdom unto the dayes of accused. Having wonthe battes at Raphiah, Augustus Casar: to whom Porus, then reign- He gave himself over to sensuality, and was ing in India, fent Embassadors with presents, wholly governed by a Strumpet called Aga. and an Epiftle written in Greek, wherein thoclea. At her infligation He murdered his among other things, he faid, That he had own wife and fifter; which had adventured command over fix hundred Kings. There is her felf with him, in that only dangerous also found, scattered in fundry Authors, the action by him undertaken and performed mention of some which held that kingdom, with honour. The Lieutenant-thips of his in divers Ages, even unto the time of con- Provinces, with all Commands in his Army, stantine the Great: being all peradventure and Offices what soever, were wholly referof the same race. But Antiochus, who in this red unto the disposition of this Agathoclea, Treaty with Sophagasenus carried himself as and her brother Agathocles, and Ocnanthea the worthier person, receiving presents, and filthy bawd that was mother unto them after marching home through Drangiana both. So these three governed the Realmat and Carmania, with such reputation, that all their pleasure, to the great grief of all the the Potentates, not only in the higher Asia, Countrey, till Philopater died; who having but on the hither fide of Taurus, humbled reigned leventeen years, left none other fon themselves unto him, and called him The than Ptolomy Epiphanes, a child of five years Great: faw an end of his own greatness old, begotten on Arsione that was his fifter within few years ensuing, by presuming to and wife. After the Kings death Agathocles stand upon points with the Romans: whose began to take upon him, as protector of Greatness was the same in deed, that his was young Epiphanes, and Governour of the Land. He assembled the Macedons (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not

that abode in Agypt with Ptolomy the first, him; and delivered him unto a follower of and would not be accounted Agyptians; as his own, to be examined by torture. This neither would the Kings themselves) and poor Souldier was carried into an inner bringing forth unto them his fifter Agatho- room of the Palace, and there stripped out clea, with the young King inher armes; be- of all his apparel to be tormented. But gan a foleron oration. He told them, That whileft the whips were brought forth, and the deceased father of this their King, had all things even in a readiness for that purcommitted the child into the arms of his pose, there was brought unto the minister of fifter; but unto the faith of them: on whole | Agathoeles, a fad report of Tlepolemus his bevaliant right hands, the whole state of the ing at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and kingdom did now rely. He befought them his Torturers, one after another, went out therefore that they would be faithful, and, of the room; leaving Moeragenes the Soulas great need was, defend their King against dier alone by himself, and the doors open. the treason of one Thepolemus an ambitious He perceiving this, naked as he was, conman; who traiteroufly went about to fet the | veighed himself out of the Palace, and got Diadem upon his own head, being a meer unto the Macedonians of whom he found stranger to the Royal blood. Herewithall some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The he produced before them a witness, that Macedonians were as fierce in maintenance fhould justifie his accusation against Tlepele- of their Priviledges, as are the Turks #animus. Now though it were fo, that he deli- | zaries. Being affured therefore that one of vered all this with a fained passion of for their fellows had thus been used, they fell to row, and counterfeiting tears: yet the Ma- | the Armes in a great rage, and began to force cedons that heard him, regarded not any Palace : crying out, They they would fee word that he spake; but stood laughing, the King, and not leave him in possession of and talking one to another, what a shameless diffembler he was to take so much upon the City, with lowd clamours, made no less him, as if he knew not how greatly he was adothan the Souldiers, though to less effect. hated, And so brake up the Assembly : he So the old Bawd Oenantha fled into a Temthat had called it, being scarce aware how. Agathecies therefore, whom the old Kings Court, untill the King was taken from them, favour had made mighty, but neither wife and they, by his permiffion which he eafily nor well qualified, thought to go to work, as gave, and by appoinment of those that now had formerly been his manner; by using his had him in their hands, delivered up to the authority, to the suppression of these that | sury of the people. Agathocles himself was he distrussed. He haled out of the Temple stabbed to death, by some which therein the mother-in-law of Tlepolemus; and cast | did the office of friends; though in manner her into prison. This filled Alexandria with of enemies. His fister was dragd naked up rumours, and made the people (though ac- and down the streets; as was also his mocustomed to suffer greater things, whilest ther, with all to them belonging: the enrathey were committed in the old Kings | ged multitude committed upon them a barname) to meet in knots together, and utter | barous execution of justice biting them, one to another their minds, wherein they pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in had conceived extream hate, against these pieces. three pernicious Misgovernours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the pre- stir up King Antiochus; who had very good fent injurie done to Tlepolemus, they were leasure, though he wanted all pretence, to fomewhat also moved with fear of harm , make war upon young Ptolomy. Philip of which in way of requital, Tlepolemus was Macedon had the same desire to get what likely to do unto the City. For he was part he could of the childes eftate. But it thought a man most unapt for Government, hapned well, that Piolomy Philopater in the as afterwards he proved, yet no bad Soul- Punick War, which was now newly ended, dier, and well beloved of the Army. It was had done many good offices unto the Rotter and well beloved of the Army. also then in his power, to stop the provision of victuals which was to come into Alexandria. As these motives wrought with the people, so by the remedy which Agathocles used, were the Macedons more hastily, and entred into covenant to divide between more violently firred unto uproar. He fecretly apprehended one of their number, whose Father had been consederate with

all bornin Maccdonia, but the race of those whom he suspected of conspiracy against a dangerous man. The whole multitude in ple : her Son and Daughter stayed in the

These troubles in Agypt, served well to mans. Unto them therefore the Egyptians addressed themselves, and craved help against these two Kings: who though they fecretly maligned one the other; yet had

then both. So * M. Lepidus was fent from That these his Embassadors were lovingly Rome, to protect from all violence the King entertained at Rome; and dismissed, with a of Egypt; especially against Antiochus. As Decree and answer of the Senate, altogefor the Macedonian; he was very foon found ther to the honour of King Antiochus. But bufied with war, at his own doors. Also this answer of the Romans was not fincere; Scopas the Ætolian, being a Pensioner to the being rather framed according to regard of Egyptian, was sent into Greece to raise an Ar- the Kings good liking, than of their own inmy of Mercenaries. What Lepidus did in tent. They had not yet made an end with Egypt, I do not find: and therefore think it | Philip: neither would they gladly be trounot improbable, that he was fent thither bled with two great Wars at once. Whereonly one of the three Embassiadors, in the fore, not standing much upon the nice examibeginning of the War with *Philip*, as hath loation of what belonged unto their honour, been llewed before. As for *Scopus*; he short-they were content to give good words for And ere all these Victories of Scopus came to no- irresolution, how notwithstanding his attherefore by him very gently entreated.

ly after went up into Eyria vith his Army; the present. In the mean time Antiochus fights where, winning many places, among the rest with Scopas in Syria, and shortly prepares to of his Acts, he subdued the Jews, who seem win some Towns elsewhere, belonging unto to have yielded themselves a little before Ftolomy; yet withall he sends an Army unto Antiochus, at fuch time as they faw him Westward, intending to make what profit prepare for his War, and despaired of re- he can of the distractions in Greece. Likewise ceiving help from Egypt. But it was not long it is considerable, as an argument of his much thing. For the very next year following, tempts upon both of their Kingdoms, he ofwhich was (according to Eusebius) the same | fered one of his Daughters to Ptolomy, and year that Philip was beaten at Cynoscephala; another to Eumenes the Son of Attalus, new-Antiochus vanquished Scopas in battel, and ly King of Pergamus: seeking each of their recovered all that had been loft. Among the friendships, at one and the same time, when rest, the Jews, with great willingness, re- he sought to make each of them a spoil. turned under his obedience; and were Thus was he acting and deliberating at once; being carryed with an inexplicable defire of The Land of Egypt, this great King did for- repugnancies, which is a difease of great and bear to invade; and gave it out, that he over-swelling fortunes. Howsoever it was, meant to bestow a Daughter of his own in he sent an Army to Sardes by Land, under Marriage unto Ptolomy: either hoping, as two of his Sons: willing them there to stay may seem, that the Country would willingly for him; whilest he himself, with a Fleet fubmit it felf unto him, if this young child of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred should happen to miscarry; or else that grea- other Vessels, intended to pass along by the ter purchase might be made in the Western Coasts of Cilicia and Caria, taking in such parts of Asia, whilest Philip was held overplaces as held for the Egyptian. It was a nolaboured by the Romans. It appears that he
table act of the Rhodians, that, whilest the was very much distracted; hunting (as we War of Philip lay yet upon their hands, they fay) two Hares at once with one Hound. The adventured upon this great Antiochus. They quarrels between Attalus, Philip, and the | sent unto him a proud Embassage; whereby Greeks, promised to afford him great advan- they gave him to understand, That if he pastage, if he should bring his Army to the Hel- sed forward beyond a certain Promontory in lespont. On the other side, the state of Egypt Cilicia, they would meet with him, and fight being such as hath been declared, feemed with him; not for any quarrel of theirs unto easily to be swallowed up at once. One him; but because he should not joyn with while therefore he took what he could get Philip their enemy, and help him against the in Syria · where all were willing (and the Romans. It was infolently done of them, nei-Jews, among the rest, though hitherto they ther seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such lihad kept faith with the Egyptian) to yield mits unto the King: yet he tempered himhim obedience. Another while, letting Egypt self, and without any shew of indignation, alone, he was about to make invasion upon gave a gentle answer; partly himself to their Attalus his Kingdom; yet suffered himself Embassadors; partly unto their whole City, eafily to be perswaded by the Roman Em- by Embassadors which he thither sent. He balladors, and delifted from that enterprife. Shewed his defire to renew the ancient Con-Having thus far gratified the Romans; he federacies between his Ancestors and them: sends Embassadors to the Senate, to con- and willed them not to be afraid, lest his clude a perfect Amity between him and coming should tend unto any hurt, either of them. It is not lightly to be over-passed, them, or of their Confederates. As touching

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the Romans whom they thought that he lians objected as a crime unto Philip, in the would molest: they were (he faid) his very conference between T. Quintius, that he had good friends; whereof, he thought there oppressed Lysimachia, by thrusting thereinto needed no better proof, than the entertain- a Garrison. Hereupon Philip made answer. ment and answer by them newly given to that his Garrison did not oppress the Town. his Embaffadors.

ning people, and such as could foresee what | gone. That this answer was good and subweather was like to happen. This answer of stantial, though it were not acceptable as the King, and the relation of what had paf- fuch; might appear by the miferable cafe, in fed between his Embassadors and the Senate, which Antiochus found Lysimachia at his commoved them not a whit, when they were ing thither. For the Town was utterly rainformed shortly after, that the Macedonian sed by the Barbarians, and the people car-War was ended at the battel of Cynoscepha- ried away into slavery. Wherefore the King le. They knew that Antiochus his turn took order to have it re-edified: as also to would be next; and prepared to be forward redeem those that were in bondage; and to on the stronger side. Wherefore they would recollect as many of the Citizens, as were difnot be contented to fit ftill, unless the Towns on the South Coast of Asia, belonging he was careful to allure thither, by hopeful to Ptolomy their friend and Confederate; promises, new inhabitants, and to replenish were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also the City with wonted frequency. Now to they did well; for that they had ever been the end that men should not be terrified from greatly beholding to all the race of the Pto- coming thither to dwell, by any fear of the lomies. They therefore in this time of neces- neighbour Thracians: he took a journey in fity, gave what aid they could unto all the hand against those barbarous people, with subjects of the Egyptian in those parts. In the one half of his Army; leaving the other like manner did King Eumenes, the Son of half to repair the City. These pains he took; Attalus, prognosticate as concerning the War | partly in regard of the convenient situation, that followed, between Antiochus and the and former glory of Lysimachia; partly for Romans. For when King Antiochus made a that he thought it highly redounding unto friendly offer, to bestow one of his Daugh- his own honour, to recover and establish ters upon him in marriage: He excused him- | the dominion in those parts which his forefelf, and would not have her. Attalus and father Seleucus Nicator had won from Lysima-Philetarus, his Brethren, wondred at this But | chus, and thereby made his Kingdom of greahe told them, that the Romans would furely | ter extent, than it occupied in any following make war upon Antiochus; and therein time. But for this ambition he shal dearly pay: finally prevail. Wherefore he faid, that by and as after that Victory against Lysimachus, abstaining from this affinity, it should be in | the death of King Selencus followed shortly; his power to joyn with the Romans, and fo shall a deadly wound of the Kingdom strengthen himself greatly with their friend- | founded by Seleucus ensue very speedily, after ship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to Antiochus; the reconquest of the same Country, which as he must be partaker in his overthrow; so was the last of seleucus his purchases. was he fure to be oppressed by him, as by an over-mighty neighbour, if he happened to win the Victory.

where he took fuch order as he thought convenient for reducing of Smyrna and Lamplacus to obedience; that had usurped their liberty, and obstinately strove to maintain it, in hope that the Romans would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he failed unto the Hellespont; where, having won some Towns that Philip had gotten not long before this, he passed over into Europe fide; and in fhort space mastered the chersonesus. Thence went he to Lysimachia: which the Thracians had gotten and destroyed, when Philip withdrew his Garrison thence, 10. TOr the Romans, though they were to employ it in the Roman War. The Æto-

but fave it from the Barbarians: who took The Rhodians appear to have been a cun- and fackt it, as foon as the Macedonians were

ø. IV.

Antiochus himself wintred about Ephesus; The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus, during their War with Philip: after which they quarrel with him. The doings of Hannibal at Carthage: whence he is chased by his enemies, and by the Romans: His flight unto the King Antiochus. The Ætolians murmure against the Romans in Greece. The War of the Romans and Achæans, with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedæmon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. Quintius his Triumph. Peace denied to Antiochus by the Romans.

unable to smother their desire of war

with Antiochus, whereof notice was alrea by Titus, were at Lysimachia, He hastened dy taken both by their friends and by their thither; whither also came P. Lentulus enemics: yet was it much against their will (another of the ten Counsellors) from Barto keep the rumour on foot, which they gille, to be present at the Conference, Hegestmeant shortly to make good, of this intend- anax and Lysias were also there; the same. ed war, fo long as they wanted matter of who had lately brought from Titus those pequarrel; whereof they were furnished, by remptory Conditions, which the Embasiathis enterprise of the Kings about Lysima- dors present shall expound unto their Machia. It was not long, fince King Attalus, fter. After a few dayes Antiochus returned a friend and a helper of the Romans in their from his Thracian Expedition. The meetwar with Philip, could obtain of them none ing and entertaiment between him and other help against Antiochus, than Embas- these Romans, was in appearance full of love. fadors to speak for him, because the one of But when they came to treat of the business these Kings was held no less a friend than in hand; this good mood was quite altered. the other. Neither did there afterwards L. Cornelius, in two or three words, briefly pass between them any other offices, than ve-delivered his errand from Rome: which ry friendly. Antiochus at the request of their was, That Antiochus had reason to deliver Embaffadors, withdrew his Invafion from the back unto Ftolomy those Towns of his, Kingdom of Pergamus: also very shortly af- whereof he had lately gotten possession. ter he sent Embassadors to them, to make a Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly,

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tinue in the same.

perfect League of amity between them. This That he must also give up the Towns of late was whileft as yet they were bufied with belonging unto Philip; and by him newly Philip, and therefore had reason to answer occupied. For what could be more absurd, his good will with good acceptation: as they than fuch folly in the Romans, as to let Andid in outward shew. But when the Mace-tiochus enjoy the profit of that war, wherein donian war was at an end, and all, or most of they had laboured so much, and he done all the States in Greece, were become little nothing? Further he warned the King, that better than Clients unto the Romans: then he should not molest those Cities that were was all this good correspondence changed free: and finally he demanded of him, upon into terms of worfe, but more plain mean- what reason he was come over with so ing. For T. Quintius, with his ten Counsel- great an Army into Europe; for that other fellors sent from Rome, requited (as hath been | cause of his journey there was none pro-* flewed before) with a commination of war, bable, than a purpose to make war upon 669.4. * flowed before) with a commination of war, but this Kings gratulation of their victory; as all the Romans? To this the King made answer, so his long protested amity, and defire to con- That he wondred why the Romans should fo trouble themselves, with thinking upon These ten Counsellors were able to inform the matters of Asia: wherewith he prayed T. Quintius, and acquaint him with the them to let him alone: even as he, withpurpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seems out such curiosity, suffered them to do in that he was not ignorant before; fince, in Italy what they thought good. As for his regard of Antiochus, he was the more incli- coming over into Europe: they saw well nable unto peace with Philip. It was there- enough what business had drawn him thifore agreed, when they divided themselves ther; namely the war against the barbato make progress through divers quarters of rous Thracians: the rebuilding of Lysima-Greece for the execution of their late De- chia, and the recovery of Towns to him becree, That two of them should visit King longing, in Thrace, and Chersonesus. Now con-Antiochus; and the rest, where occasion ser-cerning his title unto that country, He derived, use diligence to make a party strong ved it from seleucus: who made conquest against him. Neither was the Senate at thereof, by his victory against Lysimachus. Rome unmindful of the business; wherein Neither was it so, that any of the places in lest T. Quintius, with his ten Affistants, should controversie between him and the other happento forget any thing to their parts be- Kings, had been still of old belonging to the longing; L. Cornelius was sent from Rome, of Macedonians or Egyptians; but had been purpose to deal with the King about those seized on by them, or by others from whom controversies, that were between him and they received them, at such time as his An-Ptolomy. What other private instructions cestors, being Lords of those Countries, were Cornelius had, we may conjecture by the ma- hindred by multiplicity of business, from naging of this his Embassage. For coming looking unto all that was their own. Finalto Selymbria: and there understanding that ly he willed them, neither to stand in sear of P. Villius and L. Terentius, having been fent him, as if he intended ought against them

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bestow this City upon one of his sons, that with honesty and good faith. But as he was should reign therein : nor yet to be gric- further proceeding on his voyage, he was ved with his proceedings in Asia; either perfectly informed that Ptolomy was alive. against the free Cities, or against the King of This made him bear another way from Egypt; fince it was his meaning to make the Egypt: and afterwards a tempest, with a free Cities beholding unto himself, and to grievous shipwrack, made him without joyn ere long with *Ptolomy*, not only in any further attempt on the way, glad to friendship, but in a bond of near affinity. have safely recovered his Port of schucia. Cornelius having heard this, and being per- Thence went he to Antiochia, where he winhaps unable to refute it, would needs hear tred: fecure as might appear, of the Roman further, what the Emballadors of Smyrna and war. of Lampfacus, whom he had there with him, could fay for themselves. The Embassadors During the Treaty at Lysimachia, (at leastof Lampfacus being called in, began a tale; wife not long before or after it) one of their wherein they feemed to accuse the King be- Embassadors that had been sent unto the fore the Romans, as it were before compe- Macedonian, gave him counsel, as in a point tent Judges. Antiochus therefore interrup- highly tending to his good; not to rest ted them, and bade them hold their peace, | contented with the peace which was grantforasmuch as he had not chosen the Ro- ed unto him by the Romans, but to desire mans, but would rather take the Citizens of fociety with them, whereby they should be Rhodes, to be Arbitrators between him and bound to have the same friends and enemies.

without any likelihood of effect. The Ro- left otherwise he might feem, to have awaitmans, having not laid their complaints in such ed some fit occasion of taking Arms again. fort, as they might be a convenient founda- They who dealt thus plainly, did not mean tion of the war by them intended: nor yet to be fatisfied with weak excuses. In like having purpose to depart well satisfied, and manner some of the Greeks, were solicited; thereby to corroborate the present peace, and particularly the Ætolians. That conwere doubtful how to order the matter, in stantly and faithfully they should abide in fuch wife as they might neither too rudely, the friendship of the people of Rome. It like boiltrous Galle-Greeks, pretend only the was needless to say plainly whereto this engoodness of their fwords: nor yet over-mo-treaty tended: the froward answer made destly, to retain among the Greeks an opinion by the Atolians, declares them to have well of their justice, forbear the occasion of ma- understood the purpose. They complained, king themselves great. The King on the that they were not alike honoured by the other fide was weary of these tedious guests; Romans after the victory, as they had been that would take none answer, and yet scarce | during the War. They that so complainknew what to fay. At length came news, ed were the most moderate of them. Others without any certain author, That Ftolomy cryed out that they had been wronged, and was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the defrauded of what was promifed unto them: Romans, would take notice, though each of upbraiding withal the Romans, as mento them were desirous to hasten into Egypt: them beholding: not only for their victory Antiochus to take possession of the King- over Philip, but even for helping them to dom, and L. Cornelius, to prevent him there- | fet foot in Greece, which else they never of, and let the Country in good order. Cor- could have done. Hereto the Roman gave nelius was sent from Rome Embassador both gentle answers: telling them that there was to Antiochus and to Ptolomy : which gave no more to do, than to fend Embaffadors to him occasion to take leave, and prepare for the Senate, and utter their griefs: and then his Egyptian voyage. Both he, and his fel- should all be well. low Embassadors, had good leave to depart Such care took the Romans in Greece, for all together: and the King forthwith made their War intended against Antiochus. The ready, to be in Egypt with the first. To his fame hereof arriving at Carthage, gave matfon Seleucus he committed his Army, and ter unto the enemies of Hannibal, whereleft him to overfee the building of Lysima- with both to pick a thank of the Roman Sechia: but all his Sea-forces he took along nate, and to chase out of their City this howith him, and failed unto Ephefus. Thence nourable man, whom they fo greatly hated. he fent Embassadors to T. Quintius: whom He had of late exercised his vertue against he requested to deal with him in this mat-them in the Civil administration; and given

from Lysimachia; since it was his purpose to ter of peace, after such fort as might stand

But the Romans had not so done with him. And this he advised him to do quickly, be-Thus the Treaty held some few dayes, fore the War brake out with Antiochus:

them an overthrow, or two, in the long laid out. So he found, That the ordinary Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the charges of the Common-wealth did not exfway in Carthage: holding their places during | hauft the Treasury: but that wicked Magilife; and having subject unto them, the lives, strates, and corrupt Officers, turning the goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither greatest part of the moneys to their own did they use this their power with modera- use, were thereby fain to load the people tion: but conspired in such wise together, with needless burdens. Hereof he made into the Treasurie, by wayes and means used their victory in such base manner,

that who so offended any of them, should such plain demonstration, That these Robhave them all to be his enemies: which be- bers of the common Treasure were coming once known, He was fure to be foon ac- pelled to reftore, with shame, what they cused and condemned. In this their im- had gotten by knavery: and so the Carthapotent rule of the City, Hannibal was chosen ginians were freed from the necessity of Prator. By vertue of which Office, though making such poor shifts, as formerly they he was superior unto them during that year : had used, when they knew not the value of yet had it not been their manner to bear their own Estate. But as the vertue of Hannimuch regard unto fuch an annual Magi- bal was highly commended by all that were ftrate, as at the years end must be accounta- good Citizens : so they of the Roman Fable to them, if ought were laid unto his ction, which had, fince the making of the charge. Hannibal therefore fending for one peace until now, little regarded him, began of the Questors, or Officers of the Treasury, to rage extreamly: as being by him stript of to come and speak with him : the proud their ill-gotten goods and ill-employed au-Questor set lightly thereby, and would not thority, both at once, even when they come: For he was of the adverse Faction thought themselves to have been in full to Hannibal; and men of his place were to possession of the vanquished Carthage. be chosen into the Order of Judges: incon- Wherefore they fent letters to their friends templation whereof, he was filled already at Rome: wherein they complained, as if with the spirit of future Greatness. But he the Barchine Faction grew strong again, and had not to do with such a tame Prætor, as Hannibal would shortly be in armes. Questiwere they that had occupied the place be-onless, if oppressing the City by injustices forc. Hannibal fent for him by a Pursivant; and robbing the Treasury, were the only and having thus apprehended him, brought way to hold Carthage in peace with Rome: him into judgement before a publike affem- these Enemies to the Barchines might well bly of the people. There he not only cry out. That having done their best already shewed what the undutiful stubbornness of to keep all in quiet, they saw none other this Quaftor had been; but how unfuf-likelihood than of War. But having no ferable the infolency of all the Judges at the other matter to alledge, than their own inpresent was: whose unbridled power made ventions: they said, That Hannibal was like them to regard neither Laws nor Magi- unto a wild beaft, which would never be strates. To this Oration when he percei- tamed; That secret messages past between ved that all the Citizens were attentive and him, and King Antiochus: and that he was favourable; He forthwith propounded a wont to complain of idleness, as if it were Law, which passed with the general good harmful to Carthage; with what else to like liking; That the Judges (hould be chosen effect they could imagine. These accusatifrom year to year, and no one man be con- ons they directed not unto the Senate: but tinued in that Office two years together. addressing their letters crastily, every one to If this Law had been passed, before he pass- the best of his own friends at Rome, and such fed over Iberus: it would not perhaps have as were Senators; they wrought so well, been in the power of Hanno, to have that neither publike notice of their Conspibrought him unto necessity of reforming racy was taken at Carthage; northe authorianother grievance, concerning the Roman ty of the Roman Senate, wanting to the fur-Tribute. This Tribute the Carthaginians therance of their malicious purpose. Only were fain to levie by Taxation laid upon P. Scipio is faid to have admonished the Fathe whole Commonalty, as wanting money thers, that they should not thus dishonourain their publike Treasury, wherewith to bly subscribe, and become seconds to the acdefray either that, or divers other needful cusers of Hannibal: as if they would oppress, charges. Hannibal confidering this, began by fuborning or countenancing false witnefto examine the publike Revenues; and to les against him; the man, against whom in take a perfect note, both how much came war they had not of long time prevailed, nor whatfoever: and in what fort it was thence when they obtained it. But the Romans were

wished for some such advantage against Han- mon opinion was, That the Romans had mibal; and were glad to have found it. Three made him away. At length came news where Embassadors they sent over to Carthage, C. he had been seen: and then the Roman Em-Servilius, Q. Terentius, and M. Claudius basiadors, having none other errand thither, Marcellus: whose very names import suffici- accused him (with an evil grace) as a trouent cause of bad affection to Hannibal. These bler of the Peace; whereby they only difhaving past the Sea, were entertained by covered the mischief by them intended those that had procured their coming; and against him, and the malice of their Senate: being by them instructed how to carry them- missing the while their purpose, and causing felves, gave out, That they were fent to end men to understand, that he fled not thus fome controversies, between the Carthagini- without great reason. ans and Masanissa. But Hannibal had kept fuch good espial upon the Romans, that he ty of Carthage, was there entertained Royknew their meaning well enough : against ally: as one, in whose great worth and howhich he was never unprepared. It were nour the Tyrians, by reason of affinity beenough to fay, That he escaped them by tween their Cities, thought themselves to flight : but in the actions of so famous a man, have interest. Thence went he to Antioch: I hold it not impertinent to rehearfe the par- and, finding the King departed, visited his ticularities. Having openly shewed himself, son in Daphne: who friendly welcomed as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, him, and sent him unto his Father at Ephe-He went forth of the Town when it began Jus, that exceedingly rejoyced at his comto wax dark, accompanied with two which ling. were ignorant of his determination; though fuch as he might well trust. He had appoin- he had gotten Hannibal: so had the Romans ted Horses to be in a readiness at a certain no great cause to be therefore sorry: otherplace: whence riding all night, He came to wife than as they had much difgraced thema Tower of his own by the Sea-fide. There | selves, by discovery of their impotent mahad he a ship furnished with all things lice, in chasing him thus out of his Countrey. needful; as having long expected the ne- | For it would not prove alike easie unto this ceflity of some such journey. So he bade great Commander to make stout Souldiers Africk farewell; lamenting the misfortune of base Asiatiques; as it had been by his of his Countrey, more than his own. training and discipline, to make very service-Passing over to the Ille of Cercina; He found able and skilful men of War of the Spaniards, there in the Haven some Merchants ships Africans, Gaules, and other Nations, that of Carthage. They faluted him respective- were hardy, though unexperienced. Or were ly: and the chief among them began to it supposed, that one mans worth, especialenquire, whither he was bound. He faid, ly being fo extraordinary, could alter the na-He went Embassadour to Tyre: and that he ture of a cowardly people: yet was it thereintended there in the Island to make a Sa- | withall confiderable, that the vanities of Ancrifice; whereto he invited all the Mer- | tiochus, the pride of his Court, the baseness chants, and Masters of the Ships. It was of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such hot weather: and therefore he would needs hold his Feast upon the shore; where, because there wanted covert, He made them now a desolate and banished man, than had bring thither all their Sails and Yards to be been the villany of Hanno and his Compliused instead of Tents. They did to; and ces, hindering him in those actions, wherein feafted with him till it was late at night: at he had the high Command, and was fecondwhich time he left them there afleep: and ed by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the putting to Sea, held on his course to Tyre. name of this Great Carthaginian, would onwas fure not to be purfued. For the Merbe gone Embassadour : neither could they, tackle. At Carthage, the miss of so great a basladors to T. Quintius, requiring that the person was diverfly construed. Some guessed | Peace might faithfully be kept it was not pro-

not all so great-minded as Scipio: they a right, that he was fled. But the more com-

Hannibal coming to Tyre, the Mother Ci-

As Antiochus had cause to be glad in that vexations, would be far more powerful in making upprofitable the vertue of Hannibal, All that night, and the day following, He ly help to ennoble the Roman Victory: or if it further served to hearten Antiochus, and chants did neither make hafte to fend any make him less careful to avoid the war; news of him to Carthage, as thinking him to then should it further serve, to justifie the Romans in their quarrel. And it seems indeed without some loss of time, such of them as that it was no little part of their care, to get made most speed homeward, get away from a fair pretence of making war. For Antio-Cercina; being bussed a while in fitting their chus, as is said before, having newly sent Embable, that he had any meaning to take entertainment. Wherefore there was none be thence gone.

CHAP. V.

Arms, unless by meer violence he were other way, than to do somewhat against thereto enforced. Only the Etolians were these their suspected enemies: especially agreatly suspected, as a turbulent people, degainst Nabis, who could worst make resistfirous of innovation, and therefore practifing ance: whilest Antiochus was far away in sywith this Great King; whom they wished ria, and not intentive to his business. These to fee among them in Greece. In this regard, reports went not only current through the and to appeale them; they had of late been City, among the Vulgar; but found fuch creand to appear answered with gentle words by one of the dit with the chief of the Senate, that in the ten Counfellers, That the Senate would following year, against which time it was exgrant them whatfoever with reason they pected that Antiochus should be ready to thould ask. But this promise was too large, take his great enterprise in hand: P.Cornelius and unadvised. For when their Embassadors Scipio the African, desired, and obtained, a came to Rome, the Senate would grant them second Confulfhip, with intention to be Genothing: but wholly referred them to T. neral in the War, against the King and his Quinting, who favoured them leaft. Hereat Hannibal. For the present, the business with they murmured, but knew not how to right Nabis was referred unto Titus, to deal with themselves, otherwise than by speaking such him as he thought good. This would be a words, as might hasten the Romans out of fair colour of his longer tarriance in Greece, Greece for very shame, who had no defire to Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof also he knew that many of the The daily talk at Rome was of war with Greeks would not be forry: though for his Antiochus; but in Greece, when the Romans own part, he wanted all good pretence of would leave the Country. For the Etolians taking it in hand. For Nabis had entred into were wont to upbraid the rest of the Greeks stiendship with him, two or three years bewith the vain liberty which the Romans had forethis, as is already shewed, whilest he proclaimed, faying, That these their Deli- had war with Philip: and had further been verers had lain heavier fetters upon them, contented for the Romans fake to be at peace than formerly they did wear; but yet bright- with the Acheans: neither fince that time er and fairer than those of the Macedonian: had he done any thing, whereby he should likewise, that it was a gracious act of Titus, draw upon himself this War. He was to take from the legs of the Greeks their indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of chain, and tie it about their necks. There was the Acheans: as one, that besides his own indeed no cause of tarrying longer in Greece, wicked Conditions, had formerly done to if the Romans had no other meaning than them great milchief. Titus therefore had a what they pretended. For Philip had made | plausible Themes whereon to discourse beno delay, in accomplishment of that which | fore the Embassages of all the Confederate was laid upon him: all the Towns of Greece | Cities, which he caused to meet for that purwere at liberty, and the whole Country at pose at Corinth. He told them, That in the peace, both with the Romans, and within war with Philip, not only the Greeks, but the it self. As for Antiochus: He made it his Romans themselves, had each their motives daily suit, That the Peace between him and apart (which he there briefly rehearsed) Rome, such as it was, might be confirmed, that should stir them up, and cause them to and strengthened by a League of more as be earnest. But in this which he now profurance. Nevertheless, T. Quintius would pounded to them concerning Nabis, the Roneeds fear that Antiochus meant forthwith mans had none other interest, than only the to leize upon Greece, as foon as he and his making perfect of their honour, in fetting Army were thence departed. And in this all Greece at liberty: which noble action regard, he retained still in his own hands was in some fort mained, or incompleat, Chalcis, Demetrius, and the Acrocorinthus: whilest the noble City of Argos was left in by benefit of which Towns, he might the subjection to a Tyrant that had lately occubetter withstand the dangerous Invasion like | pied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the to be made by Antiochus. Sutable unto the Greeks, duly to consider, whether they doings of Quintius were the reports of the thought the deliverance of Argos a matter ten Embassadours, that had been sent over worthy to be undertaken : or whether otherto affift him: when they returned back into wife to avoid all further trouble, they could the City. Antiochus, they said, would que- be well contented to leave it as it was. This ftionless fall upon Greece: wherein he should concerned them, and not the Romans: who find not only the Atolians, but Nabis the in taking this work in hand, or letting it Tyrant of Lacedamon, ready to give him alone, would wholly be ruled by the Greeks

themselves. The Athenian Embassador made | withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else answer hereunto very eloquently, and as compell him by force of Arms, to submir pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks himself to the good pleasure of all Greece, to the Romans for what was past; extolled that was now at unity. These words had been their vertues at large; and magnified them reasonable, if they had proceeded from berhighly in regard of this their proposition: ter men. But it was apparent, that no regard wherein unrequested they freely made offer of the common liberty wrought so much to continue that bounty, which at the ve- with these Etolians; as did their own ravehement request of their poor Associates, they nous desire of oppressing others, and getting had already of late extended unto the unto themselves, that worse would use it. Greeks. To this he added, That great pity the whole Dominion in Greece, which Philip it was to hear, fuch notable vertue and high had loft. Neither could they well diffemble deserts ill spoken of by some: which took this; making it no small part of their grieupon them, out of their own imagination, vance, That the old League was forgotten: to foretell what harm these their Benefactors wherein it had been covenanted. That the meant to do hereafter: when as Thankful-Romans should enjoy the spoil of all, but neß rather would have required an acknow- leave the Towns and Lands in possession of ledgment of the benefits and pleasures al- the Ætolians. This, and the remembrance ready received. Every one found the mean- of a thousand mischiefs by them done in ing of this last clause, which was directly former times, made the whole assembly, espeagainst the Ætolians. Wherefore Alexander cially the Acheans, cry out upon them: enthe Atolian role up, and told the Athenians treating the Romans to take such order betheir own: putting them in mind of their fore they went, that not only Nabis might antient glory, in those times when their City be compelled to do right; but the Atolian had been the Leader of all Greece, for de- thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave fence and recovery of the liberty general: their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly from which honour they were now fo far to the pleasure of Titus: who saw, that by faln, that they became Parafites unto those discountenancing the Atolians, He was bewhom they thought most mighty 3 and by come the more gracious with all the rest. their base assentation, would lead all the rest But whether it pleased him so well that Aninto servitude. Then spake he against the tiochus his Embasiadors did presently after Acheans, Clients that had been a long time lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to unto the Mace: lonian; and Souldiers of Phi- fome good conclusion, it may be greatly lip, untill they ran away from his adverfity. doubted. He cast them off with a slight an-These, he said, had gotten Corinth, and must fiver: telling them, that the ten Embassianow have war be made for their fakes, to dors or Counsellors which had been sent the end that they might also be Lords of unto him from Rome, to be his affiltants in Argos: whereas the Atolians, that had first these matters of weight, were now returned made war with Philip, and alwayes been home; and that, without them, it was not in friends unto the Romans, were now de- his power to conclude upon any thing. frauded of some places, antiently to them belonging. Neither did he thus contain him- it was very foon ended. For Titus used felf, but objected unto the Romans, fraudu- the help of all his confederates; and made lent dealing: for a fmuch as they kept their as great preparation against Nabis, both by Garrisons in Demetrias, Chalcis, and the Land and Sea, as if he should have had to Acrocorinth; having been allwayes wont to do with Philip. Besides the Roman forces, profess, That Greece could never be at li- King Eumenes with a Navie, and the Rhodian berty, whilest those places were not free. Fleet, were invited to the service : as also Alfo now at last, what else did they seek by Philip of Macedon sent aid by Land; doing this discourse of war with Nabio, than busi- therein poorly, whether it were to get favour nelles wherewith to find themselves occupi- of the Romans; or whether to make one aed, that fo they might have some seeming mong the number, in seeking revenge upon cause of abiding longer in the Country? But Nabis, that had done him injury. But the most they flould do well if they meant as they forward in this Expedition were the Achaspake, to carry their Legions home out of ans, who fet out ten thouland Foot, and a yield to reason, and relinquish Argor, freely as well as they thought best. Thus are

Now concerning the Lacedemonian war: Greece : which could not indeed be free, till thousand Horse, As for the #toliam: rather their departure. As for Nabis 5 the Ætolians to hold good fashion, and found their dispothemselves did promise, and would undersitions, than in hope to speed, their help was take. That they would either cause him to required 3 whereof they excused themselves the Acheans now become the prime friends it else do than terrifie the people; who must of the Romans in Greece; having removed thereby understand, that it was a mortal the Etolians from that degree of favour: crime to be suspected? And to the same like as they themselves hereafter (though not purpose his cruelty extended it self unto in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same some poor wretches: whom he accused of a . Lacedamonians, against whom they are now meaning to flie to the Enemy. These were marching.

wile, began a conspiracy against the Lacede- He turned the more freely, all his thoughts monians that held their Town; meaning to toward the Enemy, that came on apace. He open their gates unto the Roman. But ere welcomed them with a fally: wherein, as Titus drew near, they were all detected and commonly happens, the Souldiers of the were at quiet. But there was no stir within Tyrant forth to battail. The Roman Fleet the Wals: the execution done upon the first at the same time with King Eumenes and the movers, having terrified all the rest of the Rhodians, laid siege unto Gyttheum, the on-

fhould thereon fall most heavily.

thousand, wherewith to defend himself somewhat more faithful, slue the Traitoriasagainst these Invaders. Five thousand of ter whose death, he himself alone made the them were Mercenaries : the rest, of his own better defence. Yet when T. Quintius with and base Peasants, unto whom his Tyrannie to abide the uttermost, and await what eiwas beneficial. Of the good and worthy ther Time or his Master might do for him, Citizens he stood in doubt; and since he but was contented to give up the place, yet could not hope to win their love, his mean- upon Condition, to depart in fafety to Sparing was to hold them quiet by fear. He called ta with his Garrison. Pythagoras, the son-inthem all to an affembly, and compaf- law of Nabis, and brother unto his wife,

openly whipt through all the streets, and Some of the Argives, more bold than flain. Having thus affrighted the Citizens: flain: excepting a very few, that escaped out Town had the better at first; but were at of the Town. The fame of this Commotion, length repelled with loss. Titus abode not caused the Army to march apace toward many dayes before Sparta: but over-ran the Area; with hope to be there, before things Country; hoping belike to provoke the Citizens. Titus then thought it better, to ly or principal Town that Nabis had. Likeaffail Nabis in the head of his strength at La- ly they were to have taken it by force, when cedemon, than to confume time about other there appeared hope of getting it by treaplaces; especially at Argos: for the free- son. There were two Governours within dom whereof fince the War was made, pity the Town equal in authority: whereof the it were, that the calamities of the war one, either for fear, or defire of reward, had a purpose to let in the Romans. But the Nabis had in readiness an Army of fifteen other finding what was in hand, and being Countrey; but such as were of all others part of his Army came thicher to Gyttheum: the worst, as manumised slaves, malefactors this Captain of the Town had not the heart fing them round in with his Army, told them was come from Argos, whereof he had the of the danger that was toward him and them, Government, with a thousand Souldiers If they could agree within themselves; they Mercenaries, and two thousand Argives: might, he said, hope the better to withstand it being (as may seem) the Tyrants purpose, the common Enemy. But forafmuch as tur- to relieve Gyttheum: which he thought bulent heads were invited by light occa- would have held longer out. But when fions, to raise tumults, and work dangerous they heard that it was lost, then began they treasons: it seemed unto him the safest, and to think upon finishing the war, by some (withal) the mildest course, to arrest before reasonable Composition. Pythagoras therefore hand, and put in ward, all those whom he was sent his Embassador to Titus : requesting found most reason to suspect. So should he only that he would appoint a time and place keep them innocent perforce; and thereby for Nabis to meet and speak with him. preserve not only the City and his own per- This was granted. In that Parlee the Tvfon from danger, but them also from the pu- rant spake very reasonable for himself: nishment, which else they night have incur- proving, that he suffered wrong, and had red. Hereupon he cites and apprehends done none, and that by many good arguabout fourfcore of them; whom he leads ments: whereof the fum was, That what foeaway to prison, and the next night putteth ver they now did, or could object unto him, them all to death. Thus was he fure that was of elder date than the League which they they neither should offend, nor yet break had made with him. Whereupon he inferloofe. As for the death of them, if it flould red, That neither for his keeping the town happen to be noiled abroad: what could of argos, nor for any other cause by them alledged,

alledged, they ought to make war upon that Winter (as there was no hope of making him, tince 4rgos, and all other their alle- short work) before the City of sparta: gations whatfoever had not hindered them, they were contented to make peace with in time of their more need of him, from en- the Tyrant, upon such Conditions as Titus tring into that League with him: which should think meet. Besides the restitution was never broken on his part, nor ought to of Argos, and all the places thereon depenbe on theirs. But Quintius was not herewith ding; Titus propounded many other Condifatisfied. He charged him with tyranny: and tions to Nabis, and some of them very griegave instance, as easily he might, of divers vous. He would not suffer the Lacedamobarbarous cruelties by him committed. In all nian to have ought to do in the Isle of crete; which points forafmuch as they knew this no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, Nabis to be guilty, before they made Peace either in that Island or elsewhere; not to and Confederacy with him; it was expedi- build any Town or Castle upon his own ent, that some other cause of this Invasion Lands: not to keep any other shipping should be alledged. Whereto he said further, than two small Barks; besides many other That this tyrant had occupied Messene, a troublesome injunctions; with imposition town Confederate with the Romans: That of an hundred talents in filver to be paid he had bargained to joyn with Philip; when out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for he was their enemy, not only in League, eight years next enfuing. For observance but also in affinity: and that his Flect had of these Covenants he demanded five hostarobbed many of their ships, about the Cape | ges, such as he himself should name; and of Malea. Now touching this Piracy, fince one of them to be the Tyrants own son. If in the Articles by Titus propounded unto it had been the meaning of Titus, to with-Nabis, there was no reflicution mentioned, draw the war from Nabis, because it was other than of thips, by him taken from the not grounded upon justice: then had it been Greeks his neighbours, with whom he had enough, if not more than enough, to take long held war: it may feem to have been Argos from him; which he himself did offer, objected, only by way of Complement, though it were for fear, to deliver up But if and to enlarge the volume of those com- it were thought reasonable, to dispense a plaints, that were otherwise very frivolous, little with the Roman faith, in regard of the As for Messene, and the bargain of Alliance great benefit which thereby might redound made with Philip: they were matters fore- unto the state of their best friends in Greece, going the League, that was made between by the extirpation of this tyrannie: then the Romans and this tyrant: and therefore | should this enterprise, when once it was tafeems that Ariftanus, the Prætor of the very utmost. As for this middle course which doubting left the Romans (that were wont unto them, to enrich themselves by the spoil totalk fo much of their own justice, honor, of one that had not offended them; nor and faithful dealing) should now relent, pleafing to the Acheans, who judged it ever and forbear to molest him, who, though a after a great blemish to the noble acts of Tito confider well of his own estate: and to set- of Greece, no barren subject of malicious diftle his fortunes, whileft he might do it with- course. For fince Philip, a King, and descen-

not to have been mentioned. All this it ken in hand, have been profecuted unto the Acheans, very well perceived: who therefore the Romans held: asit was not honourable wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and two: fo did it minister unto the Atolians, and had never done them wrong: framed his to such as curiously pried into the faults of discourse to another end. He entreated Nabis those which took upon them to be Patrons out hazzard: alledging the examples of ma- | ded of many famous Kings, might not be fufny tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour- fered by these Masterly Romans, to hold cities, and therein committed great outrages; any one of those Countreys or Towns in yet were afterwards contented to furren- Greece, that had belonged unto his Ancestors: der their Estates, and lived in great security, it was thought very strange, that Lacedemon, honour, and happiness, as private men once the most famous City among all the Thus they discoursed until night. The next Greeks, was by the same Romans left in posday Nabio was contented to relinquish ar- session of a tyrant, that had usurped it but gos 5 and requested them, to deliver unto yesterday; and he therein rooted by their him in writing their other demands, that he authority, as their friend and Confederate, might take counsel with his friends. The Nabis on the other fide thought himself un iffue of all was, that, in regard of the charges, mercifully dealt withal, by the left-fame whereat the Confederates must be for main. Romans, whose amity he had preferred in tenance of an Army to lie in Leaguer all time of a doubtful war, before the love and committed the City of Argos into his hands. friendship of the Senate. Things being But falliy had he dealt with the Macedonian: therefore in appearance wholly disposed unand failly was he dealt with by those, to to quiet, Scipio the African, that was chosen whom he did betake himself. Among these | Consul at Rome, could not have his desire.of Articles propounded, there was nothing being fent Commander into Greece. The unthat pleafed him, fave only that for the ba- fincere meaning of Antiochus, and the tumulnished Lacedamonians, (of whom a great tuous disposition of the Ætolians, were held number were in the Roman Camp; having as confiderations worthy of regard: yet not among them Agestpolis the natural King of sufficient causes of making war. Neither ap-Sparta, that being a young child was driven peared there any more honest way, of conout by Lycurgus the first of the Tyrants) suring the Etolians, and of throughly perthere was made no provision, to have them swading all the Greeks (which was not to restored unto their City and Estates; but be neglected, by those that meant to assure only leave required for as many of their unto themselves the patronage of Greece) wives, as would be so contented, to live that the good of the Country was their sole abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore intent: than by withdrawing thence their he forbore to give confent unto these de- Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it self. mands; and foliained an affault or two; till occasion should be ripe, and call them hoping belike that the enemies would foon over again. Wherefore after Titus had spent be weary. But his fearful nature shortly a Winter there, without any matter of emovercame the resolution, which the sense of unto all that had been propounded, He delivered the hostages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at Rome by the Senate and People. From this time forward, Hethought the Romans far more chief that he could.

The Argives had heard news that Lacedaledged as author of that benefit, whereon been fold into their Countrey by Hamnibal. the Citizens had laid hold without staying for him; and that he might the better entihad newly escaped.

none wherewith to let on work his Army in such a spectacle, than any wherein the Ro-Greece. Antiochus was about to fend ano- mans had before made War. All forts of

affinity of the Macedonian King, that had | ther Embaffage to Rome, defiring peace and ployment, either found, or at any near dithese injuries had put into him. So yielding stance appearing, he called an Askembly of Delegates, from all parts of Greece to Corinth: where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that paffed fince his coming into those parts; and willed them to value the Roman friendwicked than himfelf; and was ready upon thip, according to the difference of estate, the first advantage, to do them all the mis- wherein the Romans found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsel; touching the moderate use of their liberty, mon was even at point of being taken. This and the care which they ought to have of erected them, and gave them heart to think living peaceably and without faction. Lastly upon their own good. So they adventured he gave up Acrocorinthus to the Achaens; to set upon the Garrison; which was much withdrawing thence the Roman Garrison, weakened, by the remove of the three and promising to do the like (which very thousand carried thence by Pythagoras to Soon he did) at Chalcis and Demetrias; that help the tyrant at Sparta. There needed fo it might be known, what lyers the Ætoliunto their liberty no more, than that all of ans were, who had accused the Romans, of them jointly should set their hands to the a purpose to retain those places. With joyful getting of it, which no fooner they did than acclamations did the Greeks tellifie their they obtained it. Presently after this came good liking of that which Titus had said and T. Quintius to Argos, where he was joyfully done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to welcomed. He was deservedly acknow- ransome and enlarge all Romans, that had

Thus Titus crowned his actions in Greece with an happy end : and by leaving the tle himself thereto, he caused the liberty of Countrey before his departure was urged, the Argives to be proclaimed at the Nemean left therein behind him the memory of his games; as ratifying it by his authority. The vertue and benefits, untainted by jealousie City was annexed again to the Councel of and suspicion of any evil meaning. At his Achaia; whereby the Achains were not coming to the City, He had the honour of a more strengthened, than the Argives them- Triumph; which was the goodliest of all that felves were secured from danger of relapse, Rome had until that day beheld. Three days into the same extremities out of which they together the shew of his pomp continued: as being fet out with the spoils of a Coun-After this, Titus found little business or trey, more abundant in things worthy of

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Bras or Marble, taken from the Enemy, ning them, and take upon them to prescribe were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The unto the King, what Cities of Asia he should fecond day, was brought in all the treasure fet at liberty; from what cities they would of Gold and Silver: Some in the rude Mass give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; unwrought; some in divers forts of Coin; either putting or not putting his Garrisons and fome in Velicls of fundry kinds, that into them, as the Senate should think fit. were the more highly prized by the work- Hereto Quintins answered, that since they manship. Among these were ten shields, all went so distinctly to work, He would also of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto third day Titus himself entred the City in them two Conditions, and gave them their his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were choice whether to accept: Either that it carried an hundred and fourteen Crowns of should be lawful for the Romans to take Gold, bestewed upon him by divers Ci- part in Asia with any that would seek their ties. There were also led the beasts for Sa- friendship; Or if King Antiochus misliked crifice, the Prisoners, and the hostages: this, and would have them for bear to medamong which, Demetrius the fon of King dle in Asia, that then he should abandon rhilip, and Armenes the fon of Nahis, were whatfoever he had gotten in Europe. This principal. After him followed his Army; was plain dealing, but no reasonable nor and (which added much grace, and good liking to the flicw) the Roman Captives, by Embassadors had propounded For if the Rohis procurement redeemed from flavery in mans might be hired to abstain from Asia, by Greece.

audience of the Senate for many Embassa ges, that were come out of Greece and Afia. were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, They had all very favourable answers, ex- bind them in honour to make War with a cepting these of King Antioclus: whom the King that sought their love, and had never Senate would not hear, but referred over done them injury. But they knew very well, to T. Quintius, and the ten that had been his that Antiochus could not without great shame Countellors; because their business was said be so base, as to deliver up unto them the to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings City of Lysimachia, whereon he had of late Embassadors wondered. They said unto Ti- been at so much cost; in building it up even tus and his Affociates, that they could not from the foundation, and repeopling it with differn wherein confifted any perplexity of Inhabitants, that had all been dispersed, their message. For all treaties of peace and or captive to the Barbarians. And so much friendship, were either between the Victor the Embassadors with great indignation aland the vanquished; between those, that ledged: faying, That Antiochus desired having warred together, were upon equal friendship of the Romans; but so, as it might terms of advantage; or between those that stand with his honour. Now in point of hohad lived alwayes in good agreement, with- nour the Romans took upon them as if their out any quarrel. Unto the Victor, they faid. | cause were far the superiour. For it was, they that the vanquished must yield; and patient | said, their purpose to set at liberty those ly endure the imposition of some Covenants, towns which the King would oppress and that else might feem unreasonable. Where hold in subjection: especially fince those War had been made, and no advantage got- towns were of Greekish blood and language; ten: there was it usual to demand and fell, in that regard under the patronage make restitution of things and places claim- which Rome had afforded unto all Greece beed, getten or loft; accordingly as both parts | fides. By this colour they might foon have left could agree. But between those which had Antiochus King of not many subjects on the never fallen out, there ought no Conditions hither side of Euphrates. Neither did they forof establishing friendship to be proposed: bear to say, That unless he would quit what fince it was reasonable, that each part should he held in Europe, it was their meaning not hold their own ; and neither carry it felf only to protect those which relied upon them as superiour to the other, in prescribing in Asia, but therein to make new Alliances: ought that might be troublesome. Now of namely (as might be understood) with such this last kind, was the league and friendship as were his subjects. Wherefore they urged that had been fo long in conclusion, betwirt his Embassadors to come to a point, and Antiochus and the Romans. Which being tell them plainly which of these two Condi-6. they held it strange, that the Romans tions their King would accept. For lack of a

Arms, with Statues and curious pieces of should thus infift on points no way concerpertinent answer, to that which the Kings the gift of all that Antiochus had lately won Not long after this triumph. He procured in Europe: then did not the affairs of Smyrna. Lampfacus or any other Afiatiques, whom they

pleasing answer, which the Embassadors laying ambushes, and not discouraged with could not hereto make, little wanted of any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight giving presently defiance to the King. But again. Their Countrey was mountainous, they luffered themselves to be entreated, and rough, woody, and full of straight and danwere contented once again to fend over gerous passages. Few good Towns they P. Villius, and others that had been already had: but many Castles, exceedingly well with the King at Lysimachia; by whom they fortified by nature: fo as without much lamight receive a final answer, whether these bour, they could neither be taken or besiegdemands made by Quintius and his Affoci- ed. They were also very poor; and had lirates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this the or nothing that might give contentment respite of time, and the fruitless Treaties unto a victorious Army that should spoil ensuing, Antiochus got the leisure of two their Land. In these respects, they served years; or thereabouts, to prepare for War; excellently well to train up the Roman Soulfinding in the Romans all that while, no dif-diers to hardness and military patience : position to let him live in peace.

Komans for justice in vain.

all, as hath already been shewed; by this other. their fellowship in Armes, grew to be such the field and got large possessions in Gallia cisalpina, do. The best was, that as their Countrey now called Lumbardie: it hath been long was a good place of exercise unto the Ro-Punick Wars. As also it hath since appeared, little harm: not sending any great Armies how they lost the greatest part of their hold | far from home; perhaps, because they knew in that Countrey, by means of Hannibal his not how to make War, fave on their own passage there through. Neither is it likely that | ground. the re conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the Romans, than was part of the Continent out of Italy that bethe first purchase : if, besides the greater came subject unto the Romans : so was it the employments which they had of their Ar- last of all their Provinces, which was wholly mies abroad, their forces appointed unto this and throughly by them subdued. It is likened war, had not been distracted by the Liguri- in figure by some Geographers unto an Oxeans: that alwayes made them to proceed hide: and the Romans found in it the prowarily, having an eye to the danger at their perty of that Oxe-hide which Calanus the backs. The Ligarians were a front Nation, Indian shewed unto the Great Alexander, as light and swift of body; well practifed in an Embleme of his large Dominions. For

teaching them (befides other exercifes of War) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to Rome, grew partly from their love unto the Gaules, their of the long Wars which the Romans had with neighbours and companions : partly from the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of their delight in robbing and spoiling the M. Porcius Cato. Injuries done by Mafa- Territory of their borderers, that were fubnissa to the Carthaginians, that sue to the ject unto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the War which they had begun, feems to have been grounded upon the Con-HE Infubrians, Bojians, and other of dition of all Salvages: Tobe friends or foes, the Cifalpine Gaules, together with the by custome, rather than by Judgement; and Ligurians; made often and (in a manner) to acknowledge no fuch vertue in Leagues, continual war upon the Romans in Italy, or formal conclusions of peace, as ought to even from such time as Hannibal and his bro- hinder them from using their advantage; or ther Mago departed thence, untill such time taking revenge of injuries when they return as they themselves were utterly subdued: to mind. This quality is found in all, or most which was not, before the Romans were al- of the West-Indians: who, if they be demost at the very height of the Empire. These | manded a reason of the Wars between them Nations, having ferved under Mago for and any of their neighbours, do use comwages, and afterwards having gotten Amil- monly this answer, It hath still been the custom car a Carthaginian, to be Leader unto them for us and them, to fight one against the

Divers overthrows, though none that were willing partakers each of others fortune, great, these Ligurians gave unto the Romans : that feldome afterwards either the Gaules but many more, and greater, they received. or Ligarians did stir alone: but that their Often they fought peace, when they found Companions, hearing it, were ready to fe- themselves in distress, and brake it again as cond them. How the Romans first prevailed, often, when they thought it profitable so to fince rehearfed between the first and second mans, so out of their own Countrey they did

The Country of Spain, as it was the first

would rife from the ground. And thus was themselves against those that were strangers, it with spain. Seldom did it happen that yet usurped the Dominion over them. But those parts from which the Roman Armies the forces which Scipio had left behind him lay farthest, were not up in rebellion. The in that Countrey, being well acquainted sp. miards were a very hard Nation, and with the manner of War in those parts, supcally flirred up to arms; but had not much prefled this rebellion by many victories: knowledge in the art of war, nor any good and, together with subjection, brought peace Captains. They wanted also (which was upon the Countrey; which lasted five years. their principal hinderance) good intelli- This Victory of the Romans, though it gence among themselves: and being divided into many small Signiories, that had lit- remaining the cause of the War; which aftle other communion than of language, they ter five years brake out again. The Spanifeldom or never provided in general for the ards fought a battel with the Roman Procommon good of their Country; but made conful, whom they flew; and had a great it their chief care, each of them to look un- Victory, that filled them with greater to their own Territory. Such private respects hopes. Yet the happy success of their Wars made them often to fall afunder, when ma- in Greece, made the Romans think it enough ny had united themselves together, for cha- to send thither two Prætors, and witheach fing out of the Romans. And these were the of them some two Legions. These did somecauses of their often overthrows: as desire what: yet not so much, but that M. Porting of liberty, rather than complaint of any cato, who was Conful the year following, wrong done to them, was the cause of their and sent into that Province; found at his often taking arms.

to make evacuation of this Cholerick Spanish | pily, that all the Spaniards were not of one humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in mind: fome were faithful to Rome; and their wars abroad, those that were most some were idle beholders of the pains likely to be unquiet at home. They had also that others took. Yet when Cato had won taken Souldiers from one part of the Coun- | a great Victory upon the chiefest of them; trey, and used them in another: finding they rose against him in many parts of the means to pay them all, out of the profits which they railed upon the whole Country, and put him unto much new trouble. Whilest he was about to make trey; as being far better husbands, and of a journey against those that were as yet unmore dexterity than were the Romans, in subdued : some of the lately vanquished, that kind. But contrariwise, the Romans, using were even ready to rebell. Hetherefore difthe service of their own Legions, and of their armed them ; which they took so heavily, fure friends the Latines, had little bufines | that many of them flew themselves for very for the Spaniards; and therefore were fain grief. Hearing of this, and well understandto have much business with them. spain ing that such desperation might work danwas too far diftant, and withall too great for gerous effects: He called unto him the them to fend over Colonies thither, where- principal among them: and commending by to hold it in good order, according to the | unto them peace and quietness, which they course that they took in Haly. Wherefore never had disturbed but unto their own it remained, that they should alwayes main-great loss, He prayed them to devise what tain such Armies in the Countrey, as might course might be taken for holding them as ferve to hold it in obedience perforce; and fured unto Rome, without further trouble. fuch heedful Captains as might be still ready to oppose the Earbarians in their first in a matter of this nature. Having therefore Commotion. This they did 3 and there-talked with them once or twice, and finding by held the Countrey; though foldome in their invention barren in this kind of Sub-

Romans, even upon the same general ground, ryed the war about from place to places. that was the foundation of all the Spanish and with fingular industry finished it is short Wars following. It was thought unreaso time. Neither thought he it any diffrace to nable, that the Spaniards should one while him or to Rome, in this time of danger, to help the Carthaginians against the Romans, imitate the Carthaginians, and hire an Army and another while the Romans against the of the Celtiberians, against other of their

treading upon any fide of it, the further parts | Carthaginians ; basely forgeting to help happily ended the War : yet left it still coming little less to do, than the recon-The Carthaginians had been accustomed, quering of all Spain. But it fell out hap-None of them could, or would give counsel ject; He gave express charge, That upon a Very foon after the departure of Scipio, day appointed they should throw down the there was raifed War in Spain against the walls of all their Towns. Afterwards he car-

Countrymen: excusing the indignity, such bility and greatness as this his Ancestor had as it feemed, with a jest, That if he were van- continually vexed. quished and slain, then should be need to The Spanish Wars, after Cato his departpay them nothing; whereas if he had the ture out of the Countrey, though they were Victory, He could pay them with the ene- not very dangerous, yet were they many: mies money. Finally, He brought the War and the Country feldom free from infurto fo good end, that in long time after, rection, in one part or other. The Roman though Spain were often troublesome, yet Prætors therefore, of which two every year was it in no danger of being loft. He in- were fent over Commanders into Spain creafed also the publike Revenues in that (that was divided into Governments) did Province, by causing some Mines of Iron rarely fail of such work, as might afford the and Silver to be wrought, that had before honour of Triumph. One flew thirteen lain unregarded. Herein he did benefit the thousand spaniards in a battel: another Common-wealth by a vertue much agreea- took fifty Towns: and a third enforced ma-

ble to his own peculiar disposition.

were, of the Roman Antiquities, and of Hus- long after. bandry. In matter of Husbandry he was notable, and thereby most increased his Ionian Seas, the Romans had peace; but so substance; being of mean birth, and the had not the Carthaginians. For when Hannifirst of his house. Strong of body he was, | bal was gone from them, and that the eneand exceeding temperate: so as he lived in mics of the Barchine House promised all feperfect health to very old age. But that licity which Rome could grant, unto themwhich most commended him unto the better selves and their obedient City : Masanissa fort of the Romans, was his great fincerity fell to disputing with the sword, about the of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashi- title to the best part of their Lands. He beoning himfelf to the antient laudable Cu- gan with Emporia, a fruitful Region about ftomes of the City. Herein he had merited the leffer syris: wherein, among other Cifingular commendations, if the vehemency ties, was that of Leptis, which daily paid a of his nature had not caused him to malign | Talent unto Carthage for Tribute. This Counthe vertue of that noble scipio the African, trey the Numidian challenged; and by winand some other worthy men; that were ning some part of it, seemed to better his no less honest than himself, though far less claim unto the whole. He had a great adrigid, and more gallant in behaviour. O- vantage: for that the Carthaginians might therwise, He was a very good Citizen, and not make any War, without leave obtained one of fuch temper, that he could fashion from their Masters the Romans. They had himself to all occasions; as if he were ne-none other way of redress, than by sending

ny States of the Countrey to fue for peace. For this M. Cato was not only very nota- Thus every one of them, or most of them, ble in the Art of War, which might well be did fome laudable fervice; and yet fo, that then termed the occupation of the Romans; commonly there were of men, towns, and but so well furnished with all other usefull people, new that rebelled, instead of the qualities, that very little was wanting in old that were flain, taken, or reclaimed. At him which might feem requifite to the ac- the causes hereof, I have already pointed; complishment of a perfect man. He was and therefore think it enough to fay, That very skilful in the Roman Laws, a man of the business in Spain required not the imgreat Eloquence, and not unprofitable in ployment of a Roman Conful, from fuch any business either private or publike. Ma- time as Cato thence departed, untill the Nuny books he wrote: whereof the principal mantian War broke out, which was very

In all other Countries to the West of the ver out of his Element. He loved business to Rome their Complaint of his doings. And fo well, or rather hated vice so earnestly; surely they wanted not good matter to althat even unto the end of his life, He was ledge, if the Judges had been impartial. exercised in defending himself or accusing For besides that Scipio, in limiting out to others. For at the age of fourscore and fix them their bounds, had left them the posyears, he pleaded in his own defence : and session of this Countrey : Masanissa himself, four years after, he accused Sergius Galba now very lately pursuing a Rebel that fled unto the people. So began the Nobility of out of his Kingdom, defired leave of the Cato his family; which ended in his great Carthaginians, for himself to passthrough it grand-child M. Cato the Utican: one that in his way to Cyrene: thereby acknowledgbeing of like vertue and fervency, had all ing (had it otherwise been questionable) his good purpoles dasht, and was finally that the Country was theirs. This notwithwearied out of his life, by men of such no- standing, Masanisa had wherewith to justifie

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his proceedings, especially unto the Roman Senate. He gave the Fathers to underfrand by his Embassadours, what faithless people the Carthaginians were, and how ill affected to the State of Rome. There had lately been fent unto them from Hannibal, one that should perswade them to take part with Antiochus. This man they had examined upon some suspicion of his errand ; vet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the Numidian concluded, that certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policy to keep them down.

As for the Countrey of Emporia: it had alwayes, he faid, been theirs that were able to hold it by ftrong hand : and fo belonged fometime unto the Numidian Kings: though now of late it was in pollection of the Carthaginians. But if the truth were known, the Man Armies thence departed: it grietless that the control of the Carthaginians are the control of the Carthaginians. Citizens of Carthage had not any very war- ved much the Atolians to think, that they rantable title unto any more ground, than who had promifed unto themselves the that whereon their City frood : or fearcely whole spoil of Fhilip, and the highest reputo so much. For they were no better than tation among the Greeks; were not only ftrangers in Africk, that had gotten leave disappointed of their covetous hopes, but there to build upon fo much ground, as quite for faken by their ancient dependants; they could encompass with an Oxe-hide cut and of all other the most unregarded. Yet into small thongs. Whatsoever they held was there made a great access to their Ewithout such a compass, was purchased by state; by adding much unto them, of that fraud, and wrongful encroachments. This which had been taken from the Macedonian. confidered, Mafaniffa requested of the Senare, that they would not adjudge unto such usual properties that they would not adjudge unto such usual properties apper-taining to the Angelow of his their client. taining to the Ancestors of him their assured sire. But they were not so pleased with that friend. The Romans having heard these al- which they had, fince they thought it no legations on both fides, found the matter fo more than part of their due : as they were doubtful, that they could not on the fud- vexed with the denial of that which they den tell what to determine. Wherefore, claimed, and with finding themselves to be because they would do nothing rashly: they wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought fent over three Embassadors, of whom that they had usufferable wrong. Wherefore P. Scipio the African was one and the chief, they devised, in a Parliament which they to decide the controversie: yet secretly shortly held, by what means they best might

of their hatred.

ø. V I.

The fifth Book of the first Part

The Atolians labour to provoke Antiochus. Philip, and Nabis, to War upon the Romans, by whom they hold themselves wronged and difgraced. Nabis besiegeth Gyttheum, and wasteth some part of Achaa. The exact skill of Philopoemen in advantage of ground : whereby he utterly vanquiffeeth Nabis. Antiochus being denied peace of the Romans, joyns with the Atolians. The Etolians Surprize Demetrias ; and by killing Nabis, their Confederate, feize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at Philopoemen his persuasions annex themselves to the Acha-

giving them inftructions, to leave all as they right themselves; and give the Romans a lorfound it, without making any end one way rowful knowledge of the difference between or other. The Embaffadours followed their their enmity and friendship. To this purpose directions, and left all doubtful. So was it they foon agreed, as concurring all in one likely, that Masanissa with a strong army affection; That they would not only pershould quickly prevail against those that swade Antiochus to make war upon the Rocould no more than talk of their right, and mans, as one to whom the Romans had long exclaim against the wrong. By such Arts refused peace; but that they would deal were the Carthaginians held, not only from with the King of Macedon their ancient eneflirring in favour of King Antiochus, if they my, and with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedehad thereto any disposition: but were pre- mon, to joyn all together in a new Consedepared by little and little, unto their final racy: whose joynt forces could not in all destruction : that came upon them, when likelihood, but far surmount those of the Rothe Komans had leifure to express the utmost mans, Acheans, Rhodians, and King Emmes, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the Etolians took in hand; and well beseeming them, for they were great darers. They fent Emballadors to all these Kings, with perswasi- drew part of his Army from the siege of ons, as they thought most forcible. But Gyttheum, to stop the Achaens, if they should philip was irrefolute; and Antiochus wil- invade his Country, But upon these which ling to try first all other courses. Nabis the Were placed in guard of Laconia, Philope-Lacedamonian, who neither (as Philip) had men came unexpected; fired their Camp, hoff much, nor as (Antiochus) was in fear of and put all, fave a very few of them, to the any War; yet shewed himself of all other sword. Then marched he with all his Arthe most forward: and not staying so much my towards Lacedamon: within ten miles as to feek any good pretence, began im- whereof he was when the tyrant met him. mediately to lay fiege unto Gyttheum, that that had already taken Gyttheum. It was had been lately taken from him by the Ro- not expected that Nabis would have been mans. The Acheans, to whole care chiefly Titus at his departure had commended the af- from Gyttheum, with any part of his forces: fairs of Peloponnesus, were not flow to admo- yet was it thought that he must overtake nifh Nabis of his duty: neither would they them, and charge them in Rere. They marhave staid long from repressing his violence ched therefore almost securely, in a long by open war; had not some of them thought it troop reaching some five miles; having their wildom to ask Counsel of the Romans, and Horse, and the greatest part of their Auxiliparticularly of T. Quintius, before they en- aries at their backs, to bear off any sudden gaged themselves in a business of such impor- impression. But Nabs, who formerly undertance. Whilst thus they spent the time in stood, or at least suspected, what course they fending Embassadors, and were advised by would take, appeared in the front of them Quintius to let all alone, and to wait for the with all his Army; encamped there where coming of the Roman forces, that would they meant to have lodged. It was the cufhortly be amongst them: Nabis was bold stome of Philopemen, when he walked, or tra-

wasting their own Territory.

Acheans, who had long been absent in Crete; making War there for his minds fake and recreation. Unto him the Achaans referred themselves, giving him leave to order the and marching towards such a place; he were War at his pleasure; either staying till the upon that ground encountred by a greater Romans came, or doing otherwife, as he Army, or better prepared to fight. Then should think best. He made all haste to relieve Gyttheum by Sea; fearing left the Town, and the Achean Garrison within it, should be loft, if he used any delay. But Philopamen was fo bad a Sea-man, that he knew not a ftrong Ship from a rotten. He made a Quadrireme Gally his Admiral, that had fourfcore years agoe been counted a gallant Vessel in the Navie of Antigonus Gonatas. Neither was the day following? By such continual methe rest of his Fleet so good, as might en- ditation he was grown so perfect, that he counter with that of the Lacedamonian.Only it fell out well, that he committed himfelf to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her having drawn up his Rcre, He encamped talons. For his Admiral Gally was ftem- neer unto the place where he was; withmed at the first; and being rotten with age, in half a mile of the Enemy. His bagfprang fo many leaks, and took in water fo gage with all thereto belonging, he bestowfast, that she was fain to yield without fur- ed on a Rock; encompassing them round ther refiftance. When the rest of the Fleet with his Souldiers. The ground was faw what was become of their Admiral, all rough, the wayes bad, and the day almost pamen was not herewith daunted. If he had to water at one Brook; whereto the Acha-

ready for them to foon. Or if he should come to give them juster cause of complaint, by velled abroad with his friends, to mark the fituation of the Country about him; and to Philopemen was then the Prætor of the discourse what might befal an Army marching the same way. He would suppose, that having with him there fuch a number of Souldiers, ordered and forted in fuch manner, would he put the question, Whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? What piece of ground it were meet for him to feize upon? and in what manner he might best do it? in what fort he fhould order his men? where bestow his carriages, and under what Guard?in what fort encamp himfelf? and which way march did never meet with any difficulty, whence he could not explicate himself and his followers: At this time he made a stand: and were presently discouraged, and saved them- quite spent ; so as Nabis could not at the prefelves with what speed they could. But Philo- fent greatly molest him. Both Armies were failed in Sea-fervice, which was none of ans lay the nearer. This watering therefore his Occupation, He faid, that he would was first to minister the like occasion of skirmake amends by Land. The Tyrant with- mish. Philopamen understood this; and laid an simi

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Mercenaries of Nabis fell, and were flaughthis King in Syria, where he had accomtered in great numbers. Prefently after plished the marriage between Ptolomy and this, he caused one of his own Auxiliaries to his daughter; together with the death of goto the Tyrant as a fugitive, and tell him, young Antiochus the Kings son, which hapthat the Acheans had a purpose to get be- ned during the Treaty, and hindered, or tween him and Lacedamon; whereby they feemed to hinder the King from giving auwould both debarr his return into the City, dience in person to the Embassadors; cauand withal encourage the people to take | fed them to return home to Rome; as un-Arms for the recovery of their freedom. certain of their answer as at their setting The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily forth One thing that might have been, and away; and left his Camp, which hardly partly was, beneficial unto them, they otherwise would have been forced. Some brought to pass during their abode at Ephesia; companies he made to fray behind, and either by cunning, or (as Livie rather thinks) flew themselves upon the Rampart, thereby by chance. Finding Hannibal there, they to conceal his departure. But Philopemen discoursed often with him, and blamed him was not fo to be beguiled. He easily won the for having thus fled unto Antiochus, upon a Camp, and gave chase to Nabis: whose fol- causeless supition wherein he held the Rolowers being overtaken, had no courage to mans; that honoured his vertue, and intendturn about and make head. The enemies be- ed him no harm. Many have affirmed that ing thus dispersed and fied into woods where P. Scipio was one of these Embaliadors; and they lay in covert all that day: Philopamen that he, among other discourses with Hanniconceived aright, that their fear and neces- bal, demanded once, Which of all the famous Wherefore in the evening, when he had ga- of Macedon the first place: to Pyrrhus the thered together all those of his light arma- second: and the third he challenged unto ture, which had followed the chaie whilst it himself. But scipio, who thought his own was day, he led forth the rest that had well title better, than that it ought to be so forrefreshed themselves, and occupied the two gotten, asked yet further, What wouldst most ordinary passages unto Lacedamon. So thou have said then, Hannibal, if thou hadst Naber his men, when it was dark night, per- vanquished me? To whom the Carthaginian ceiving in Philopamens Camp great store of replied, Then would not I have given the first lights; thought that all had been at rest: place to Alexander, but have claimed it as and therefore adventured to make an escape due unto my self. Now whether this were home. But they were so way-laid, that hard- so, or otherwise, the often and friendly ly one quarter of them got into Sparta. Thir- conference of Hannibal with the Roman Emty dayes together after this, did Philopamen baffadors, made him suspected of Amiochus; waste the Country round about, whilst Nabis who therefore did forbear a while to use his durst not issue forth of his town; and then counsel. Yet afterwards, when Hannibal returned home, leaving the tyrant in a man- | perceived this change in the King, and plainner without forces.

Greece, and T. Quintius among them, labouring to make their party ftrong against Antiochus and Nabis, whom they knew to be solicited by the Ætolians. Very fair countenance | ver should be friend unto the Romans. Wherethey also made unto Philip; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, whatfoever he thought of good correspondence. fo long as he thought upon war with Rome, They promifed to reftore unto him his fon: | fo long would Hannibal do him all good ferand were contented to let himhope, that vice: whereas contrariwife, if he latendhe should receive other favours at their ed to make peace, then should it behoove hands; and regain possession of many pla- him to use the counsell of some other ces, by them taken from him. Thus did the man. Romans prepare for war against Antiochus in Greece, whilest their Embassadors that less busie all this while, in making their party were with him in Afia, denyed otherwife strong against the Romans, than were the Roto grant him Peace, than if he would yield man in mustering up their friends in Greece. unto one of the Conditions, by them fo They had fo often dealt with Antiochut,

ambush in place convenient; whereinto the often propounded. The long absence of ly defiring him to tell the cause thereof, The Roman Embassadors were then in heard what it was; he easily recovered his former grace and credit. For he told how his Father had caused him to swear at the Altars, when he was a little boy, that henefore he willed the King not to regard any vain furmifes: but to know thus much, that

The Ætolians, and their friends, were

vaunting much of their own forces, and arro- might happen to obtain what they defired; gating to themselves the honour of the victo- either as their right, or else by way of fary against Philip, that finally they prevailed vour. For with such Terms had they been with him; especially when the Roman Embas- feasted once already: and were by the Sefadors had left him without hope of peace, nate rejected unto Titus: who having it in unless he would buy it at too dear a rate. his own power, gave them no satisfaction; They dealt in like fort with the Macedonian. yet would now again refer them to the Se-But in vain. He understood the Romans, and nate. This were only loss of time, and might himself, too well. Wherefore it concerned abate their credit with Antiochus. Wherethem to improve their own forces to the ut- fore without more ado they made a Decree. termost: as knowing that all the burthen That King Antiochus the Great should be inmust lie upon Antiochus and themselves, treated to come over into Grecce, as well without help from any, fave only from some to set the Country at liberty, as also to decide few that were discontented in Greece. Whilst the controversies depending between the they were about this, and had with them Romans and Etolians. Such a Decree they an Embassador of the King Antiochus, that animated them to resolution, the Athenian Embaffadors, whom Titus had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemen- to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassacy a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the Romans, that lay near at hand. For want of new Decree. The Prator answered, That a ready answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. Titus hearing this, thought the business worthy of his presence. For fince Antiochus had now declared himfelf against the Romans it would be no small piece of service, to withdraw from his friendthip, those by whose encouragement he had | But having thus begun, they meant hencemade the adventure. Wherefore he came to forth to go roundly to work. The care of their Panatolium, or great Assembly of the the war they referred unto the more pri-Nation; where he forgot nothing that might vate Councel of their Nation; that no occaferve to appeale them. He willed them to fron might flip, in waiting for the Authority consider the weight of the enterprise which of a general assembly. The Apocleti (so were to become a Champaign-field, on which to as hotly to work as any of the youngest the ruine of the Country, the Romans and heads could have done. They laid a plot, King Antiochus, that commanded no small how to get into their hands at one time the part of the World, should fight for the Ma- Towns of Chalcis, Demetrias , and Sparta: As for those grievances which entring some of them as friends, to conduct

would not have made, had they not underftood the Kings mind before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby dors, and against the Romans. Titus desired of their Prætor, to let him see a Copy of this then he had other things to do: but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would fhortly let him know, if he came to their Camp in Italy upon the river of Tibris. Gentler words would have done better, as the Ætolians are like to understand hereaster. they took in hand; whereby Greece was like the privie Councel of Ætolia called) went ftery: the Atolians, as Masters in that kind to each of which they sent men for the purof Fence, fetting them on , and becoming pose. Demetrias they took upon the sudden; did thus exasperate them, and urge them home a principal man of the City: who for to fuch violent courses, he willed them to speaking words against T. Quintius, had been confider how flight they were, and how driven to flee thence; but was by intercefmuch better they might do, to fend Embaf- from of those that loved him, again re-called. fadors to Rome, that should either plead His Etolian companions, that were not matheir right in the Senate, or (if their right ny, feized upon a Gate; whereat they let unto the places which they claimed, were in a troop which they had left not far benot good) make request to have what they hind them : and so fell to murdering the defired: than thus to let the world in an uproar, and be afterwards the first that should speed not so well. Thither also they had a barepent it. But what he faid, or could say, it insided man to bring home: but they came so skilled not much. They had already done ill; strong, that their purpose was discovered, to make the Embassador of the King, whose and the Town prepared to defend it self help they had fought, wait fo long for an an- against them. Being therefore demanded the fwer, and fray doubting what good end they cause of this hostility, they gave a gentle anshould make with the Romans. Neither was swer, saying, That they came not thither it news unto them, to hear those comforta- as enemies, but only to deliver the Town ble words; that, by fending to Rome, they from the Romans; who more infolently SIIII 2

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domineered over it, than ever the Macedo- that if need should so require, they would nians had done. By which Rhetorick they presently send away to Lacedamon all the prevailed no more, than they could do by forces that they could raise: But that they plain force. For the Towns-men replyed, were very defirous at the present, to make That they neither found any abridgement as goodly a muster as they could, before the of their liberty, nor needed any Garrison to great King; which caused them to send him keep them from the Romans, from whom they thither afore with no greater company. Hereneither feared any danger, nor received in- upon he willed Nabis to take heart; bring jury. So this business was dasht. The attempt forth his men, that had been long pent up in upon sparta was more strange and desperate. the City; and train them without the walls: Nabis their good friend, was Lord of the as if shortly he should employ them in work Town, ftyling himself King, but more truly of conquest, rather than defence: Nabis was by all men called Tyrant. He had wellglad of this: and daily exercised his men in
near lost all, by means of the overthrow
the field: riding up and down with this 4which Philopamen had lately given him: fince lexamenus, and no more than three or four he durst not stir abroad; and daily expected horse about him, from one point to another. the mischief, that on all sides threatned to order and behold them. During this time him. Wherefore he sent messengers, one af- of exercise, Alexamenus made it his fashion, ter another, to the Ætolians; requesting to step aside alone to his Ætolians, and say them. That as he had not been flow to stir fomewhat as he thought fit which done, in their behalf, but adventured himself up- he still returned again to Nabis. But when he on the utmost of danger, when all others faw time for the great work which he had were backward; fo they would be pleased in hand; he then went aside to his thirty to fend him what help they might, fince his horsemen, and bade them remember thetask bad fortune had caused him presently to enjoyned them at their setting forth; telling need it. It hath been often faid, That the them, that they were all in case of banished ravenous Etolians were only true to them- men, unless they would anon come up to selves, and regarded neither faith nor friend- him, and help him to finish that which they fhip, otherwife, than as it might conduce to should see him take in hand. Herewithall their own ends. And so dealt they now. For the Tyrant began to draw near them: and fince Nabis his mercenary forces, which up- | Alexamenus making towards him, charged held his Tyranny, were in a manner confu- him on the fudden, and struck him down. med: they thought it expedient for their The thirty Etolians never flood to delibe-Estate, to put him out of the way ; and, by so rate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, doing, to affure Lacedamon unto themselves. before any succour could arrive, had made To this purpose, they sent thither Alexame- an end of this wretched Nabis. Presently nue, one whom they thought a man fit for upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his such a work. To him they gave a thousand Mercenaries ran unto the dead body: where Foot, and thirty Horse, chosen for the pur- in stead of seeking revenge, they stood pose. These thirty were by Democritus the foolishly gazing as beholders. Alexamenus Prætor brought into the Counsel of the with his Ætolians hasted into the City, and Apocleti, where they were commanded to be feized on the Palace: where he fell to ranno wifer than they should be, nor to think sacking the Treasure; and troubled himthat they were fent to make war with the felf with none other care, as though all were Acheans, or to do ought elfe, fave only already done. Such of his followers as what Alexamenus should command them; were dispersed in the Town, did assorbe like; which were it never so desperate, and in see- with the greater indignation of the Citizens: ming against all reason; yet must they un- who seeing themselves free by the death of derstand, that unless they performed it, they the Tyrant, could not indure to see those should have no good welcome home. So that had slain him, begin to tyrannize Alexamenus came to the Tyrant, whom he anew. Wherefore all the Town was shortencouraged with brave words: telling him ly in arms: and for lack of another Capthat Antiochus was already in Europe, and tain, they took a little Boy of the Roy. would be anon in Greece, meaning to cover al frock, that had been brought up with all the Land and Sea with his mighty Ar- Nabis his children, whom they mounted mies; and that the Romans were like to find upon a good Horse, and made him their other manner of work, than of late with Chief. So they fell upon the Asiolians Philip: fince the Elephants of this great that were idly ftraggling about; and put King, without other help, would fuffice to them all to the fword: Alexaments with tread them down. As for the Ætolians, he said not many of his Company, were slainin

keeping the Citadel: and those few that That Philip was like a Bandog in a chain, de-Sparta ruled over all Greece.

ø. VII.

to the Victors.

leave them enemies behind him: and to else by him then or after thought upon. win them by force, was more than hitherto Presently after this, He made ready for he was able. Yet was he defirous, with all Greece. Before his fetting forth, in a frivolous speed convenient, to shew himself in Greece : pomp of ceremony, he went up from the Seawhere he had been told, that his presence side to Ilium; there to do sacrifice to Minerwould effect wonders. It was faid, that in va of Troy. Thence paffing over the Egean all the country there was a very small num- Sea, He came to Demetrias. Eurylochus the ber, which bore hearty affection unto the Magnetian; the same whom the Etolians

escaped thence into Arcadia, were taken by siring nothing more, than to break loose: the Magistrates; who fold them all as bond- and that the Atolians, without whom the flaves. In this doubtful Estate of things at Romans had done nothing, nor nothing Lacedamon, Philopamen came thither: who could have done, were ready to confer upon calling out the chief of the City, and speak- him the greatness, which they had unworing such words unto them, as Alexemanus thily bestowed upon insolent Barbarians. should have done after he had slain the Ty- Of all this the least part was true. Yet that rant: easily perswaded them for their own which was true made such a noise, as added good and fafety, to incorporate themselves credit unto all the rest. Whilest therefore the with the Acheans. Thus by the enterprise, no King was thinking to fend Hannibal into Aless dishonourable than difficult, of the Æto- frick, there to molest the Romans, and so lians: and the small, but effectual, travel of give him the better leisure of using his own Philopamen, the Achaans made a notable opportunities in Greece: Thoas the Etolian purchase: and Lacedamon, that had hitherto came over to him, and bade him lay all other been governed either by Kings, or by Ty- care aside; for that his countreymen had alrants that called themselves Kings, became ready taken Demetrias, a Town of main imthe member of a Common wealth, whereof portance, that should give him entertainthe name had scarce any reputation, when ment, whence he might proceed as became the greatness of his vertue and fortune. This did serve to cut off all deliberation. As for Hannibal, Thoas was bold to tell the King, first, that it was not expedient for him to di-Antiochus, perswaded by Thoas the Etolian, vide his forces at such a time, when the very comes over into Greece ill attended. Sun- reputation of his numbers, brought into dry palfages between him, the Atolians, Greece, might serve to lay open unto him all Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole Isle of Euboea. The secondly, That in any such great enterprise vanity of the Kings Embaffadours and the there could not be chosen a more unfit man Atolians, with the civil answer of Titus to be employed in the Kings service, than was to their discourse, before the Acheans. That that famous Hannibal the Carthaginian. For he it concerned the Greeks to have defired peace faid, that the King should as greatly feel the between the Romans and Antiochus, as the loss of a Fleet or Army, perishing under such best assurance of their own liberty. Of ma- a notable commander if his fortune were bad, ny petty Estates that fell to the King. Of as if the same had miscarryed under one of Aminander; and an idle vanity, by which meaner quality: whereas nevertheless if Han-King Philip was loft. Hannibal gives nibal prevailed, Hannibal alone should have good counsel in vain. Some Towns won in all the honour, and not Antiochus. In this re-Theffaly. The King retires to Chalcis, gard he was of opinion, that fuch a renownwhere he marrieth a young wife, and revels ed Warriour should be alwayes near unto away the rest of Winter. Upon the coming the Kings person, to give advice : which beof the Roman Conful all for fake Antiochus, ing followed as often as it was found com-He with two thousand Atolians keeps the modious, the good success would wholly re-Sraights of Thermopylæ. He is beaten, dound unto the honour of him that had the and flees into Asia: leaving all Greece un- soveraign Command; even of the King himfelf. Antiochus gladly hearkned unto this admonition; being jealous of the vertue, that Natiochus was troubled much in Asia shined brighter than the Majesty of his own Awith Sniyrna and Lampfacus, that would fortune. And thereupon he laid aside the denot hearken to any Composition. He termination, which tended more to the adthought it neither fafe nor honourable, to vancement of his defires, than did any thing

Romans: That Nabis was already up in arms: had lately waited on home, when by that

pretext

chief man, and ruler of his Nation. He there- Antiochus, in a bufiness of dangerous imporfore with his Countreymen, in great fre- tance upon the promifed affurance of a State quency, came to do their duties to the King that is meerly popular. For if the vehemen-Antiochus, and bid him welcome. The King cy of Thoas, and some other of that Faction. was glad of this: and took it as a fign of had not prevailed in this Council; the Ætogood luck, to be so entertained at the begin- lians, for gain of two or three Towns, yea. ning. But it may be suspected, that the Mag- for hope of such gain that might have denetians found not the like cause of joy. For ceived them, were like to have abandoned whereas they had expected a Fleet and Ar- this King their friend, unto the discretion of my somewhat like to that of Xerxes: they the Romans. And what remedy had there faw three hundred ships; of which, no more been, if this had so fallen out? He could than forty were ferviceable for the Wars, have bemoaned himself to Thoas, and comwith an Army of ten thouland Foot, five plained of the wrong: but he must have hundred Horie, and fix Elephants. The £10- been contented with this answer, That the lians no sooner heard of his coming than fault was in those of the opposite side; they called a Parliament, and made a Decree, whom Thoas would therefore have pronounwhereby they invited him into their Coun- | ced to be very wicked men. It happened try. He knew before that they would fo do; much better for the present, though in the and was therefore well onward on his way future it proved much worse, both for him, towards them, when they met with him that and for the Ætolians. He was chosen Genebrought the Decree. At his coming to Lamia, ral of all their forces: and thirty Commifthe Ætolians gave him as joyful entertain- fioners were appointed to be about him. as ment as they could devise. Being brought in- a Council of War for the Nation. These to their Council, he made an Oration : armed fuch as readily they could, whileft it wherein he defired them to hold him excu- was in dispute where they should begin the fed, that he came not followed with a great- War. Chalcis was thought the meetelt place er Army. This was he faid in true estimation, to be first undertaken : whither if they a fign of his good will: in that he staid not to came suddenly, they should not peradvenmake all things ready, but hafted unto their ture need to use much force. The King had aid, even whilest the season was unsit for Na- brought with him into Ætolia but a thouvigation. Yet it should not be longer, ere the fand Foot, leaving the rest behind him at Dehope of all those which had expected him, metrias. With these he hasted away directly would be fatisfied unto the full. For it was toward chalcis; being overtaken by no his meaning to fill all Greece with Armies, and great number of the Atolians, which accomall the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neither panied him thither. At his coming the Mawould he spare for any charge, travel, or gistrates, and some of the chief Citizens, danger, to follow the business which he had liffued forth to parle with him. There the undertaken : even to drive the Romans and Asolians began, as they had lately done betheir authority out of Greece; leaving the fore, to tell, how the Romans had only in Country free indeed, and the Atolians words and false semblance, set Greece at litherein the chief. Now as the Armies that berty. But fuch liberty as might be true and were following him, should be very great; useful, they faid, would never be obtained; fo was it his meaning, that all provisions to untill by removing the necessity of obeythem belonging should be correspondent; ing their pleasure that were most mighty, because he would not be any way burden- every several estate had where to find reducis some unto his Confederates. But at the pre- of any preffure. And to this end was the fent he must needs intreat them, having thus great Antiochus come thither; a King well halfily come over unto their aid, unprovided able to counterpoife, yea to overweigh the of many necessaries, that they would help Romans: who nevertheless desired them onhim with Corn and other victuals, whereof ly, so to joyn with him in League, as that if he stood in need. So he left them to their either the Romans or he should offer them confultation : the conclusion whereof was, wrong, they might keep it in their power, to after a little dispute, (for a vain motion was feek redress at the others hands. The chal-

pretext they won Demetrias; was now the an absolute Prince to engage himself, as did made by some, that the differences between cidians made hereto the same answer, which, the Romans and them, should be put by to the like allegations, they had made nor Compromise to the decision of Antiochus) long before: That their freedom was not that they would yield unto the Kings defire, imaginary, but absolute; for which they and affift him with all their forces. Here were to thank the Roman; without whole we may observe, how vain a thing it is for good liking, they would enter into an new

confederacy. That which they spake of theless he assayed them, upon a vain hope,

fore, to make War upon the King.

to draw the Acheans to his party. Never- flaves, and good for little elfe. These divers

themselves, they could likewise affirm of all that the envie which Titus was said to bear the Greeks: forasmuch as none of them paid unto Philopemens vertue, had bred a secret any tribute, was kept under by any Garri- diflike between that Nation and the Romans. fon, or lived otherwise than by their own Wherefore both he and the Etolians sent Laws, and without being tied unto conditi- Embassadors to the Council at Egium that ons which displeased them. Wherefore they spared not brave words, if the Acheans wondred, why the King should thus trouble would have been so taken. The Kings Emhimself to deliver Cities that were already bassador told of great Armies and Fleets that free. But fince he, and the Etolians, requested were coming; reckoning up the Dahans their friendship; they belought both him Medians, Elimeans, and Caducians: names and the Ætolians, to do a friendly Office, in that were not every day heard of and theredeparting from them quietly, and leaving fore as he thought, the more terrible. Then them in such good case as they were. With told he them what notable men at Sea, the this answer the King departed: for he was Sidonians, Tyrians, Aradians, and Pamphylinot, as then, ftrong enough to force them. ans were; such indeed as could not be relist-But very foon after, he brought thither a ed. Now concerning money and all warlike greater power, which terrified them, and furniture: it was he faid, well known that made them yield: before all the fuccours the Kingdoms of Alia had alwayes thereof could arrive, wich Titus had fent for their great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who confidering the late War made The chief City of Eubwa being thus gotten, against Philip, did think that this with Antioall the rest of the Island shortly yielded to chus would prove the like; the case was too Antiochus. Four or five hundred Roman Soul- far different. Yer this most powerful King. diers, that came over late to have defended that for the liberty of Greece was come from Chalcie, reposed themselves at Delium, a lit- the utmost parts of the East; requested no tle town of Bwotia, lying over against the more of the Achaans, than that they would Island; where was a Temple and Grove, con- hold themselves as neutral, and quietly look fecrated unto Apollo, that had the priviledge on, whileft he took order with the Romans. of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were To the same effect spake the Atolian Embassome of them walking, and beholding the sador, and further added, that in the battel things there to be feen, whilst others were bu- at Cynoscephale, neither Titus had done the fied as they found cause, without fear of any part of a General, nor the Romans of good danger; as being in fuch a place, and no war Souldiers: but that both he and his Army hitherto proclaimed. But Menippus one of had been there destroyed, had they not been Antiochus his Captains, that had wearied protected by vertue of the Etolians, which himself in many vain Treaties of peace took carried the day. Titus was present at the advantage of their carelefness, and used them Council, and heard all this: to which he made with all extremity of war. Very few of as fit answer, as could have been defired. He them escaped: fifty were taken, and the told the Acheans, That neither the Kings rest slain. Hereat Quintius was grieved ; yet Embassadour, nor the Atolian, did so greatfo, as it pleafed him well to confider, that his ly labour to perswade those unto whom they Romans had now more just cause than be- addressed their Orations; as to vaunt themfelves the one unto the other. So as a man Antiochus liked well these beginnings; and might well discern, what good corresponfent Embassadors into all quarters of Greece; dence in vanity it was, that had thus linked in hope, that his reputation should perswade the King and the Atolians together. For very many to take his part. The wifer fort even such brags as here they made before returned fuch answer, as the Chalcidians had the Acheans, who knew them to be lyars, done. Some referved themselves untill he had the Atolians also made unto King should come among them: knowing that Antiochus: proclaiming the victory over Phieither, if he came not, he must hold them ex- lip to be meerly their Act: and the whole cused for not daring to stir: or if he came, Countrey of Greece to be dependent on them. the Romans must pardon their just fear, in Interchangeably had they been feasted by yielding to the stronger. None of those that the King, with such tales as his Embassalay far off, joyned with him in true mean- dor told even now; of Dahans, and Aradiing fave the Eleans, that alwayes favoured ans, and Elimeans, and a many others: that the Etolians, and now feared the Achaans, were all but a company of Syrians, fuch Little reason there was, that he should think as were wont to be fold about for bond-

of his at Chaleis (no fuch vaunter as were Towns in Thrace, lately gotten by Antiochus, these Embolladors) had sometime scaled pretended as a very great cause of sear, that him. For all that variety, whereat he won- should move them to take arms even in their dred, was none other, as his Hoft then merri- own defence. But if all Greece would have If told him; than for many pieces of one tame Swine, dreft after feveral fathions, with variety of fawces. Setting therefore afide this joyntly to affift the Romans, with their vanity of idle pomp : it were good to make whole forces both by Land and Sea, whenfojudgement of the great King, by his present ever King Antiochus should make the least doing. He had notwithstanding all this offer to fit against them: then had not only great noile, no more thanten thouland men this quarrel been at an end; but the Roman about him : for which little Army he was Patronage over the Country, had been far fain in a manner to beg victuals of the Æto- from growing, as soon after it did, into a lians ; and take up money at usury, to defray | Lordly rule. his charges. And thus he ran up and down the Country; from Demetrias to Lamia; ner the only Nation of Greece, that freely and thence back to Chale's ; and being there flut generoully declared themselves altogether out, to Demetries again. These were the fruits for the Romans, their friends and benefactors. of lies : wherewith, fince both Antiockus and All the reft gave doubtful answers of hope the Ætolians had each deluded other; meet unto both fides: or if some few, as did the it was that they should, as perhaps already Thessairas, were firm against Antiochus; yet they did, repent, whileft wifer men took helped they not one another in the quarrel, heed by their example. To a favourable Au- nor fliewed themselves his enemies, till he ditory much persuasion is needless. The A-pressed them with open force. The Bestians cheans did not love so well the Atolians, as willingly received him, as soon as he entred to defire that they should become Princes upon their borders, not so much for fear of of Greece: but rather wifned to fee them, of his power, as in hatred of Titus and the Roall other, made the verieft abjects. Where- mans, by whom they had been fomewhat fore they frood not to hearken after news, what Antiochus did, how he fped in Eubaa, him, and against the Atolians.

How the hatred between these two Natithe ftory foregoing. Now have they gotten | [cended from Alexander the Great: naming each their Patrons; the one, the Romans; the other, King Antiochus. Herein did each of them unwifely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the Atolians. For when the Romans departed out of Grecce, and left the Country judged by Antiochus and the Ætolians, a man at rest: there was nothing more greatly to have been defired, than that they might ne- that in regard of his high parentage, and the ver find occasion to return with an Army famous memory of Alexander his forefather; thither again. And in this respect ought the it was their purpose, to do their best for the Greeks to have fought, not how smgrna conquest of Macedon to his behoof fince no and Lampaceus might recover their liberty man had thereto fo good title as he. But for (which had never been held a matter worth the enabling them hereunto 3 it behoved him regarding, untill now of late) but how the to draw Aminander to their party, that to powers of the East and West, divided and they might the sooner have done with the kept afunder by their Countrey, as two Seas Romans. Philip was highly pleafed herewith; by an IJhbanus, or neck of land, might be and by perfivations of himself, or of his kept from overflowing the bar that parted fifter, effected as much as they defired. But them. Neither had the Romans any better the first piece of service done by this imagipretence for their feeking to make free hary King (whether it proceeded from his those base Afiatiques, who originally were own phrenzie in hope to get love of the Greekilb; than the general applause, where- Macedonians that should be his subjects: or

names of raccal people were, he faid, like to with all the nation entertained this their lothe divertity of Veniton, wherewith a friend ving offer. Yet were Lyfimachia, and the

The Acheans were at this time, in a manhardly used. Aminander the Athamanian, befides his old friendship with the Ætolians, or what other Cities were like to take his was caught with a bait, which it may be part: but readily proclaimed War against doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or Antiochus cast out. He had married the daughter of an Arcadian, that was an idleons grew inveterate; sufficiently appears in headed man, and vaunted himself to be dehis two fons, in that regard, Philip and Alexander. Philip, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his fifter to the poor Court of Athamania: where having made his folly known, by talking of his Pedegree; He was fit for their turns. They made him believe,

whether from some vanity in King Antiochus said He, These Etolians here present; and that employed him) wrought more harm namely, this Thous being lately Embassadour to his friends, than he and Aminander were from them into Asia, among other motives able to do good. There were two thousand which he then used to excite the King unto this men committed to his leading: with which Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. he marched unto Cynoscephale, there to gather up the bones of the slaughtered Mace patience, with the Lordy inscience of the Rodonians; whom their King had suffered all mans: likening that King to some wild beaft, this while to lie unburied. The Macedons that was chained or lockt up within some grate, troubled not themselves to think on this and would fain break loofe. If this be so : let charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King Philip took it in high
indignation; as intended meerly unto his deangry flomack, upon those that are common fpight. Wherefore he presently sent unto the enemies to us and him. But if it prove other-Romans; and gave them to understand, that wife, and that his fear be greater than his inhe was ready with all his power to aid them dignation: then shall it behoove us to look unto wherein foever they should be pleased to him; that he may not seek to please his good

reasons which he could alledge : as in a mat- this time should have heard other news, than ter of great importance. Hannibal was at this that Chalcis in Eubeea was become ours. Italy meeting: who had long been cast aside, as and Gaul should have been on fire with warsand That what he should now utter, was even ly. Neither do I fee what should hinder us even the same which he would have spoken, had now from taking the same course. Send for all

mafters the Romans, by offending us. Your fon The Atolians, Magnetians, Eubwans, Boo Seleucus is now at Lysimachia, with part of tians, and Athamanians, having now all joy- your Army: if Philip will not hearken to your ned with him: Antiochus took counsel of Embassage; let Seleucus be in readiness to them about the profecution of the War in fall upon Macedon, and find him work to defend hand. The chief question was, Whether it his own on the other side, without putting us were meet for him to invade Theffaly, that here to trouble. Thus much concerning Phillip, would not hearken to his perswasions: or and the present war in Greece, But more genewhether to let all alone until the Spring : be- rally for the managing of this great enterprise, cause it was now mid-winter. Some thought wherein you are now embarked against the Roone thing, and some another; confirming | mans, I told you my opinion at the beginning: each his own fentence, with the weightiest whereto had you then given ear, the Romans by a vellel of no use, but was now required to little to their comfort, they should have underdeliver his opinion. He freely told the King, flood, that Hannibal was again come into Itahis counsel at any time before been asked your Fleet and Army hither (but in any case fince their coming into Greece. For the Mig- let flips of birden come along with them, netians, Emotions, and other their good loaden with flore of victuals: For, as the case friends, which now so willingly took their now stands, we have here too few hands, and too parts: what were they else than so many poor many months)Wherefore let the one half be imestates, that wanting force of their own, did ployed against Italy; whilest you in person with adjoyn themselves for fear unto him, that the other half, tarrying on this side the Ionian was strongest for the present: and would as- Sea, may both take order for the affairs of terwards, when they saw it expedient, be Greece, and therewithal make countenance; as as ready to fall to the contrary fide, alledging if you were even ready to follow us into Italy: the same fear for their excuse? Wherefore sea, and be ready to fellow us indeed, if it he thought it most behooveful to win King shall be requisite. This is my advice; who Philip of Macedon unto their party: who stough perhaps I am not very skissal in all orts (besides that being once engaged, he should of mar; yet how to mar with the Romans, I not afterwards have power to recoyle and have been instructed by long experience, both to for sake them at his pleasure) was a mighty their cost and mine own. Of this Counsel which Prince; and one that had means to fultain the I give, I promise you my faithful and diligent Roman War with his proper forces. Now Service for the execution : but what counsel that Philip might be easily perswaded to join foever you please to follow, I wish it may be prowith them, the benefit likely to redound fperous. Many were pleased with the great unto himself, by their society, was a very spirit of the man, and said, he had spoken ftrong Argument: though indeed what bravely: but of all this was nothing done; need was there, of proving by infe-rence the likelihood of this hope: For, all things ready there. In the mean while

they had before disputed. There when they war against the Bojians; wherein he purhad won one Town by force, many other chased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so places, doubting their own strength, were glorious as was that of his Colleague; glad to make submission. But Lariffa that though purchased with harder service, rewas chief of the Country, flood out: not quiring the more ability in matter of War. regarding any terrible threats of the King, But M. Acilius went over into Greece, with that lay before the wals with his whole Ar- ten thousand foot, two thousand horse, and my. This their faith and courage was re- fifteen Elephants. Ptolomy King of Egypt, notwarded by good fortune. For AI, Ewbius, a withstanding his late Alliance with King An-Roman Progrator, did fend help thither. tiochus; and Philip King of Macedon; had Likewise Philip of Macedon professed himself lately fent Embassadors to Rome, making enemy unto Antiochus, whereby the fame of offer to come each of them in person with all the fuccour coming to Lariffa, grew fuch, as his forces into Ætolia, there to affift the wrought more than the faccour could have Conful in this War. Ptolomy fent also gold done, had it arrived. For Antiochus percei- and filver, toward the defraying of charving many fires on the Mountain tops afar ges; as one that meant none other than good off; thought that a great Army of Romans earnest. But he was too young and dwelt and Macedonians had been coming upon too far off. So his money was returned unhim. Therefore excusing himself by the to him with thanks; and his loving offer as time of the year; He brake up his fiege, and lovingly refused. Unto Philips Embassadors, marched away to Chalcis. At Chalcis he fell answer was made, that this his friendly in love with a young Maiden, daughter un- offer was gratefully accepted: and that the to a Citizen of the Town; whom, without Senate and People of Rome would think regard of the much disprepertion that was themselves beholding to him, for the affibetween them, both in years and fortune, He france that he should give to Acilius the shortly married; and so spent the winter Consul. Mafanissa likewise, and the Carthafollowing as delightfully as he could, with- ginians, did strive, which of them should out thinking upon the War in hand. His be most forward in gratifying the Romans. great men and Captains followed his exam- Each of them promifed a great quantity of ple, & the fouldiers as readily imitated their grain; which they would fend partly to Captains:in such wife, that when he took the Rome, partly to the Army in Greece. And field, he might evidently perceive in what herein Mafaniffa far out-went the poor City loose manner of discipline his armyhad passed of Carthage; as also in that he offered to lend the winter. But M. Acilius Glabrio, the Roman the Conful five hundred horse, and twenty Conful, shall meet him very shortly, & help Elephants. On the other side, the Carthagini-

lius Scipio Nasica. The war against Antiochus ought to be discharged by many yearly penfell to him by lot; whereas otherwife, He | fions. But the Romans did neither think it was no way so honourable, as Nasca, his Col- good, to let them arm a Fleet: nor would let league: unto whem fell a charge, of far less them redeem themselves out of Tribute, by credit and importance. Nafica, besides the paying all at once. As for the Corn, it was great Nobility of his Family, had been long accepted, with condition that they should fince, in time of the Punick War, crow- be contented to receive the price of it. ned with the title of The best man in Rome: when the Senate for very fear and superfixi- that began with such noise and preparation, durst not have so pronounced him, had ons, were hardly credible: were not the they not so thought him, as being comman-difference exceeding great between the Roded by Oracle, that none other man than man and the Asiatique Souldier. Antiochus had the very best, should entertain an old stone, gotten this Spring a few towns of Acarwhich the Devil then taught them to call nania, after the same manner as he had pre-The Mother of the gods. But no prerogative of vailed in other parts of Greece; partly by Birth, Vertue or good opinion, gave fuch ad- fair words, extreason of the Rulers partly by vantage to the better man, as to make choice terror, that was like to prove their excule of his own Province: or arrogate more un- when they should again for fake him Burking to himself; than his lot should afford him. | Philip and Bebius having recovered many pla-This uppartial distribution of employments, cesset the Roman Conful being arrived against helped well to maintain peace and concord, whom none made refiftance; he was glad

they went in hand with Theffaly; about which P. Scipio was therefore appointed to make him to reclaim them from this loofic's of nup-tial Revels, by fetting them to harder exercite. charges: and to bring in at one payment, all M. Acilius was chosen Consul with P. Corne- the Tribute-mony which was behind, and

The hasty and ridiculous issue of this War,

to withdraw himself. Aminander fled out of But there was great difference between Leohis Albamania: which the Macedonian nidas and Antiochus. The former of these, took and enjoyed; as in recompence of his with an handfull of men, defended this pafgood service to the Romans. Philip the bro- sage two or three dayes together, against a ther of Aminanders wife, was taken by the world of men coming to invade the Coun-Conful;made a mocking-stock, and sent away try. The latter, having taken upon him to prisoner to Rome. The The falians used much do great miracles, and effect what he listed more diligence in returning to their old himself in Greece: did commit himself unto friends, than they had done in yeelding to the fafety of this place, when he was chargthe King. All their Cities one after another, ed by not many more than he had in his gave up themselves: the Garrisons of Antio- own Army. There whilest he lay, He sent chus, compounding only for their own earnest messengers one after another to the lives, and departing unarmed: yet fo, that Etolians, entreating them not to forfake him athousand of them stayed behind, and took thus; but at least wise now to help, and pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully keep the tops of the mountains, left the Rohimself to Chalcis, and hearing how things down upon him. By this importunity, he got went, cryed out upon his friends: and faid, of them two thousand, that undertook to That they had betrayed him. He had taken make good the few paffages: by which only, a great deal of toyl during one half of a and not without extreme difficulty, it was

perplex Antiochus; who having withdrawn mans, finding any by-path, should come winter, and spent the other half in such possible for the Enemy to ascend. The Roman Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after Conful in like fort prepared to force the which, in time of need, he found all the Straights, without staying to expect King promifes of the Ætolians meerly verbal: and Philip: that was hindred by fickness from himself reduced into terms of great extre- accompanying him. He had with him M. Pormity. He therefore admired Hannibal as cius Cato, and L. Valerius Flaccus, that had a wise man, yea, a very Prophet, that had both of them been Confuls. These he sent foreseen all this long before. Nevertheless, forth by night with two thousand men, to he sent word to the Atolians, that they try whether by any means they could get up should now make ready all their forces: as to the Ætolians. He himself encouraged considering their own need to be no less than his Army: not only by telling them with his. But the Etolians had cause to think, that what base conditioned enemies they had to they themselves were shamefully disappoint- deal: but what rich Kingdoms Antiochus ed by Antiochus; who having promifed to do held, that should bountifully reward them great wonders, was in all this while fe- if they were victors. This was on the day beconded by no greater numbers out of Asia, fore the battel. All that night Cato had a than so many as would fill up the same ten fore journey (for what happened unto L. Vathousand which he first brought over. Yet | lerius it is uncertain, fave only that he failed came there some of them, though fewer than in his intent) and so much the worse, for at any time before, which joyned with him. that he had no skilful guide. Seeing there-Hereat the King was angry: and could get fore his men exceedingly tyred, with climbno better fatisfaction, than that Thous and ing up fteepy Rocks, and crooked wayes: He his fellows had done their best in vain, to commanded them to repose themselves; have made all the Nation take Arms. Since whilst he, being a very able man of body, therefore neither his own men came over to took in hand the discovery, accompanied him out of Asia, nor his friends of Greece with no more than one of like metal to himwould appear in this time of danger: He self. After a great deal of trouble, he found feized upon the Straights of Thermopyle; at length a path: which he took to be, as as meaning to defend them against the Romans, until more help should come. Of Enemies. So thither he brought his men; the Straights of Thermopyla, there hath and held on the same path till toward break been spoken enough * before, upon many of day. It was a place not haunted, because in occasions: and then chiefly, when they were time of peace, there was a fair way thorow defended by Leonidas against the huge Ar- the Straights below, that required no such my of Xerxes. Wherefore it may eafily be trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance conceived, how the Romans, that landed of the Thermopyla been to often the Seat of about Apollonia, and so came onwards into War, as might cause any travellers to search The fally, were unable to pals that Ledge of out the paliages of those desolate Mountains, dividing the one half of Greece; the way that Cato followunless they could win this difficult entrance. ed, though it were the best; yet did it lead

him to a bog at the end, which would fuf- at the same time. Each of them plied his fer him to pais no further. So he frayd there work hard; especially Philip, who fain would until day-light: by which he discovered have taken Lamia before the Conful should both the Camp of the Greeks underneath come to help him. But it could not be. For him; and some of the Atolians very near his Macedonians that used to work by Myne. unto him, that were keeping watch. He there- were over-much hindered by the front fore fent forth a lusty Crew of his men, ground. Yet was Lamia even ready to be whom he thought fittest for that service; taken, when the Consul, having won Heraand willed them by any means to get him clea, came thither, and told Philip, that the fome prisoners. This was effected: and he spoil of these Towns was a reward unto those thereby understood, that these Atolians that had fought at Thermopyla. Herewith were no more than fix hundred; as also that Philip must be contented; and therefore King Antiochus lay beneath in the Valley. So went his way quietly. But Acilius, that could he presently set upon the Atolians, over- so ill indure to see Philip in likelihood of threw them, flew a great part of them, and thriving by the Romans victory, got not Lachafed the reft, that by flying to their Camp, guided him unto it. The fight was already ful was ready to ease him of his charge. begun between the Armies below: and the The loss of Heraclea did so affright the Romans, that had easily repelled the Kings Etolians, that they thought no way safer men, and driven them into their Camp, found than to defire peace. Yet had they fent unto it, in a manner, a desperate piece of work to King Antiochus presently after his flight; inaffault the Camp it felf, which occupied the treating him not to forlake them utterly, but whole breadth of the Straights, was nota- either to return with all those forces which bly fortified; and not only defended by An- he had purposed to bring into Greece; or if tiochus his long Pikes, which were best at any thing with-held him from coming in that kind of fervice; but by Archers and person, at leastwise to help them with mony Slingers that were placed over them on and other aid. They prayed him to confithe Hill-fide, and powred down a showr of der, that this did not only concern him in weapons on their heads. But Cato his approach determined the matter. It was ty: fince it would be much to his hurt, if the thought, at first, that the Etolians had been Etolians being wholly subdued, the Rocoming to help the Kings men: but when mans, without any enemies at their backs, the Roman Arms and Enfigns were discover- might set upon him in Asia. He considered ed, fuch was the terrour, that none made of- | well of this, and found their words true. fer of refiftance; but all of them for fook the Therefore he delivered unto Nicander, one Camp, and fled. The flaughter was not great: of their Embaffadors, a fumm of mony, that for that the badness of the way did hinder might serve to defray the charges of the the Roman Army from making pursuit. Yet | War: promising that ere long he would send this dayes loss drave Antiockus out of Greece, them strong aid, both by Land and Seawho directly fled to Chalcie; and from thence Those, another of their Embaffadors, He rewith the first opportunity, got him back in- tained with him; who willingly stayed,

friendship of Antiochus, prepared forthwith from them; then did the Etolians lay aside to entertain the Romans, and entreat for par- all hope of amending their fortune by the don: setting open their gates; and present- help of Antiochus; and made suit unto the ing themselves unto the Consul, in manner | Consulto obtain peace, upon any reasonable of suppliants. Briefly, in few dayes all was condition. The Consul would scarce vouchrecovered that Antiochus had gained: the safe to give them audience, but said, He had Æiolians only standing out, because they other business in hand; only he granted them knew not what else to do. Neither did the ten dayes of Truce, and fent L. Valerius Conful give them any respite. At his return Flaceus with them to Hypata; willing them from Chalcie, he met with King Philip, that to make him acquainted with as much as having recovered health, came to joyn with they would have delivered unto himfelf. At him against Antiochus: over whom, fince the their coming to Hypata, they began, as men victory was already gotten, He did gratulate favouring their own cause, to alledge how unto the Romans their good fucces; and offered to take part with them in the Etolian Whereto Flacens would not hearken. He War. So it was agreed, That the Conful told them plainly, That the memory offich should besiege Heraelea; and Philip Lamia; good offices past, was quite obliterated by

that he might urge the King to make his All the Cities that had imbraced the word good. But when Heraclea was taken

the malice which they had shewed of late. need of him in the continuance of this War: Lige excep. fense; and counted them all one, as * yeelding from Antiochus, with mony and hopeful proi Polyb.13. to discretion. Wherefore when the Conful miles: the Romans abiding still about Hera-

heard them speak in this manner: He asked clea, and Philip having lately risen from bethem whether their meaning were agreeable fore Lamia, yet not being far gone thenceto their words. They answered that it was: His mony Nicander conveighed into Lamia, and shewed him the decree of their Nation, by very unusual dexterity. But he himself lately made to this purpose. Then, said he, being to pass further to the Assembly of the I command you first of all, That none of **Etolians*, there to make report of his Emyou presume to go into Asia, upon any busi- bassage; was very much perplexed about ness, private or publick: then, That ye dethis his journey, which lay between the Roliver up unto me Dicearchus the Atolian, man and Macedonian Camps. Yet he made Menestratus the Epirot, Aminander the Atha- the adventure: and keeping as far as he manian, and such of his Countrimen as have could from the Roman side, fell upon a Stafollowed him in revolting from us. Whilest tion of Macedonians; by whom he was tahe was yet speaking; Phameas the Embassa- ken, and led unto their King. He expected dour interrupted him; and prayed him not no good; but either to be delivered unto to miltake the cultome of the Greeks, who the Romans, or used ill enough by Philip. But had yeelded themselves unto his faith; not it seems, that the King had not hitherto conunto flavery. What? (faid the Conful) Do ye cocked well the indignity of his being fent stand to plead Custome with me, being now at away from Lamia. For he commanded his my discretion? Bring hither a chain. With servants to entreat Nicander friendly : and he that, chains were brought; and an Iron himself being then at supper, did visit him as collar, by his appointment, fitted unto every foon as he rose up: giving him to underone of their necks. This did so affright them, stand, That the Atolians did now reap the that they flood dumb, and knew not what fruits of their own madness; forasmuch as to fay. But Valerius and some others en- they could never hold themselves contentreated the Conful, not to deal thus hardly ted, but would needs be calling strangers inwith them, fince they came as Embaffadors; to Greece. They had pleafed themselves well, though fince, their condition was altered. in their acquaintance first with the Romans, Phameas also spake for himself; and said, and then with King Antiochus; but himself. That neither he, nor yet the Apocleti or or- being their neighbour, they could never well dinary Councel for the Nation, were able endure. It was now therefore, he faid, high to fulfill these injunctions; without appro- time for them to have regard unto his bation of the general Assembly. For which friendship, whereof hitherto they never

be trusted in employment: especially the Nicander was alwayes after dutifully affect-Romans being like hereafter to have further ed to the Crown of Macedon: fo as in the

fo long.

Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge He was defired to fet upon the Athamanians, their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better and some other petty Nations their borthey thought to do so even betimes, than to derers, whilst the Consul was busine with ftav till they were reduced unto terms of the Ætolians; taking for his reward, all that more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to he could get. And he got in that space all commit themselves unto the faith of the Ro- Athamania, Perrhabia, Aperantia and Dolopia; mans; and to that effect fent Embafladors For the Atolians hearing what had befallen to the Conful. This phrase of committing their Embassiadours, were so enraged, That unto the faith, fignified, in their use of it, although they were very ill provided for little else than the acknowledgement of a War, yet they could not endure to hear fault done, and the craving of pardon. But more talk of Peace. And it happened, that the Romans used those words in another Nicander about the same time was come back cause he entreated yet further ten dayes re- made any tryal: for surely their good afspite; and had granted unto him Truce for fection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them than their This furceafance of War, during ten, and mutual catching of advantages; whereby other ten dayes together, began presently af- they had wrought themselves much displeater the taking of Heraclea; when Philip had fure. Thus much the King willed Nicander been commanded away from Lamia, that to fignific unto his Countrimen; and privateelse he might have won. Now because of the ly to hold in mind the courtesse which he indignity herein offered unto that King, then did him, in fending him fafe home. So and to the end that he might not return giving him a Convoy to guard him to Hypata, home with his Army, like one that could not he lovingly difmiffed him. For this benefit,

to the Romans, and therefore was had away then did the Governour of Zacynthus offer to Rome, where he ended his life.

Ætolians refused to make their submission, in this: but plainly told them, That the Rofuch wife as he required it: he forthwith mans would be their own Carvers, and take meant to profecute the war against them, what they thought good, of the Lands bewithout any longer forbcarance. They were longing to their Enemies; as a reward of the preparing to make head against him at Nan- victory which they had obtained. It was patins: whither he therefore directly march- bootless to dispute. Wherefore the Achieme ed, to try what they could or durft. The referred themselves unto his discretion. So fiege of Naupathus was of greater length, than he told them, that their Commonwealth was the Romans had preconceived it: for it was like a Tortoife, whereof Peloponnessus was the a strong City, and well manned. But Acilius shell: and that, holding themselves within flood upon point of honour; wherein he that compass, they were out of danger; but thought that he should have been a loser by if they would needs be looking abroad, they rifing from before it without Victory. So should lie open to blows, which might he flayd there well-near all the following greatly hurt them. Having fettled things time of his Consulfhip; whilest the Macedo thus in Poloponnesus, he went over to Namian King and the Acheans, made far better passus: where Glabrio the Consul had lain use of the Roman Victory. Fhilip, as is said two months, that might have been far better before, being allowed to take in such places spent. There, whether out of compassion as had revolted unto Antiochus, and were which he had upon the Ætolians, or out of not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong City dislike of King Philips thriving so fast: he of Demetrius, and with an hafty course of Vi- perswaded the Consul to grant unto the bectory, fubdued the Athamanians and others. fieged, and to the whole Nation, folong The Acheans called to account the Eleans truce, that they might fend Emballadors to and Messenians: which had long been ad- Rome; and submitting themselves, crave pardicted to the Atolian fide 3 and followed it, don of the Senate. Most like it is, that Nauintaking part with Antiochus. The Eleans pactus was in great danger: else would not gave good words; whereby they faved the Atolians have made such earnest suit as themselves from trouble a while. The Mef-they did unto Titus, for procuring of this fafenians being more frout, before they were vour. But if Glabrio had been fure to carry invaded, had none other help when the it in any short space, it may well be thought Achean Prætor wasted their Country, than he would not have gone away without it; to offer themselves unto the Romans. Titus fince the winning of that Town, wherein was was then at Corinth: to whom they fent then the whole flower of the Nation, would word, That at his Commandment their gates have made the promifed submission much should be opened; but that unto the Ache- more humble and sincere. When they came ans it was not their meaning to yeeld. A mef- unto Rome, no entreaty could help them to fage from Titus to the Achean Prætor, did better Condition, than one of these two; fuffice to call home the Army, and finish the That either they should wholly submitthem-War: as also the peremptory Command of selves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or the same Titus, caused the Messenians to an- else pay a thousand talents, and make neither nex themselves unto the Acheans, and become peace nor war with any; further than as the part of their Common-weal. Such was now Romans should give approbation. They had the Majesty of a Roman Embassador. Titus not so much mony: neither could they well did favour the Acheans; yet could not like hope to be gently dealt withall, if they it well, that either they or any other should should give themselves away unto discretion; take too much upon them. He thought it which, what it fignified, they now underpart of his defire. They had lately bought the as enemies, after long and vain attendance. the Isle of Zacynthus; which had once been Philips, and was afterward given by him to hopes of peace, the Conful had little to doin Aminander, who fent a Governour thither. Greece, and therefore took upon him gravely But when Aminander in this present war, was to set things in order among the tractable

war of Perfeus he made himself suspected undriven out of his own Kingdom by Philip, to fell the Island to the Acheans; whom he When the Conful understood, that the found ready Chapmen. Titus liked not of enough, that they had their liberty, and were stood. Wherefore they defired to have it ftrong enough to defend it against any of set down, in what points, and how far forth their neighbours. That they should make they should yeeld unto the good pleasure of themselves great Lords, and able to dispute the Senate. But hereof they could get no with the Romans upon even terms, it was no certain answer: so that they were diminsted

flore the banished Lacedamonians home into him try the chance of a battel for his Kingtheir Country; and to take the Eleans into dom. the fellowship of their Commonwealth. This the Achaens liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the Romans should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they Lucius Scipio, having with him Publius the deferred the restitution of the banished Lacedamonians: intending to make it an Act of their own meer grace. As for the Eleans, they were loth to be beholding to the Romans, and thereby to disparage the Achaans: into whose Corporation they were defirous to be admitted, and faw that they should have their defire, without such compulsive mediation.

The Roman Admiral C. Livius, much about the same time, fought a battel at Sca with Polyxenidas, Admiral to the King Antiochus. King Eumenes brought help to the Romans, though it was not great: and five and twenty fail of Rhodians came after the battel, when they were following the Chase. The Kings Fleet was the better of fail, but that of the Romans the better manned. Wherefore Polyxenidas being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as foon as he betook himfelf to a speedy retrait.

this, as many of the Greeks as had followed defirous (as generally all Confuls were) fide, Philip of Macedon, Arch-enemy of late it to the hazzard of a Lottery. Lucius having Son-in-law of King Antiochus: but he was upon Hannibal, and should happen to be dithe friend of fortune. He understood long rected wholly by that great Captain, what before, as did all that were indifferent be-Greece, and that there was no doubt but and high spirit as much disliked. It is wor-

Acheans. He would have had them to re- the Romans would foon be there, and make

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African his elder Brother, for his Lieutenant, is fent into Greece. He grants long Truce to the Ætolians, that fo he might at leifure pass into Asia. Much troublesome bufiness by Sea, and divers fights, An invasion upon Eumenes his Kingdom; with the flege of Pergamus, raised by an handfull of the Acheans. L. Scipio the Conful comes into Afia: where Antiochus most earnestly dofireth beace, and is demed it. The battel of Magnefia: wherein Antiochus being vanquiffied, yeeldeth to the Romans good pleafure. The conditions of the peace. In what fort the Romans weed their victory. L. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous triumph over Anticchus, is furnamed The Asiatique, as his brother was stilled The

Weius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of P. scipio the African, was chosen Conful And such end had the first years war be- at Rome with C. Lelius. Lelius was very gratween King Antiochus and the Romans. After cious in the Senate : and therefore being the vain hopes of the Atolians were glad to of the more honourable employment, offerexcuse themselves by fear; thinking them- ed to refer to the arbitrement of the Senate, felves happy when by Embassadours they if L. Cornelius would be so pleased, the dishad obtained pardon. On the contrary position of their Provinces; without putting unto the Romans, did now fend to gratulate talked with his brother Fublius, approved this their victory: and in recompence of his well of the motion. Such a question had not good affection, had reflored unto him De- of long time been put unto the Fathers : who metrius his younger Son; whom some few therefore were the more desirous to make years they had kept as an hostage. Also an unblameable Decree. But the matter be-King Ptolowy of Egypt, gratulating the Roman Victory, fent word how greatly all Afa the African faid openly thus much, That if and Syria were thereby terrified. In which the Senate would appoint his brother to the regard he defired the Senate not to foreflow war against Antiochus, He himself would time; but to fend an Army, as foon as might follow his brother in that war, as his Lieutebe, into Asia: promising, that his assistance, nant. These words were heard with such wherein soever it pleased them to use it, approbation, that the Controversie was should not be wanting. This Ptolomy was the forthwith at an end. For if Antiochus relyed holders of the contention, that the Romans that had been victorious against that same were like to have the upper hand. The fame great Worthy? But indeed a worfer man did Antiochus now begin to suspect, who had might have served well enough the turn. For thought himself a while as safe at Ephesus, as Hannibal had no absolute command, nor if he had been in another world: but was scarce any trust of great importance: excepttold by Hannibal, That it was not fo far out ing now and then in consultation; where his of Greece into Affa, as out of Italy into wifdom was much approved, but his liberty

thy of remembrance, as a fign of the freedom | that they should faithfully, and with true that he used in his censures, even whilest he lived in such a Court. Antiochus mustered many messages passing to and fro: though his Army in presence of this famous Captain: Publius continued to put them in good hopes thinking, as may feem, to have made him yet the Conful made ftill the fame answer. with that he had been ferved by fuch brave with which they had been chafed from Rome. men in Italy For they were gallantly decked, The Conclusion was, That they should sue both Men, Horfes, and Elephants, with fuch for a longer time of respite from war: wherecostly furniture of gold, silver, and purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sunfhine day. Whereupon the King, well pleafing himself with that goodly spectacle, asked they obtained half a years truce: after Hannibal what he thought; and whether all which, the winter was like to afford them this were not enough for the Romans. Enough (faid Hannibal) were the Romans the Hereof were they not more glad, than was most coverous men in all the world : meaning that all this cost upon the backs of cowardly Aliatiques, was no better than a spoil to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the King, it is case to guess. The little use that he made of this Carthaginian. testifies that his dislike of the man, caused intending thence to take their way by Land,

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flood in greatest necessity thereof. Rome as foon as they could. They carried King Philip: who might either do them with them, befides other Souldiers newly some mischief by the way, if he were dispoprest to the war, about five thousand Volun- sed to watch a notable advantage: or at the tefies, that had ferved under P. Africanus, least, would be be unfaithful; though he were There was also a Fleet of thirty Quinquereme not so couragious, yet might he take such Gallies, and twenty Triremes newly built, ap- order with the Thracians, that even for pointed unto L. Emilius Regillus, that was want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenichosen Admiral the same year for that voy- ence, they should be disgracefully forced to age. At their coming into Greece, they found return. He had promifed them the utmost the old Consul Glabrio belieging Amplyssa of his furtherance: wherein, whether he City of the Etolians. The Atolians after meant fincerely, they thought to make some that they were denyed peace, had expected tryal; by caufing a Gentleman to ride Post him once again at Naupastus. Wherefore unto him, and observe his doings as he should they not only fortified that Town, but kept take him on the fudden. The King was merall the passages thereto leading; which heed- | ry at a feast, and drinking when the Messen-Iefly, as in a time of confusion, they had ger came: whom he lovingly bade welleft unregarded the last year. Glabrio know- come ; and shewed him the next day, not ing this, deceived their expectation, and fell only what provision of victuals he had made upon Lamia: which being not long fince for the Army, but how he had made bridges much weakened by Philip, and now by him over the Rivers, and mended the bad wayes attempted on the sudden; was carried at by which they were to pals. With these the second assault. Thence went he to Am- good news Gracehus returned back in haste phyla: which he had almost gotten, when unto the Scipio's: who entring into Mace-L. scipio, his successor, came with thirteen don, found all things in a readiness, that thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and might help to advance their journey. The took charge of the Army. The Town of Am- King entertained them royally, and brought phy Ta was presently for faken by the Inhabi- them on their way, even to the Hellesport: tants: but they had a Castle, or higher where they stayed a good while, until their Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they Navy was in readiness to transport them inall retired. The Athenian Embaffadors had to Afia. dealt with P. Scipio, in behalf of the Ætolians: entreating him to fland their friend, and this year; though, for the most part, little help them in obtaining some tolerable, con- of importance. Polyzenidas, the Admiral of dition of peace. He gave them gentle words, Antiochus, was a banished Rhodium true to and willed them to perswade the Ætolians, the King; and desirous of sevenge upon his

meaning delire it. This was gladly taken. Bur by at more leifure they might attend fome better disposition of the Senate 3 or any helpful commodity which time should afford. So another half years leifure of breathing, P. Scipio: who thought all time loft, which with-held the War from passing over into

The business of Ætolia being thus laid aside, and the old Consul Glabrio sent home into Italy, the Scipio's marched into Theffaly; him to lose the use of his fervice, when he through Macedon and Thrace unto the Hellefpont. Yet they considered, that hereby they The Scipio's made all hafte away from must commit themselves unto the loyalty of

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of

hearing that the Rhodian Fleet was at Samos, nothing: for that one while they were hinthe Romans and Eumenes having not as yet dred by storms at Sea; and another while put to Sea, thought to do somewhat upon by strong resistance made against them at those that were so early in their diligence, Land. before their fellows should arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work, and forfake them; and return home to the defent word, as in great fecrecy, to the Rhodian fence of his own Kingdom. For Antiochus Admiral, That if the fentence of his banish- wasted all the grounds about Elea and Perment might be repealed, He would, in re- gamus: and leaving his son Selencus to bequital thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. fiege the royal City of Pergamus, did with ceive a watch-word from Polyxenidas that with him no better men to defend the City, he himself was taken by Polyxenidas in his than were they that lay against it. Whereown Haven. The Kings Fleet fetting forth fore he had reason to stand in fear; being too Fleet.

Countrymen, that had expelled him. He, of doing good. Yet performed they little or

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to After many passages to and fro, this was the rest of his Army spoil the whole Counbelieved; and the Rhodian Admiral grew so try thereabout. Assaults the brother of careles, expecting still when he should re- King Eumenes, was then in Pergamus; having from Ephefus by night; and, for fear of be- much inferior in number. There came to his ing discovered, resting one day in harbour aid a thousand foot, and an hundred horse of by the way, came the second night to Samos: the Acheans: old souldiers all, and trained up where, by morning it was ready to enter under Philopamen, whose Scholar, in the art the Haven. Pausstratus the Rhodian Admi- of war, Diophanes their commander was. This ral feeing this, thought it his best way of re- Diophanes beholding from the walls of Perfistance to bestow his men on the two head- gamus, which was an high town, the demealands or points of the Haven; fo to guard nour of the enemy; began to disdain that the mouth of it: for that he faw no likeli- fuch men as they should hold them besieged. hood of defending himself by Sea. But Polyx- For Selencus his army which was encamped enidas had already landed fome Companies at the hill-foot, feeing that none durft fally in another part of the Island: which falling forth upon them, grew fo careles: as otherupon the back of Paufftratus, compelled him wife than by fpoiling all behind their backs, to alter his directions, and command his they seemed to forget that they were in an men aboord. This could not be without enemies country. Diophanes therefore spake great confusion: so as the enemies took him with Attalus: and told him that he would go out of all order, and funk or boorded all his forth to visit them. Attalus had no liking to Navy, five excepted, that by a sudden de-this adventure; for he said, that the match vice made shift to escape. Each of them hung was nothing equal. But the Achean would out a burning Crescent upon two poles, at needs have his will & cissuing forth, encamped the Beak-head; and then rowed forwards not far from the enemy. They of Pergamus directly upon the enemy: who having not thought him little better then mad. As for bethought himself what shift to make against the besiegers; they wondred at first what his fuch unexpected danger of firing, was con- meaning was but when they faw that he held tent to give way unto these desperate Gal- himselfquiet, they made a jest of his boldness; lies for fear lest they should burn, together and laughed to see with what an handful of with themselves, a part of the Kings men he looked so floutly. So they returned unto their former negligence and disorders. Not long after this, the Romans had some Which Diophanes perceiving, He commanded loss by tempest: whereof Folyxenidas could all his men to follow him, even as fast as they not take fuch advantage as he had hoped; well might and he himfelf, with the hundred because, putting to Sea for that purpose, horse, brake out on the sudden upon the stati-he was driven back again by the like foul on that was next at hand. Very few of the weather. But the Rhodians, to shew that enemies had their horses ready sadled, but they were not discouraged, set forth twenty more few, or none had the hearts to make other Gallies: the Romans also with King resistance: so as he drave them all out of their Eumenes, repaired their fleet; and all of them | Camp; & chased them as far as he might safetogether, in great bravery presented battel ly adventure, with great slaughter of them, to Polyxenidas before the Haven of Ephefus. and no loss to his own. Hereat all the Citizens When he durst not accept it: they went of Pergamus (who had covered the walls of from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were entreated by the *Rhodi*-fpectacle) were very joyful; and highly ans, or perswaded by some appearing hopes magnified the vertue of these Acheans. Yet.

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gates, to help the Acheans in doing what re- ken out of his hands by Apollonius his flight. mained to be done. The next day selencus yet made fuch a retreat, that the Rhodianz encamped half a mile further from the durft not far adventure upon him. Now of Town, than he had done before: and against these Actions which were but as Prefaces unhim went forth Diophanes the second time; to the war, the last and greatest was a viwho quictly refled a while in his old Stati- Crory of the Romans by Sea, against Polyxenion. When they had frayed many hours, das the Kings Admiral. The battel was looking who flould begin: Sileneus in fought by Myonnesses a Promontory in Asia; fair order as he came, withdrew himself to where Polyxenidas had with him fourfcore ward his lodging that was further off. Dio- and nine Gallies; and five of them greater phanes moved not whileft the enemy was in than any of the Romans. This being all the fight: but as foon as the ground between strength which he could make by Sea: we them hindred the prospect, he followed them may note the vanity of those brags, wherein all hasie, and foon overtaking them with with Antiochus vaunted the last year, That his Horse, charged them in the Rere; so as his Armada should cover all the shores of he brake them, and with all his forces pursu | Greece. The Ramans had eight and fifty ed them at the beels, to their very Trenches. Gallies; the Rhodians two and twenty; the This belonels of the delams and the bale- Roman being the ftronger built, and more nefect his own men, cauted selecture to quir frontly manned; the Rhodians more lightthe fiege, little to his honour. Such being timbred and thin planckt, having all advanthe quaity of these Assatigues, Thilogamen tage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither had cause to tell the Romans, That he envi- forgot they to help themselves by the same ed their victory. For when Antiochus lay device, with which five of their Callies had ans, and not as he then was, a private man.

great deal of travel, brought almost nothing mans and their fellows lost only two or to pass. He had been at Pergamus: into three ships: but got hereby the absolute Mawhich Eumenes, leaving the Romans, did ftery of the Sca. put himself with a few of his Horse and The report of this misadventure, may seem light armature. Before Pergamms he left his to have taken from Antiochus all use of reafon, as before hath been thewed, and went fon. For as if no hope had been remaining to Elea: whither he heard that Anglius the to defend those places that he held in Europe, Roman Admiral was come to bring succour he presently with-drew his Garrisons from to Eumenes. There he made an Overture of Lylimachia: which might eafily have been peace : about which to confulr, Eumenes was kept even till the end of Winter following,& Lent for by Emplim, and came from Pergamms. having reduced the befregers (if the fiege But when it was confidered, that no conhad been continued oblinately untoterms clusion could be made without the Conful: of great extremity, He also gave over the this Treaty brake off. Then followed the fiege of Colophon: and laying afide all thought overthrow newly mentioned, which cauled fave only of defence, drew together Selencus to give over the fiege of Perga- all his Army; and fent for help to his mus. Afterwards four or five Towns of Icarce, Father in-law, King Ariarabes the Cappaany worth or note were taken by the King : docian. and the Syrian Fleet, being of fevenand Thus the Roman Conful, without imperations that thirty Sail , was beaten by the Khodran diment, not only came to the Hellefort, but which was of like number. But of this vi- had yielded unto him all places there, bethery the Rhodians had no great cause to re- longing to Antiochus on Europe side. The Fleet joyce: for that Hanmbal the Carthaginian, was also then in a readiness to transport him who, tegether with Apollonius a Courtier of over into Afia: where Eumener had taken Antiockin, was Admiral of the Sprians, did such care before, that he landed quietly at them in a manner as great hurt as they could his own good eale; even as if the Country

would they not therefore iffue forth of their do to Apollonius; and having the victory tafeatling at Chalcis after his marriage, and his lately escaped from Samos. For with fire in fouldiers betook themselves to Riot, as it had their Prows they ran upon the enemy: who been in a time of great fecurity: a good man declining them for fear, laid open his fide: of war might have cut all their throats, even and was thereby in greater danger of being as they were tipling in their victualling hou- ftemmed. After no long fight, the Kings fes; which Fbilopemen faid that he would Navy hoysted fail: and, having a fair have done, had he been General of the Ache- wind, bore away toward Ephelis as falt as they could. Yet forty of their Gallies they Antiochus was full of bufiness; and turn-left behind them; whereof thirteen were ing his care from one thing to another with a laken, all the rest burnt or sunk. The Ro-

that came to fue for peace. This Embasla- peace. dor declared in his Masters name, That the fame things which had hindered him from his advice. For feeing that the Conful deobtaining peace of the Romans heretofore, manded of him no less, than if he had been did now perswade him, that he should easi- already subdued: little reason there was ly come to good agreement with them. For that he should fear to come to battel; wherein all disputations heretofore, Smyrna, Lamp- in he could lose, as he thought, no more, facus, and Lyfimachia, had been the places than by feeking to avoid it he must give way. about which they varied. Seeing therefore He had with him threefcore and ten thouthe King had now already given over Lyfi- land Foot, and twelve thouland Horle; bemachia, and was further purposed, not to sides two and fifty Indian Elephants; and strive with the Romans about Lampfacus and many Chariots armed with hooks or sythes, Smyrna: what reason was there, why they according to the manner of the Eastern should need to trouble him with war? If it Countrys. Yet was he nothing pleased, to was their defire, that any other Towns up- hear that the Conful drew near him apace, on the Coast of Asia, not mentioned by them as one hastening to fight. But howsoever he in any former Treaties, should be also set was affected: He made so little shew of fear, at liberty, or otherwise delivered into their that hearing P. Scipio to lie sick at Elea, He hands: the King would not refuse to gra- fent thither unto him his son without rantifie them therein. Briefly, let them take some both desirous to comfort this fome part of Asia: so as the bounds dividing noble Warrior in his sickness, and withall them from the King, might not be uncer- not defirous to retain the yong Gentleman tain, and it should be quietly put into their for a pledge of his own safety. Thus hands. If all this were not enough, the ought his bounty to be constant. Otherwise King would likewife bear half the charges, it might be suspected, That herein he dealt whereat they had been in this War. So craftily. For fince he could have none other praying the Romans to hold themselves con- ransome of Scipio, than such as an honouratented with these good offers, and not to be ble man, that had no great store of wealth, too insolent upon confidence of their for- might pay: better it was to do such a courtune, he expected their answer. These offers teste before the battel, as would afterwards which to the Embassador seemed so great, have been little worth; than to stay until were judged by the Romans to be very little. the Romans, perhaps victorious, should exact For they thought it reasonable, that the it at his hands. P. Scipio was greatly com-King should bear all the charges of the war, forted with the recovery of his son; so as fince it began through his own fault: and the joy thereof was thought, to have been that He should not only depart out of those much available unto his health. In recomfew Towns, which he held in Lolis and Io- pence of the Kings humanity, He faid only nia; but quite out of Asia the less, and keep thus much unto those that brought him this himself on the other side of Mount Taurus, acceptable Present, I am now able to make When the Embafiador therefore faw, that your King none other amends, than by advising no better bargain could be made, He dealt him not to fight until he shall hear that I with P. scipio in private: and to him he pro- am in the Camp. What he meant by this, miled a great quantity of gold, together it is hard to conjecture. Antiochus resolwith the free restitution of his son, who ved to follow his counsel: and therefore (it is uncertain by what mischance) was ta- withdrew himself from about Thyatira, beken prisoner, and most honourably entertai- youd the River of Thrygius or Hyllus, unto

had been his already. The first news that he King in my name, that I would advise him to heard of the enemy was by an Embassador refuse no Condition whereby he may have

The King was not any whit moved with ned by the King. Scipio would not hearken Magnesia by Sypilus: where encamping, he to the offer of gold: nor otherwife to the fortified himself as ftrongly as he could. restitution of his son, than upon Condition, Thither followed him L. Scipio the Con-That it might be with making fuch amends ful, and fate down within four miles of for the benefit, as became a private man. As him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, for the publick business: He only said thus most of them Gallo Greeks, came to bid much, That fince Antiochus had already for- the Romans welcome: of whom at first faken Lysimachia, and suffered the war to they slew some; and were anon, with take hold on his own Kingdom; there was some loss, driven back over the River. now none other way for him, than either Two dayes were quietly fpent, whileft neito fight, or yield to that which was required ther the King nor the Romans would pass the at his hands. Wherefore, said he, tell your water. The third day the Romans made Hununu 2

sturbance; nor were at all opposed, until ed in a manner needles. Two thousand they came within two miles and a half of Voluntaries, Macedonians and Thracians Antiochus his Camp. There as they were were left to guard the Camp. The Conful taking up their lodging, they were charged had with him fixteen African Elephants. by three thousand Horse and Foot: whom which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch the ordinary Corps de guarde repelled. Four as had they come to fight with those of Andayes together after this, each of them tiochus, they only would have served to difbrought forth their Armies; and set them in courage his men; as being sure to be beaorder before the Trenches, without advanten: the Indian being far the greater. cing any further. The fift day the Romans and more couragious beafts: whereof came half way forward, and prefented bat- Antiochus had likewise much advantage in tel 5 which the King would not accept. number. Thereupon the Conful took advice what was to be done. For either they mult fight up-on whatfoever difadvantage, or elfe refolve to abide by it all Winter, far from any ordered according to the feveral kinds, in Country of their friends, and therefore sub- such wise as each might be of most use. The ject unto many difficulties: unless they main strength of his Foot consisted in fixteen would frain their honour by returning far thousand, armed all Macedonian-like, and back, to Winter in a more convenient called Phalangiers. These he placed in the place; and so defer the war until the next midst, and divided into ten Battalions: eve-Spring. The Roman Souldier was through- ry one having two and thirty in File, and ly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Issey in Front. Between every Battalion Wherefore it was the general Cry, That were two Elephants, goodly beafts, and this great Army should be assailed, even in such as being adorned with Frontals, high the Camp where it lay: as if rather there Crests, Towers on their backs, and bewere fo many beafts to be flaughtered, than fides him that governed the Elephant, four men to be fought with. Yet a day or two men in every Tower, made a gallant and passed, in discovering the fortifications of terrible shew. On the right hand of these Antiochus, and the safest way to set upon were sifteen hundred horse of the Gallohim. All this while P. Scipio came not. Greeks: then, three thousand Barbd Horse: Wherefore the King, being loth to dif and a Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, hearten his men, by feeming to stand in called the Agema, that were all Medians, the fear of the Enemy, refolved to put the choice of the Country, and accompanied matter to trial. So when the Romans took by fome others. All which Troops of Horle, the field again, and ordered their Battels: divided in their feveral kinds, do feem to He also did the like; and advanced so far, have followed one another in depth, ra-

ons, two Roman and two Latine: in each further to the right hand, was the Kings of which were five thousand and four hun own Regiment; called the Argyraspides, or dred men. The Latines, as usually, were in the | Silvershields, by a name borrowed from their points; the Roman, in the mean battel. All furniture, but nothing like so valiant as of them, according to their wonted form, those of the same name, that had served unwere divided into Maniples. The Haftati der Great Alexander : then, twelve hunhad the leading: after them followed the dred Archers on Horseback, three thouland Principes, at fuch diftance as was usual ; and light-armed Foot, two thousand & five hunlast of all, the Triarii. Now beside these, there dred Archers of Mysia; with four thousand were about three thousand Auxiliaries, slingers and Archers of the Cirtuani, and partly Acheans, and partly such as belonged Elymeans. On the left hand of the Phalangito Eumenes: which were placed in an equal ers, were placed the like numbers of Gallo-Front beyond the Latines in the right wing. Greeks, and Barbd Horle: as allo two thou-Ultmost of all (savesome five hundred Creif- and Horse that were sent from Arianabes, bank of the River: yet four troops of Horfe Lydians. In Front of all these Horse were

the adventure: wherein they found no di-[were placed there, though fuch help feem-

The Kings Army being compounded of that they might understand his meaning to ther than to have been stretched out in Front. Adjoyning unto these, were sixteen The Roman Army confifted of four Legi- | Elephants together in one flock. A little ans, and of the Trallians) were almost three with two thousand and seven hundred of thousand Horse : of which, Eumenes had divers Nations: and a Regiment of a thousand brought thither eight hundred, the reft be Horse more lightly armed, that were called ing Roman. The left wing was fenced by the The Kings Troop; being Syrians, Phygians, and

the Chariots armed with hooks or fythes, cultody of Sardes, and the Castle there, to and the Dromedaries, whereon fate Arabians one whom he thought faithful. But the with long Rapiers, that would ferve to reach | Towns-men and Souldiers were fo difmayed from those high Camels. Beyond these were, with the greatness of the Overthrow; that as in the right wing, a rabble of many Na- one mans faith was worth nothing. All the tions, Carians, Cicilians, Pamphylians, Pist- Towns in those parts, Without expecting dians, Cyrteans, Elymeans, and many others, fummons, yeelded up themselves by Embaihaving also with them fixteen Elephants. fadours: whom they sent to the Romans. Antiochus himself commanded in the right whilest they were on the way. Neither were wing: Scleucus in the left: and three of his many daies spent, ere Antiochus his Embassaprincipal Captains commanded over the dour was in the Camp: having none other Phalangiers.

ries, and armed Chariots: of which the ster. P. Scipio was now come to his brother, one, being like to terrifie the Horfe; the who obtained leave to make the answer, other, to break the Squadrons of the Foot; because it should be gentle. They requi-Eumenes with a few light-armed Cretians, red no more than they had lately done: Archers, Darters, and Slingers, eafily made which was, that he should quite abandon frustrate the danger threatned by them both. his Dominions on this side Taurus. For For with shoutings, and noises, and some their charges in that War, they required wounds, they were driven out of the field; fifteen thousand Talents: five hundred in and running back upon their own men, did hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the same harm which they had intended to the Senate and people of Rome should have the Enemies. Wherefore the Roman Horse | confirmed the peace; and the other twelve following this advantage, charged upon the thousand, in twelve years next ensuing, by left wing: whereas they found no refi- even portions. Likewise they demanded stance; some being out of order; others be- four hundred Talents for Eumenes; and some ing without courage. It is shameful to re- store of Corn, that was due to him upon a hearfe, and so strange, that it may hardly reckoning. Now besides twenty hostages feem credible: that the Phalangiers, with which they required, very earnest they were fuch variety of Auxiliaries, made little or to have Hannibal the Carthaginian, and no refistance; but all of them fled, in a Thoas the Ætolian, with some others who manner, as foon as they were charged. Only had stirred up the King to this war, delithe King, Antiochus himself, being in the vered into their hands. But any wife man left wing of his own battel: and feeing the might so easily have perceived, thas it would Latines, that ftood opposite unto him, weak- be their purpose to make this one of their ly flanked with Horse: gave upon them principal demands; as no great art was needcouragiously, and forced them to retire, ful to beguile their malice. The Kings Em-But M. Amilius, that had the Guard of the baffadour had full commission, to refuse no-Roman Camp, iffued forth with all his power thing that should be enjoyeed. Wherefore to help his fellows: and, what by perswa- there was no more to do, than to send immefion, what by threats, made them renew diately to Rome for the ratification of the the fight. Succour also came from the right Peace. wing, where the Romans were already victorious: whereof when Antiochus discover- mean while at Rome, M.Fulvius, and Cn. Maned the approach; He not only turned his lins Volfo. The Atolians defired peace, but Horse about, but ran away upon the spur could not obtain it: because they would acwithout further tarriance. The Camp was cept neither of the two Conditions to them defended a little while: and with no great before propounded. So it was decreed, That valour; though by a great multitude that one of the Confuls should make war upon were fled into it. Antiochus is faid to have the Ætolions; the other, upon Antiochus in lost in this battel fifty thousand Foot, and Asia. Now, though shortly there came news four thousand Horse; besides those that that Antiochus was already vanquished in were taken. Of the Romans, there were not battel, and had submitted himself unto all flain above three hundred Foot, and four that could be required at his hands: yet fince and twenty Horse: of Eumenes his followers the State of Asia was not like to be so five and twenty.

leucus was gone thither before. He left the by lot, had not his Province changed.

errand, than to know what it would please The first onset was given by the Dromeda- the Romans to impose upon the King his Ma-

There were new Confuls chofen in the throughly fettled by one Victory, but that Antiochus fled to Sardes, and from thence many things might fall out worthy of the to Apamea, the same night; hearing that Se- Romans care; Cn. Manlins, to whom Asia fell

Soon after this, came the Embassadours of King Antiochus to Rome, accompanied with the Rhodians, and some others : yea, by King Eumenes in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the business in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King Antiochus, there was no disputation: it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the distribution of the purchase. King Eumenes reckoned up his own deferts, and comparing himself with Masanissa hoped that the Romans would be more bountiful to him, than they had been to the Numidian, fince they had found him a King indeed, whereas Masanissa was only such in title; and since, both he and his Father had alwayes been their friends, even in the worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what he would have: He still referring himself to their courtesse; and they defiring him to speak plain. At length he craved that they would bestow upon him, as ved that they would be now upon him, as much of the Country by them taken from this long Interim of Truce, that haughty little Antiochus, as they had no purpose to keep in Nation had not sought to humble it self to their own hands. Neither thought he it the Roman Majelly, it was now to be brought needful, that they frould trouble themselves unto more lowly terms than any other of the with the care of giving liberty to many of Greeks. The best was, that so great a storm the Greek Towns, that were on Afia fide. For fell not unexpected upon the Assolians, fince the most of those Towns had been partakers with the King in his War; it was no Embaffadours were utterly denyed peace at reason that they should be gainers by his Rome: and they had provided the last reoverthrow. The Rhodians did not like of medy; which was, to entreat the Rhodians this. They degred the Senate to be truly Pa- and Athenians to become interceffours for trons of the Greeian liberty; and to call to them. Neither were they so dejected with mind, that no small part of Greece it self had any terrible apprehensions, that they could beensubject unto Philip, and served him in not well devise, even upon helping themhis War: which was not alledged against cleves by repurchase of Countries lost, where them as a cause why they should not be made they spyed advantage. free, after that Philip was overcome. But the main point whereon they infifted, was this, That the Victory of the Romans against King Antiochus, was fo great, as eafily might fatiffie the defires of all their friends. The Senate them bore a natural affection to their own was glad to hear of this; and very bounti. Prince) having been long accustomed to fully gave away fo much, that every one had lerve a Mountain Lord, that converfed with cause to be well pleased.

turning home, had granted unto him the ho- his Garrisons. They sent therefore some nour of a Triumph: the pomp whereof ex- few of them to their King, and offered their ceeded in riches, not only that of Titus Quin- fervice towards his restitution. At the first tus Flaminius, but of any ten that Rome had there were only four of them; neither grew beheld until that day. Now forafmuch as they, at length, to more than two and fifty, the furname of The African had been given which undertook the work. Yet, affurance unto P. Scipio, it was thought convenient by that all the reft would follow, made Aminanfome to reward L. Scipio with the title of der willing to try his fortune. He was at The Affatique: which the fortune of his Vi- the borders with a thousand Etolians, upon ctory had no less deserved; though the verthe day appointed: at what time his two tue, requifite to the purchase thereof, was no and fifty adventurers, having divided themway correspondent.

ø. IX.

The Etolians, and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquished by the Roman Confuls Fulvius and Manlius. Manlius bardly obtains a Triumph : being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have paffed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by Sibyl. Of Sibyls Prophecies; the Books of Hermes; and that Inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto. The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipio's: and that beginning and fattion among the Roman Nobility.

Arc. Fulvius and Cn. Manlius had the fame charge divided between them. which L. Cornelius Scipio, now Stiled Aliatieus, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans work, to look at once to Greece and to Asia. And for this reason was it apparent, that L. Scipio had granted fo long a Truce to the Ætolians. But fince, in They had foreseen the danger, when their

Poor King Aminander lived in exile among them, whilst Philip of Macedon kept, for him, possession of his Land and Castles. But the Athamanians (besides that many of them after an homely manner; could not Such end had the war against King Antio- endure the proud and infolent manner of chus: after which, L. Cornelius Scipio, re- command, used by the Captains of Philip selves into four parts, occupied, by the rea-

chief Towns in the Country, to his use. The der sent his excuses to Rome, praying the Sefame of this good fuccels at the first; nate not to take it in despight, that he had with divers Letters running from place to recovered his own from Philip with such help place, whereby men were exhorted to do as he could get. Neither feems it that the their best in helping forward the Action, Romans were much offended to hear of Phimade the Lieutenants of Philip unable to lip his losses: for of this fault they neither thiak upon refiftance. One of them held were sharp correctors, nor earnest reprothe Town of Theium a few dayes; giving vers. Fulums went in hand with the buthereby some leisure unto his King to pro- siness about which he came, and layed siege vide for the rescue. But when he had done his to Ambracia, a goodly Cicy, that had been best, he was forced thence, and could only the chief feat of Pyrrhus his Kingdom. With tell Philip, whom he met on the way, that all this he began, for that it was of too great was loft. Philip had brought from home fix importance to be abandoned by the Ætothousand men; of whom, when the greater lians: yet could not by them be relieved. part could not hold out, in fuch a running unless they would adventure to fight upon march, he left all fave two thousand behind equal ground. To help the Ambracians, it him, and so came to Athenaum, a little Atha- was not in the Ætolians power: for they manian Castle, that still was his, as being on were, at the same time, vexed by the Illyrians the frontier of Macedon. Thence he fent at Sea, and ready to be driven from their Zeno, who had kept Theium a while, to take new Conquest, by Perseus the Son of Philip, a place lying over Argithea, that was chief who invaded the Countries of the Amphiloof the Country. Zeno did as he was appoint- chians and Dolopians. They were unable to ed:yet neither he, nor the King had the bold- deal with fo many at once; and therefore as nels to descend upon Argithea; for that they earnestly sought peace with the Romans, as might perceive the Athamanians, all along they floutly made head against the rest. In the hill fides, ready to come down upon the mean while the Athenian and Rhodian them, when they should be busie. Wherefore Embassadors came, who belought the Connothing was thought more honourable than ful to grant them peace. It helped well that a safe retrait: especially when Aminander Ambracia made strong resistance, and would came in fight with his thousand Atolians. not be terrified by any violence of the Af-The Macedonians were called back from failants, or danger that might feem to wards Argithea, and prefently withdrawn threaten. The Conful had no defire to fpend by their King towards his own borders. But half his time about one City, and so be driven they were not suffered to depart inquiet at to leave unto his successour the honour of their pleasure. The Athamanians and Etolians finishing the War. Wherefore he gladly way-laid them, and purfued them so closely, hearkened unto the Atolians, and bade that their retrait was in manner of a plain them seek peace with faithful intent, withflight, with great loss of men and arms, out thinking it over-dear, at a reasonable few of those escaping, that were left be- price; considering with how great a part of hind, as to make a countenance of holding his Kingdom their friend Antiochus had

of Athamania so easie, made an attempt in try what good his perswasions might do with their own behalf, upon the Amphilochians the Citizens. So after many demands and and Aperantians. These had belonged unto excuses, the conclusion was such as was their Nation, and were lately taken by Phi- grievous to the weaker, but not unfufferlip; from whom they diligently revolted, able. The same Embassadours of the Atheand became Ætolians again. The Dolopians mians and Rhodians, accompanied those of lay next; that had been ever belonging to the Atolians to Rome, for procuring the the Macedonian, and so did still purpose to confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence continue. These took Arms at first: but soon and credit was the more needful in this inlaid them away; feeing their neighbours terceffion, for that Philip had made a very ready to fight with them in the Etolian grievous complaint about the loss of those quarrel, and feeing their own King so hastily Countries, which they had lately taken from gone, as if he meant not to return.

for that news came of Antiochus his last over- which those good Mediatours of Rhodes and throw, and of M. Fulvius the new Conful his Athens did earneftly folicite. The Etolians

dy affiltance of the multitude, four of the halting with an Army into Greece. Aminansomewhat in the Country, until Philip his made the same purchase. He also gave leave to Aminander, offering his service as a Me-The Ætolians having found the business diatour, to put himself into Ambracia, and him. Hereof the Senate could not but take Of these Victories the joy was the less; notice; though it did not hinder the peace,

people of Rome, and to observe divers Olympus and Margana. Articles, which made them the less free, and were exceeding hard of ascent, though none more obnoxious to the Romans, than any should undertake the custody. Being people of Greece; they having been the first therefore well manned and victualled for that called these their Masters into the along time; as also the natural strength Country. The Isle of Cephalenia was taken being helpt by such fortification as profrom them by the Romans: who kept it for miled greatest assurance: it was thought, themselves (as not long fince they had gotten that the Consul would either forbear the at-Zacynthus from the Acheans, by stiffly preftempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled; fing their own right) that so they might and that finally, when he had stayed there have possession along the Coast of Greece, a while, winter, and much want, should whileft they feemed to forbear the Country. force him to diflodge. Yet all this availed But concerning those places, whereto Phi- not, For, whereas the Gallo-Greeks had lip, or others might lay claim, there was fet been careles of furnithing themselves with down an order fo perplexed, as would ne-ceffarily require to have the *Romans* Judges forved well enough for that purpole: the of their Controversies, when they should Romans, who came far otherwise appointed, arife. And hereof good use will be shortly found greater advantage in the difference of made: when want of employment elfe- Arms, than impediment in difadvantage of where, finall cause a more Lordly Inquisition ground. Archers and Slingers did easily to be held, upon the affairs of Macedon and prevail against casters of stones; especially

fame time War in Afia, with the Gallo Greeks having prepared their stones before hand, and others. His Army was the same that but earthing up what lay next, the too great, had followed L. Scipio; of whose victory, his acts were the consummation. He visited fize. Finally the Barbarians, wanting dethose Countries on the hither fide of Tanrus, fensive Arms, could not hold out against the that had scarce heard of the Romans; to Arrows and weapons of the Roman light arwhom they were abandoned by Antiochus, mature: but were driven from a piece of Among thefethere were some petty Lords ground, which they had undertaken to or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that make good, up into their Camp on the top were together at wars, without regard of of the Mountain; and being forced out of the great alteration that happened in Afia their Camp, had none other way left, than From every of these he got somewhat; and to cast themselves headlong down the steep by their quarrels found occasion to visit Rocks. Few of the men escaped alive: those Provinces, into which he should else all their wives, children, and goods, behave wanted an errand. He was even loaden came a prey unto the Romans. In the very with booty, when, having fetcht a compass like manner were the rest of that Nation about Asia, he came at length upon the overcome soon after, at the other Mounover the Country: though, of late times, it by flight, as having fairer way at their was rather the fame and terrour of their backs. fore-passed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them up in reputation lius were appointed by the Senate, each Of the Romans they had lately such trial, of them to retain as Proconsul, his Province when they served under King Antiachus, as for another year. Fulvius, in his second made them to acknowledge themselves far year, did little or nothing, Manlim gave the worse men. Wherefore they thought it peace to those whom he had vanquished; as no small part of their safety, that they dwelt likewise to Ariarathes the Cappadocian, and upon the River Halfs, in an In-land Country, where those enemies were not very mitting themselves for fear of the Roman like to fearch them out. But when fuch Arms. He drew from them all, what prohopes failed; and when some Princes of sit he could; and laid upon themsuch contheir own Nation, that had been friends of ditions, as he thought expedient. He also did Eumenes, exhorted the rest to yeeld: then finish the league of peace with Antiochus; was no counsel thought so good, as to forfake their houses and Country, and, with all oath by Embassadours, whom he sent for that that they could carry or drive, to betake purpole. Finally, having fet in order the

were bound to uphold the Majesty of the themselves unto the high Mountains of being such as were these Gallo-Greeks, nei-Cn. Manlins, the other Conful, had at the ther exercised in that manner of fight, nor Gallo-Greeks. These had long domineered tain: only more of them saved themselves

These wars being ended: Fulvius and Man-

matters of the series and the series are series are series and the series are series and the series are series are series and the series are series and the series are series are series and the series are series and the series are series and the series are series are series and the series are series and the series are series are series and the series are series are series and the series are series are series are series and the series are series are series are series are series are series are series and the series are se the Gallo-Greeks had in fo many years extor-neither indeed had Manlius, nor the ten Deted from the wealthy Provinces that lay legates affifting him; but the Senate of Rome, round about them. Neither did this Army by which those Delegates were chosen, and of Manlius return home, rich in money alone, inftructed how to proceed. When Philip or cattel, or things of needful use, which therefore saw these upstart Kings of Pergathe Roman Souldier had been wont to take mus, whom he accounted as base companions, as the only good purchase; but furnished advanced to highly, and made greater than with fumptuous houshold-fruff, and flaves himself: yea himself unregarded, contemof price, excellent Cooks, and Musicians for ned, and exposed to many wrongs: then banquets; and in a word, with the feeds found he great cause to wish, that he had not

of that luxury, which finally over-grew and fo hastily declared himself against Antiochus, choaked the Roman vertue. The Country of Thrace lay between Hellefont and the Kingdom of Macedon, which been freed from his infolent Mafters. But way Manlius was to take his journy homeward. L. Scipio had found no impediment neß the Macedonian had, we shall very shortamong the Thracians: either for that he paf- ly be urged to discourse more at large. At fed through them, without any fuch booty as the prefent it was believed, that the Thracimight provoke them; or perhaps rather, ans were by him fet on, to affail the Romans because Philip of Macedon had taken order, passing through their Country. They knew that the Barbarians should not stir. But when all advantages, and they fell, unexpected, up-Manlius came along with a huge train of on the carriages that were bestowed in the baggage, the Thracians could not fo well midft of the Army; whereof part had alreacontain themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* took it otherwise than very pleatantly, to have this *Roman* Atmy robbed, and family, to have this *Roman* Atmy robbed, and family to have the same at the robbed and family to have the same at the robbed and family to have the same at the robbed and family to have the same at the robbed and family to have the same at the robbed and family to have the same at the robbed and the robbed and family to have the same at the robbed and the r moreover to restore unto him all the Greek their handle of Greece. Cities, that had been taken from him by the Romans. Such being the difference between them returned to the City, was granted the med sufficient, to breed in the Romans a due the Roman Captain or Army, that should

matters of Asia, he took his way toward the respect of him. But Eumenes took a surer or rather that he had joyned with Antiochus and the Ætolians, by whom he might have what great argument of such discontentedwell beaten on the way. He had cause to be enough to leave behind: though both the angry, feeing how little himfelf was regar- getting and the faving, did coft many I ves, ded, and what great rewards were given to as well of the Barbarians, as of the Romans. Eumenes. For he underftood, and afterwards They fought until it grew night: and then gave the Romans to understand, that Eumethe Thracians withdrew themselves, not with nes could not have abidden in his own King- out as much of the booty, as was to their full dome, if the people of Rome had not made content. And of fuch trouble there was war in Afa: whereas contrariwife, Antio-more, though less dangerous, before the chus had offered unto himself three thou- Army could get out of Thrace into Macedon. fand talents, and fifty thips of war, to take Through the Kingdom they had a fair march part with him and the Ætolians, promiting into Epirus; and fo to Apollonia, which was To Manlius, and to Fulvius, when each of

him and Eumenes, when the war began: he honour of Triumph. Yet not without conthought it no even dealing of the Romans, tradiction: especially to Manlins, whom some after their victory, to give away not only the of the ten Delegates, appointed to affift him, half of Asia, but Chersonesia, and Lysimachia did very bitterly tax, as an unworthy Comin Europe, to Eumenes, whereas upon him- mander. Touching the rest of their accusafelf they bestowed not any one Town. It tion; it sufficeth that he made good answer, agreed not indeed with his Nobility to go and was approved by the chief of the Senate. to Rome and begg Provinces in the Senate, One clause is worthy of more particular as Eumenes and the Rhodians had lately done. confideration. Reprehending his defire to He had entertained lovingly the two seipio's, whom he thought the most honourable they said, That with much ado he was kept men in Rome; and was grown into near from leading his arm, over Taurus, and adveracquaintance with Publius, holding corre-turing upon the calamity threatned by Sibyl's spondence with him by letters, whereby he verses, unto those that should pass the fatal made himfelf acquainted with the wars in bounds. What calamity or overthrow this Spain and Africk. This perhaps he dee- was, wherewith Sibyle prophecy threatned

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pass over Taurus, I do not conceive. Pompey have been quite omitted by Tacitus, by Suewas the first that marched with an Army be- tonius, by Dion, and by all which wrote of yond those limits: though the victories of those times? Philosophers and Poets would Lucullus had opened unto him the way, and not have suffered the matter to escape in had before hand won, in a fort, the Coun- filence, had it been true; neither can it tries on the other fide of the Mount; which be thought that Seneca, who then lived Lucullus gave to one of Antiochus his race, and flourished, would have abstained from though Pompey occupied them for the Ro- speaking any word of an argument so famans. Ent we find not, that either Lucullus or mous. Wherefore I am perswaded, that Pomper suffered any loss, in presuming to neg- this inscription, Simoni Deo Santo, was, by lect the bounds appointed by sibyl. Indeed some bad Criticisme, taken amiss in place the accomplishment of this Prophecy, fell of semoni Sango: a title four hundred years out near about one time, with the restitution older than the time of Simon Magus. For tion of Ptolomy King of Egypt, that was for the goods of one Vitruvius a Rebel, had bidden unto the Romans by the same sibyl. many ages before been consecrated semo-It may therefore seem to have had reference ni Sango, that is, To the Spirit or Demi-god unto the same things, that were denounced sangus, in whose Chappel they were beas like to happen upon the reduction of the stowed. So as either by the ill shape of Egyptian King. Whether the Oracles of the old Roman letters, or by some spoilthat Sibyl had in them any truth, and were not, time had wrought upon them; it might ea-Tolk depi- as Tully noteth, fowed at randome in the fily come to pass, that the words should be large field of Time, there to take root, and mif read, Simoni Sancto, and that some get credit by event; I will not here dispute. Christian who had heard of simon Magus, But I hold this more probable, than that the but not of Sangus, thereupon should frame restitution of Ptolomy to his Kingdom by Ga- the conjecture, which now passeth for a binius the Roman, should have any way be- true History. Such conjectures, being enter tokened the coming of our Saviour: as some tained without examination, find credit by both ancient and modern Christian Writers | Tradition, whereby also, many times, their have been well pleased to interpret Sibyl in fashion is amended, and made more Historithat prophecy. Of the sibylline predictions, cal, than was conceived by the Author. But I have sometimes thought reverently: though it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which not knowing what they were (as I think ought to frand firm upon a fure foundation) few men know) yet following the common lean over-hardly on a well painted, yet belief and good authority. But observati- rotten post. on of the shameful Idelatry, that upon all occasions was advanced in Rome by the line, it may be numbred among a few of the books of Sibyl, had well prevailed upon my richest, which ever the City beheld. Out of credulity, and made me suspect, though not that which he brought into the Treasury, 1/1.se Ca- the faith and pious meaning, yet the judge- was made the last payment of those moneys faub. Extr. ment of Eulebius: when that learned and which the Commonwealth had borrowed cia. 1. 4d excellent work of Master Casanbon upon the from private men, in the second Punick War. Annals of Cardinal Baronius, did altogether | So long wasit, that Rome had ftill some feelfree me from mine error; making it appa- ing of Hannibal: which being past, there rent, That not only those prophecies of si- was remaining neither care, nor memory, byl, wherein Christ so plainly was shewed, or any danger. This Triumph of Manline but even the books of Hermes, which have was deferred by him, even so long as he well born such reputation, were no better than could: for that he thought it not safe, to counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained make his entrance into the City, until the (who foever devised them) by the undiscreet heat of an Inquisition, then raging therein, zeal of luch, as delighted in feeing the Chri- should be allayed. The two scipio's were ftian Religion strengthened with forreign called one after another, into judgement, proofs. And in the same rank, I think, we by two Tribunes of the people; men, only ought to place that notable Hiftory, re- by this accusation, known to Posterity. P. Sciported by Eusebius from no mean Authors, pio the African, with whom they began, Of the honour which was done to Simon could not endure that fuch unworthy men English. East Magus in Rome; namely of an Altar to him should question him, of purloining from the erected, with an inscription, Simoni Deo Common Treasury, or of being hired with Sancto, that is, To Simon the holy god. For bribes by Antiochus, to make an ill bargain

Now concerning the Triumph of Cn. Manwhat can be more strange, than that a for his Country. When therefore his day thing so memorable, and so publick, should of answer came; he appeared before the Clients, with which he passed through the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not to speak. Having audience, he told the lingular industry; frugal also, both of the people, That upon the same day of the year publick, and of his own; so as in this kind he had fought a great battel with Hannibal, he was even faulty: for though he would and finished the Punick War by a signal vi- not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he unctory. In memory whereof, he thought it merciful and unconfcionable, in feeking to no fit feason to brabble at the Law; but increase his own wealth, by such means as intended to visit the Capitol, and there give the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; thanks to Jupiter, and the rest of the gods, by which being poysoned with envie, trou-

Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but Oration was made by Cato, the supposed aufollowed by a great train of his friends and thor of these contentions, and instigator of midst of the Assembly, and offered himself perfect vertue, temperate, valiant, and of whose grace, both on that day and at other bled both himself and the whole City; whilst times, he had well and happily discharged he lived. His mean birth caused him to the most weighty business of the Common- hate the Nobility, especially those that were weal. And hereto he invited with him all the in chief estimation. Neither did he spare to wear. And neterione invited with initial and color contents and incipare to Citizens: requesting them. That if ever fines the seventeenth year of his life, until he now raised by desert, if their advancement were grew old, the bonourable places by them confers like to hinder his: but lately before this, red upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age, and yet his describ had exceeded the at Thermopyle, was his Competitor for the greatness of those konourable places: then would Cenforthip, and likely to carry it, he took they pray, that the Frinces and great ones of an Oath against him, which was counted as their City might still be like to him. Thele no better than malicious perjury, That he words were heard with great approbation : had not brought into the common Treasury so as all the people, even the Officers of the some vessels of gold and silver, gotten in the court followed scipio, leaving the Tribunes Camp of Antiochus. Now the hatred which alone, with none about them, excepting their he bare unto the Scipio's grew partly, (beown flaves and a Cryer, by whom ridiculouf- fides his general fpight at the Nobility) from ly they cited him to judgement, until for his own first rising, wherein he was countevery shame, as not knowing what else to do, nanced by Fabius Maximus, who brooked they granted him, unrequested, a surther not the African, partly from some check, that day. After this, when the African perceived was given unto himself, in the African voythat the Tribunes would not let fall their age, by P. Scipio, whose Treasurer he then fuit, but enforce him to submit himself to a was. For when Cato did utter his dislike of difgraceful trial: he willingly relinquished the Confuls bad husbandry (judging Magthe City, and his unthankful Romans, that inficence to be no better) in some peremptocould fuffer him to undergo fo much indigni- ry manner; scipio plainly told him, That ty. The rest of his time he spent at Liternum: he had no need of such double diligence in quietly with a few of his inward friends, and his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring without any defire of feeing Rome again. How what lies he published, or for want of judgemany years he lived, or whether he lived ment thinking unworthily of the vertue that one whole year, in this voluntary banish- was far above him, Caso filled Rome with ment; it is uncertain. The report of his untrue reports against his General; whose dying in the fame year, with Hannibal and noble deeds confuted sufficiently the author Philopomen, as also of his private behaviour of fuch false tales. And thus began the haat Liternum, render it probable, that he outlived the Tribune-ship of his accusers; who upon by the scipio's, whilst it was nourished meant to have drawn himback to his answer, by their enemy, brake out upon advantage, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had especially against L. Scipio: his brother bepower to hinder all the reft from proceed- ing dead, or out of the way. A fevere inquiing)had not caused them to desist. Howso- ry and judgment being appointed of purpose ever it was; the same Tribunes went more against Scipio, matters were so carried, that flarply to work with L. scipio the Affatique. he was foon condemned in a fumm of money, They propounded a Decree unto the People, far exceeding his ability to pay. For non-paytouching money received of Antiochus, and ment, his body should have been laid up in not brought into the common Treasury; that prison: but from this rigour of the Law he the Senate should give charge unto one of was freed by Tiberius Gracehus, the same the Prætors, to inquire, and judicially deter- Tribune who had caused the suit against the mine thereof. In favour of this Decree, an Africanto be let fall. n his c ftate, which

there neither appeared any fign of his having Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming been beholding to Antiochus, nor was found any Citizen enemy to the State, they thought fo much as what he had been condemned to to have won a great advantage over the pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose multitude. But after the death of C. Gracehus, hands had been against him, into the indig- and of Saturnius a popular man; whom by nation of the People. But for this was L. Scipio fuch authority they did put out of the way; no whit the better. His kindred, friends, it was not long ere Marius a famous Captain and Clients, made such a Collection for him, of theirs, was so condemned, who by force as would have fet him in better estate than of arms returned into the City, and murbefore, if he had accepted it. He took no dered all the principal Senators: whereupon more than such of his own goods, as were began the Civil Wars; which giving unto of necessary use, being redeemed for him by splla, who prevailed therein, means to make

his nearest friends. in the Roman pleadings: which had either tain the like foveraign power, when by the not been, or not been much regardable, like Decree of the Senate he was provoked. until now, fince the Punick War. Secu- It is true, that never any Conful had finally rity of danger from abroad, and some want cause to rejoyce, of his having put in execuof sufficient employment, were especial helps tion such authority to him committed by the to the kindling of this fire; which first caught | Senate. But as the fury of the multitude, in hold upon that great Worthy, to whole passing their Laws, by hurling of stones, and vertue Rome was indebted, for changing in other violence made the City stand in need to fo great fecurity her extream danger. Of a Soveraign Lord: fo the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those while contain themselves within heat of that would not submit themselves, when they words, and cunning practice. For when the were over-topped by voyces in the Houle, Art of leading the mekitude, in such quar-resson business, grew to perfection, they that found themselves overmatched by their prevailing against his adversaries, he took adversaries at this kind of weapon, began to luch order, that neither Senate nor people, make opposition, first, with clubs and stones, should thenceforth be able to do him wrong. afterward with fwords; and finally, proceed- | So by intestine discord, the Romans consued from frayes and murders in the streets, ming all or most of their principal Citizens, unto battel in the open field. Cornelia, daugh- loft their own freedom, and became subter of Scipio the African, a Lady of rare ver- jects unto the arbitrary government of One; tue, that in honour of her two fons was more suffering this change in three generations, afcommonly named, Mother of the Gracchi, ter this beginning of their infolent rule, faw those her two sons whilest they were but wherein they took upon them as the highest young, flaughtered in Rome, together with Lordson earth, to do even what they lifted. fome of their friends, by those whom they Yet had not Rome indeed attained hitherto opposed, and their death not revenged by unto compleat greatness, nor believed other order of Law, but rather approved by the felf as if the had, whileft a King fare crown-Senate. At these times the Senators began to ed on the Throne of Alexander, continuing take upon them Authority, more than was and upholding the reputation of a former der this form, Let the Confuls provide, that was effected, the sequel will discover.

was confilcated to the use of the City, when the Commonweal receive no detriment. By this himself absolute Lord of Rome, taught Ce-And thus began the Civil war of the *Tongue* $\int ar$, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obto them belonging. They conferred upon the | Empire. Wherefore this confummation of her Confuls all the whole power of the City, un-honour was thought upon betimes. How it

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Second Macedonian War.

6. I.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were Associates of the Romans, when the War with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrel with Philip. They deal insolently with the Achaans. The Macedonian, being unready for War, obtains peace at Prome, by his Son Demetrius; of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.

Greece, were governed by the same Laws and | conformity unto them in matter of war and Magistrates, as they formerly had been, be- peace, together with the diversion of their forethe arrival of the Romans in those parts: thoughts another way, giving him leave to yet, in very truth (the publick declaration use his own even as he listed, until they excepted) they were none other than abso- should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was lute Vassals to the people of Rome. For of it a little available to him, that his Kingdom those five Prerogatives belonging to a Mo- bordered upon the Nations, by them not narch, or unto Soveraign Power, in whom- throughly fubdued. For upon the same reafoever it rest; namely, To make Laws, To create | fon (as well as upon his own high deserts) Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and War, To were they very loving unto Masanissa, and to beat Mony, and to referve (as the French call it) his House, until Carthage was ruined, and le dernier Ressort, or the last Appeals, the Ro- their Dominion settled in Africk: as likewise mans had affumed four; and the greatest of afterwards to the Kings of Mauritania, Capthem so absolutely, that is, The Appeal, or last padocia, and others: holding people in subrefort, as every petty injury offered to each jection unto themselves, by the Ministry of other by the forenamed Kings or States, was Kings; especially of such Kings, as were use-heard and determined either by the *Roman* ful and obsequious unto them. Embassadours, or Commissioners, in those Now the Macedonian was of a more noble places whence the Complaint came, or temper; and shewed himself not forgetful of otherwise by the Senators themselves within his own former greatness, the honour of his Rome; from whose arbitrement, or direction, race, or the high reputation of his Kingdom. if either King or Commonweals declined, He But such magnanimity was none otherwise or they were beaten, and inforced to obe-construed by the Romans, than as want of dience; or had their Estates and Regalities | due reverence to their estate, and a valuautterly diffolved. Nevertheless it is true, tion of himself against them: which, in the that they had their own Laws, and Officers | pride of their fortune, they could not enof their own ordaining: yet so, as neither dure. Wherefore notwithstanding that he the Laws were of force, when the Romans had lately given passage to their Armies interposed their will to the contrary, nei-thorow his Country, prepared the wayes for ther was their election of Magistrates so free, them, and furnished them both with victuals, as that they had not therein especial re- and other things needful, to transport them gard unto the good pleasure of these their over the Hellespont into Asia, against Antiochus:

ral Estates of Greece did bow very gently: manded to abandon the Cities of Anus and either as being thankful for their delive- Maronea, with all Pieces and places demandrance from a yoke more fenfibly grievous; ed by any of his neighbours; whereof maor, as being skilful in the Art of flattery, and ny of them he had lately conquered, by ditherein taking delight, fince therein con- rection or licence, even from the Romans fifted their chief hope of thriving; or, as be- themselves,

Fter the overthrow of Antio- | ing more fearful of displeasing the strongest, chus, although Philip of Mace- than mindful of their own honour. But Eudon, Eumenes King of Pergamus, menes living further off, and being most obthe Commonweal of the Ache- fequious unto the Romans, was not, of long ans, and all other the States of time, questioned about any of his doings: his

yet upon the complaint of Eumenes and the And to such degree of servitude the seve- States of Thessaly and Thrace, he was com-

Thefe

been part of Lysimachus his Kingdom: who since Antiochus had gotten all the Country from Ibrace Northwards, and to the North-thereabout, whilest Philip was busied in his west, extended his Dominion very far. He former war : and since they, by their viwere, extended in South and the first thought to have made himself Lord of ctory, had gotten unto themselves all the Transfioania: in which Province it is said, title, which Antiochus thereto could pretend. Hagory of That innumerable Medals of gold have Wherefore he only submitted his right unto Man, Fa been found, in the age of our Grand-fathers, the good pleasure of the Senate: referring cach of them weighing two or three Crowns, it unto their disposition, Whether Ann and and stamped with his Image on the one Maronea should be set at liberty: whether fide, on the other fide with Fidory. Of all left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon these Lordinips, the possession, or rather the Eumenes; who begged them, as an appendix title (for he lived not to fettle his Estate in to Lysimachia and Chersonesia, that were al-Europe) fell to Seleucus Nicanor by right of ready his by their gift. What they would war, wherein he vanquished and slew Lyfimachus: as also, by the like right, Ptolomy Cerannus thought them his own, when he had him: who fitting as Judges between him and murdered Selenens. But the inundation of all that made complaint upon him, gave fenthe Gaules, which the Kingdom of Macedon could not fultain, did fhortly and eafily wash vertheless, he sent Embassadours to Rome, away from that Crown, together with the more part of Thrace, all those heaps of Land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this it might prevail) was wholly on his fide. For was afterwards regained by Antigonus the Son of Demetrius and his fuccessiers: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The fury of the Gauls being over past, those now taken from him by their Embassadors: Countries which lately had been oppressed and would shey now deprive him of those by them, recovered their liberty; and not two Towns, lying to fitly for the guard of only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the Dardanians and wild Thrus; self out of the ruines of Antiochus, like as ans, to find their advantages, and make out of his own ruines Antiochus had gotten use of them, even upon alicedon. Against in those quarters a great deal more? By the mischiels commonly done by these, King such allegations either he was likely to pre-Thilip did provide the most convenient reme vail, or at leastwise to gain time, wherein he dies; by thutting up the wayes, whereby the might bethink himfelf what he had to do. Dardonians might enter into his Kingdom; It was not long ere he had word from Rome, and by eccupying Infimackia, with some That the Senate were no more equal to him, other Towns in Thrace, which he fortified, than had been their Embassadors. Whereas Bulwarks of his own Country, against fore, considering how infolently the Marothe Barbarians. Now, although it beho- nites had behaved themselves, in pleadved him thus to do, for the defence of his ing against him for their liberty, he took own estate: yet for a much as these Towns counsel of his own passion; and (as by nawere, in a manner, at abfolute liberty, his ture he was very cruel) gave order to onepossession of them was thought to partake mastus, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, more of violence than of justice. And in this to handle these Maronites in such fort, as they fon did only fave it from the *Thracians*: who, as from as he thence withdrew his men, did feize upon the Town, and ruine it. The

Thefe Towns of Anus and Maronea had | Romans were not without their cwn title; determine, he might eafily perceive, by the demeanor of their Emballadors towards tence against him in every controversie. Nethere to maintain his right unto these Towns; wherein he thought, that equity (if he had holpen their Consuls in the war against Antiockus and the Ætolians: wherein whatfoever he had gotten for himfelf, was his Kingdom, which he had gotten to himrespect he was formerly accused by the Æto might have little joy of the liberty by them lians, of wrongful ulurpation and oppref lo carnelly defired. Onomafus employed fion, in his having occupied Lyfimachia. Here | Calfander, one of the Kings men dwelling in to he made a good answer. That his Garri- Maronea, and willed him to let in the Tralike perhaps he might have faid, touching fadors who had better notice, than could Enus and Maronea; That they were places have been feared, of these proceedings; that unable to defend themselves, and Gates, by the King was by them directly charged with which the Barbarians might have entrance the crime, and called more firifly, than beinto his Kingdom. But this Plea had not availed him, in the disputation about Lystandin; and in the crestory question. machia: and in the present question, the layd it even upon the Maronites: affirming,

regard would be born unto his person.

that they, in heat of their Factions, being | Whilest this business with the Macedonian fome inclinable to him, othersome to Eume- hung in suspence, and whilest he, by his nes, had fallen into fuch outrage, that they readiness to make submission, seemed likely had cut one anothers throats. And hereof he to divert from himself some other way the willed the Embassadours to enquire among Roman Arms: the same Embassadors, that the Maronites themselves: as well knowing, had been Judges between him and his that they who furvived, were either his neighbours, made their progress thorow the own friends; or so terrified and amazed by rest of Greece; and took notice of the Conthe late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durft not utter an offen- Estates in the Country. The greatest cause five word. But he found the Romans more that was heard before them, was the comfevere, and more thorowly informed in the plaint of the banished Lacedemonians against business, than to rest contented with such the Achaans. It was objected unto the Achaan answer. He was plainly told, That if he ans, That they had committed a grievous would discharge himself of the crime ob- slaughter upon many Citizens of Lacedamon: jected; he must send Onomastus and Cassan- That unto this cruelty they had added a der to Rome, there to be examined as the Se- greater, in throwing down the walls of the nate should think fit. This did not a little City: as also further, in changing the Laws, trouble him. Yet he collected his spirits, and and abrogating the famous Institutions of Lyfaid, that Caffander should be at their dispo- curgus. Hereto Lycortas the Prætor of the fition: but concerning Onomastus, who had Acheans, made answer, That these banished not been at Maronea, nor near to it, he re- Lacedemonians, who now took upon them quested them not to press him; fince it stood to accuse the Nation that had once protectnot with his honour fo lightly to give away ed them, were notoriously known to be his friends. As for Caffander, because he the men, who had themselves committed that should tell no tales; He took order to have murder, whereof shamelesly they laid the him poyfoned by the way. By this we fee, blame upon others: the Acheans having not that the Doctrine which Machiavel taught only called those unto judgment, that were unto Casar Borgia, to imploy men in mis- supposed to be chief Authors of a Rebellion chievous actions, and afterwards to destroy against both them and the Romans: and them when they have performed the milchief, was not of his own invention. All vate, though just hatred, as they were comages have given us examples of this goodly ing to make answer for themselves. Concernpolicy, the latter having been apt scho- ing their throwing down the walls of Lacelars in this lesson to the more ancient: as demon, he said it was most agreeable to Lythe reign of Henry the eighth, here in Eng- curgus his Ordinance: who, having perland, can bear good witness; and therein swaded his Citizens to defend their Town especially the Lord Cromwell, who perished and liberty by their proper vertue, did inhiby the same unjust Law that himself had de- bit unto them all kind of fortifications : as vised, for the taking away of another mans the Retraits and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof Lacedamon had woful experience) Such actions of Thilip made an unpleasant of Tyrants and Usurpers. Further he noise at Rome, and were like to have shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built brought upon him the war which he feared, these walls, and hemmed in the Spartans, had before he was ready to entertain it. Where- also quite abolished Lycurgus his Ordinanfore he employed his younger Son Demetrius ces; and governed the City by their own as Embassadour unto the Senate: giving lawless Will. As for the Acheans; they com-him instructions, how to make answer to all municated their own Laws, which they held complaints, and withall to deliver his own for the best, or else would soon change them, grievances in such wise, that if ought were and take better, unto the Lacedamonians; amiss, yet might it appear that he had been whom they found without Laws, or any tostrongly urged to take such courses. The lerable form of policy. For conclusion, Lyfumm of his Embassage was, to pacifie the cortes plainly told App. Claudins, the chief Romans, and make all even for the present. of the Embassadours, That he and his Coun-Demetrius himself was known to be very ac-trymen held it strange, being friends and ceptable unto the Senate; as having been well faithful Allies of the Romans, to fee themapproved by them, when he was Hostage in selves thus constrained, to answer and give Rome: and therefore feemed the more like- account of their actions, as vaffals and flaves ly to prevail somewhat; were it only, in that unto the people of Rome. For if they were indeed at liberty: why might not the

as the Romans did butie themselves, to take more bought revenge at the price of selfaccount how things went at Lacedemon's ruine, brought them from the honour which For if the Romans would stand upon their they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cigreatnes; and intimate as they begun, that ties, into most base and fearful servility. the liberty of their friends was nothing worth, longer than thould please themselves who, though he saw the Greeks very far to ratificit: then must the Acheans have re- from daring to stir against those, by whom course unto those Agreements that were both he and they were kept in awe; yet confirmed by oath, and which, without per- was he not without hope, that (few of them jury, could not be violated; as reverencing, excepted, whom the Romans by freeing from and indeed fearing the Romans, but much his subjection, had made his implacable enmore, the immortal gods. To this bold an mies) in hearty affection all the Country fwer of Lycortas, Appius found little to reply. would be his, whenfoever he should take Yet taking state upon him; he pronounced Arms, as shortly he was like to do. Young more like a Mafter than a Judge, that if the Demetrius, coming home from Rome, brought more need is after than a judge; that it the with him the delired ratification of peace; with him the delired ratification of peace; and carn thanks whileft they might; they though qualified with much indignity foon should be compelled with a mishief, to do following. He had been lovingly used at what was required at their hands, whether at Rome, and heard with great favour in the they would or no. This altercation was in Senate. There, being confounded with the the Parliament of the Ackeans, which groan multitude of objections, whereto his youth, ed to hear the Lordly words of Appies. Yet unfkilful in the Art of wrangling, could not fear prevailed above indignation: and it readily make answer: it was permitted unwas permitted unto the Romans to do as to him, to read fuch brief notes as he had they lifted. Hereupon the Embasladours received from his Father, and our of those refrored some banilled and condeauned men: the Senate were contented to gather fatifbut the Roman Senate, very focu after, did faction; more for Demetrius his own fake, make void all judgments of death or banish as they then faid, and wrote into Macedon, ment, that had been laid by the Acheans, than for any goodness in the defence. Such upon any Citizen of Lacedemon; as likewife pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the they made it a matter of difputation, whee intreaty of his Son, together with some insother or no the City and Territory of Lace- lence of his Son, growing (as appeared) damon should be suffered to continue a member of the Achean Common-wealth: or, taken from them, and made as it had been an him a jealousse of his too forward Son. To Estate by it self. By bringing such a matter set him forward in these passions, there came imo question, the Remans well declared, daily new Embassadours from Rome, some that they held it to depend upon their own bringing one commandment, some another; will, how much or how little any of their and fome requiring him to fulfill thole things, Confederates should be suffered to enjoy: which had been imposed upon him by their though by contributing sparta to the coun-fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that cel of Achaia, they discovered no less, as to observed his countenance : and when he had them feemed, the love which they bare unfulfilled all that was required at his hands; to the Achaians, than the power which they yet laid it to his charge, that he had done had over them.

in the like case they should expect; yet could by meer favour of the Romans. This offended not the true reasons of Estate and Policy so not only Perseus, but Philip himself: who

Acheans as well require to be fatisfied about prevail with them, but their private passions, that which the Romans had done at Capua, and neighbouring hatred, which hath ever-

All this made well for Philip of Macedon: from this favour of the Romans; did increase in Philip his hatred unto Rome, and breed in things unwillingly, and would be obedient htto fisch flavery had the Greeks, and all no longer than he needs must. With these Kings and Common-weals what foever, bor- Embaffadours young Demetrius was converdering upon any part of the Mediterranean fant: rather perhaps out of simplicity, and Seas, reduced it emselves, by calling in the Romans to their succour. They wanted not any ambitious respects, yet a great deal more the good counsel and perswasions of many than was pleasing to his Father. So the ruwife and temperate men among them; they mour grew current through all Macedon, had allothe examples of the Italians, Spa- That Perfeus, the elder Son of the King, niards, Gauls, and Africans, all fubdued by should not succeed unto his Father, but that the Romans 5 and, by feeking Patronage, the Diademe should be conferred upon Demade meer Vallals; to instruct them, what metrius, if not by some other pretence, yet fuspected his younger Son, as more Roman their aid, compelled Philopamens horse-men than hisown; and accordingly misconstrued to turn back. Philopemen himself had long all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the been fick of an Ague, and was then very bitter fruits of this jealoufie, it will not be weak: yet the greatness of his courage amis to speak of some memorable accidents would not suffer him to be negligent of their that were in the mean time.

CHAP: VI.

16. II.

of late been so peremptory with the Acha- upon him, and took him; yet scarce beans; that they seemed not unlikely to lieved their fortune to be so good, although take part against them in any controversic their eyes were witnesses. The first messes that should be moved. Hereupon the ger that brought these news to Messene Messenians, who against their will were annexed unto the Achean Common-wealth, having long been of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themfelves from that Society, with purpose to set him, and behold the spectacle seeming so inup again the Estate of their own, seve-credible! They caused him to be brought red from communion with any other. This into the Theatre, that there they might fawas the device of fome that were power- tisfie themselves with beholding him. The ful in their City; who finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpose, and not over-strongly affected in the business, were careful to feek occasion of reducing things to such pass, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessity of stand- nifest their good will for his delivery. Conbegan to make head again: and with the wrought the sooner; and easily took away help of those, who very seasonably came to his life. The deheans, when they missed him

fafety, which had so willingly adventured themselves under his conduct. He took upon him to make the Retrait: and fuffering his horse-men to pass along by him in a nar-The death of Philopoemen, Hannibal, and row lane, he often turned about against the Scipio. That the Military profession is of all Messenians; whom, the reputation and the other the most unbappy: notwithstanding knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie some examples, which may seem to prove the from approaching over near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being cast to ground by a fall off his horse, and being with-HE Romans wanting other matter of all in very weak plight of body, he was unquarrel in the Continent of Greece, had able to get up again. So the Enemies came was so far from being believed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the City ran forth to meet greatest part of them had compassion on his mif-fortune: and in commemoration both of his virtue, and of the fingular benefits by him done unto them, especially in delivering them from Nabis the Tyrant; began to maing out, and of not returning to the Achean trariwise, Dinocrates and his Faction were League. And hereupon they began to defirous hastily to take away his life: because do some acts of hostility, whereby it was they held him a man implacable, and one probable that blood flould be drawn, that would never leave any digrace, or injuand either fide so far exasperated, that ry done to him, unrevenged. They durst little hope of agreement would be left. Up not one trust another with the keeping of on the fame of their commotion and pro- him: but committed him into a ftrong ceedings; Philopamen, then Prator of the vault under ground, that had been made for Acheans, levied fuch forces as he could in the cultody of their Treasure. So thither hafte, and went against them. Many princi- they let him down fast bound, and with an pal Gentlemen of the Acheans, especially of Engine laid an heavy stone upon the mouth the Megalopolitans, were foon in a readi- of the Vault. There he had not flayed long, ness to wait upon him. Besides these, which ere his enemies had concluded his present were all, or for the most part, horse, he had death. The Hangman of the City was let fome Auxiliaries out of Thrace and Crete, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompliant took in his hand: and asking panied, he met with Dinocrates, Captain of no more than whether the Horse-men were the Messenians; whom he charged, and escaped, and particularly whether Lycorforced to run. But whileft his horte-men tas was fafe; when he heard an answer to were too earnest in following the chase; his mind, he said it was well: and so with a there arrived by chance a fupply of five chearful countenance drank his laft draught. hundred from Messene, which gave new cou- He was seventy years old, and weakned rage unto those that fled. So the Enemies with long fickness, whereby the poylon

ed with themselves, for that they had been sel to resort unto, he took the poison into his more mindful to preferve their own lives, hand, which he alwayes preferved for a fure than to look unto the fafety of fo excellent | Antidote against the sharpest diseases of ada Commander. Whileft they were devifing which being ready to fivallow what to do in fuch a cafe: they got adverdown he uttered these words: I will now tilement of his being taken. All Achaia (said he)deliver the Romans of that fear which was by this report vehemently afflicted: hath so many years possest them; that fear fo as Embassadours were forthwith dif which makes them impatient to attend the patched unto Messene, craving his enlarge- death of an old man. This victory of Flaminius. ment: and yet preparation made withall, to over me, which am disarmed, and betrajed inobtain it by force, in case that fair means to his hands, shall never be numbred among the would not ferve. Lycortas was chosen Ge- rest of his heroical deeds: No, it shall make it neral of the Army against Meffene: who manifest to all the Nations of the world, how coming thither, and laying fiege to the far the ancient Roman virtue is degenerate Town, enforced it in flort space to yeeld. and corrupted. For such was the nobleness of Then Dinocrates knowing what he was to their forefathers, as when Pyrrhus invaded expect, laid hands upon himself, and made them in Italy, and was ready to give them batan end of his own life. The rest of those tel at their own door, they gave him knowledge that had been partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds upon the after of Philopamen that were carryed home ed Flaminius, a man who hath heretofore been in solemn pomp to Megalopolis; where they were all of them flain at his funeral, as facrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. 9. Martius, a Roman Embassadour, was then in Greece; whence, upon one occasion or other, the Roman Embaffadours were feldome absent. He would have intermed- revenge his fidelity, drank off the poyson, and led in this business of Messene, had not Ly- dyed. cortas made fhort work, and left him nothing to do.

About the same time was T. Quintius Flaminius fent Emballadour to Prulias King of of them, as great Captains as ever the world Bithynia: not fo much to withdraw him from profecuting the war against Eumenes, as Certainly, for Hannibal, whose Tragedy we to entreat him that he would deliver Hannibal, the most spightful enemy in all the world | Carthaginians, and one who by his authority unto the Senate and People of Rome, into his might have commanded fuch supplies, as the hands. Prussas (therein unworthy of the War which he undertook, required; it is Crown he wore) did readily condescend: probable, that he had torn up the Roman or rather (as Livie thinks) to gratifie the Romans, he determined either to kill Hannibal, or to deliver him alive to Flaminius. For at home, as his proper virtue, wanting pubupon the first conference between the King lick force to sustain it, did lastly dissolve it and Flaminius, a troop of fouldiers were di- self in his own, and in the common milery of rected to guard and environ the lodging his Country and Common-weal. where Hannibal lay. That famous Captain having found cause before this to suspect the our equals, and jealousse of our Masters, be faith of Prusias, had devised some secret fal- they Kings or Common-weals, that there lies under ground to fave himself from any is no profession more unprosperous than treasonable and sudden assault. But finding that of men of war, and great Captains, now that all parts about him were fore-clo-being no Kings. For befides the envy and sed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which | jealousse of men, the spoils, rapes, famine, he then was constrained to practife, as well flaughter of the innocent, vastation and to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing burnings, with a world of mileries laid on over him, as to fave himself from their torture and merciles hands; who, as he well with good reason did Monlue the Marshal of knew, would neither respect his famous en- France confess, That, were not the mercies terprizes, his honour, nor his age. When of God infinite, and without refirition, it

in their flight, were marvellously offend- therefore he saw no way to escape, nor comof the treason intended against him by porion : whereas thefe of a latter race, have employone of their Confuls to practife with Prusias.contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given, and contrary to the Laws of Hofpitality, to slaughter or deliver up his own Gueft. He then curfing the person of Prusias, and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to

> In this year also (as good Authors have reported) to accompany Philopamen and Hannibal, died Scipio the African; these being all had; but not more famous than unfortunate. have now finished, had he been Prince of the Empire by the roots. But he was fo strongly crost by a cowardly and envious Faction

Hence it comes, to wit, from the envy of

for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were also infinite. Howsoever, this is true, That the vistonite. Howsoever, this is true, That the vistonite. ries which are obtained by many of the grea- | Cortese, who conquered Mexico; were crowntest Commanders, are commonly either ed with Nettles, not with Lawrel. The Earls ascribed to those that serve under them, to of Egmond and Horn had no heads left Fortune, or the cowardife of the Nation them to wear Garlands on. And that the against whom them serve. For the most of great Captains of all Nations have been others, whose virtues have raised them above paid with this Copper Coin; there are exthe level of their inferiours, and have fur- amples more than too many. On the mounted their envy: yet have they been re- contrary, it may be faid. That many have acwarded in the end, either with difgrace, ba quired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emnilhment, or death. Among the Romans we perours, by their great ability in matter of find many examples hereof; as Coriolanus, War. This i confess. Yet must it be had with-M. Livius, L. Amilius, and this our Scipio, all in confideration, that these high places whom we have lately buried. Among the have been given or offered unto very few, as Greeks we read of not many that escaped rewards of their military virtue; though these rewards. Yea long before these times, it was a Legacy that David bequeathed unto his victorious Captain Foab. With this ed. Neither is it unregardable, That the Tyfear Alexander feasted Permenio, Philotas, and rants, which have oppressed the liberty of others; and prepared it for Antipater and free Cities: and the Licutenants of Kings or Cassander. Hereunto Valentinian the Empe- Emperours, which have traiterously cast rour invited Ætim: who, after many other victories, overthrew Attelia of the Hunnes, their feats; were not all of them good men of in the greatest battel for the well fight- war: but have used the advantage of some ing and resolution of both Armies, that commotion, or many of them by base and coever was strucken in the world; for there wardly practices, have obtained those digfell of those that fought, beside run-awayes, nities, which undeservedly were ascribed to an hundred and fourfcore thousand. Here- their personal worth. So that the number upon it was well and boldly told unto the of those that have purchased absolute great-Emperour by Proximus, That in killing of ness by the greatness of their warlike virtue; Ætins, he had cut off his own right hand is far more in seeming than in deed. Phocas with his left: for it was not long after, that was a Souldier, and by the help of the Maximus (by whose perswasson Valentinian Souldiers he got the Empire from his Lord flew Ætius) murdered the Emperour, which Mauritius: but he was a coward 3 and, with he never durst attempt, Ælius living. And, a barbarous cruelty, seldom found in any befides the loss of that Emperour, it is true, other than cowards, he slew first the chil-That with Ætius, the glory of the Western dren of Mauritius, a Prince that never had Empire was rather diffolved, than obscu- done him wrong, before his face; and after red. The same unworthy destiny, or a far them Mauritins himself. This his bloody aspt-For this cause did Bajazet the second dif. But with Anastasius, Theodosius dealt more patch Baffa Acomat; Selim, strangle Baffa gently: for having wrested the Scepter out

were in vain for those of his profession to hope | Mustapha; and most of those Princes bring many have usurped them, by the help and favour of those Armies which they commanddown their Masters, and stepped up into worfe, had Bellifarius; whose undertakings ring was but as a debt, which was paid unto and victories were fo difficult and glorious, him again by Heraclius: who took from him as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. the Imperial Crown, unjustly gotten; and For he had his eyes torn out of his head by fet it on his own head. Leontins laid hold Fullinian: and he died a blind beggar upon the Emperour Justine, cut off his Nose Narfes also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion, was digraced by Justin. but Gods vengeance rewarded him with That rule of Cato against Scipio, hath been the same punishment, by the hands of Tiwell observed in every age fince then to wit, berins 5 to whose charge he had left his own That the Common-weal cannot be accouning men of war. Justine having recovered ted free, which standeth in awe of any one forces, lighted on Tiberius, and barbed him man. And hence have the Turke drawn after the same sa hion. Philippicus commandanother Principle, and indeed, a Turkish ing the forces of Justine, murdered both the one, That every warlike Prince should ra- Emperour and his Son. Anaftassus, the vafther destroy his greatest men of war, than sal of this new Tyrant, surprised his Mafuffer his own glory to be obscured by them. Her Philippieus, and thrust out both his eyes:

of his hands, he enforced him to become a advised, valiant, and faithful men, the proftheir own cruelty, by men alike ambi- der, by her felf chosen and imployed. tious and cruel; or how many hundreds, Ecles, 9, and a few men in it, and a great King came. L. Willowghly of Ersby, two very worthy and 14.8.15.

1084

Forts against it: And there was found a poor with them into the world their Titles and and wife man therein, and he delivered the Ci- Estates. ty by his wisdom: but none remembred this poor man. Great Monarchs are unwilling to her Men of War did sooner believe other men pay great thanks, left thereby they should than her self, a disease unto which many wise acknowledge themselves to have been indebted for great benefits : which the unwifer fort of them think to favour of fome im- feem altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, potency in themselves. But in this respect | yet can it not but in some fort accuse her of they are often times couzened and abuled; weakness. And exceeding frange it were, which proves that weakness to be in them were not the cause manifest enough, that indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the where the prosperous actions are so exceedopinion. Centrariwife, free Estates are boun- ingly prized, the Actors are so unprosperous tiful in giving thanks, yet fo, as those thanks and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, are not of long endurance. But concerning which hath wrought one and the same effect other profit which their Captains have in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that made, by enriching themselves with the spoyl those which are nearest the person of Princes of the Enemy, they are very inquisitive to (which Martial-men seldom are) can with no fearch into it 3 and to strip the well-deservers good grace commend, or at least magnific a out of their gettings: yea most injuriously profession far more noble than their own, to rob them of their own, upon a falle sup- seeing therein they should only mind position; that even they whose hands are their Masters of the wrong they did unto most clean from such offences, have purloyn- others, in giving less honour and reward to ed somewhat from the common Treasu- men of far greater deserving, and of far greary. Hereof I need not to produce examples: ter use than themselves. that of the two scipio's being so lately re-

the wars, which, for her own fafety, she was hath honoured more Martial men than all constrained to undertake, her Majesty had the Kings of England have done for this hunno less cause to use the service of Martial dred years. men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessors for many years had; yet accord- Howard for his chargeable and remarkable ing to the deftiny of that profession, I do not service, as well in the year 1588. as at Calia, remember that any of hers, the Lord Admi- the Islands, and in our own Sea ; having first ral excepted, her eldeft, and most prosperous commanded as a Captain, twice Admiral of a Commander, were either enriched, or Squadron, and twice Admiral in Chief. His otherwise honoured, for any service by them Majesty hath changed the Baronies of Montperformed. And, that her Majesty had many joy & Burley into Earldoms; and created sid-

Priest. It were an endlessand a needless work perity of her affairs did well witness, whoin to tell, how Leo rewarded this Theodofins, all her dayes never received dishonour by how many others have been repaid with the cowardise or infidelity of any Comman-

For as all her old Captains by Land died or rather thousands, hoping of Captains poor men, as Malbey, Randol, Drewry, Reade. to make themselves Kings, have by Gods Wilford, Layton, Pellam, Gilbert, Constable, justice miscrably perillied in the attempt. Bourchier, Barkeley, Bingham, and others: The ordinary, and perhaps the best way of so those of a later and more dangerous imthriving by the practice of Arms, is to take ployment, whereof Norrice and Vere were what may be gotten by the spoil of Ene- the most famous, and who have done as great mies, and the liberality of those Princes honour to our Nation (for the means they and Cities, in whose service one hath well had) as ever any did; those (I say) with deferved. But scarce one of a thousand have many other brave Colonels, have left behind prospered by this course. For that obserthem (besides the reputation which they vation, made by Salomon, of unthankfulness purchased with many travels and wounds) in this kind, hath been found belonging to nor title nor estate to their posterity. As for all Countries and Ages: A little City, the L. Thomas Eurrough, and Peregrine Berty against it, and compussed it about, and builded exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought

That her Majesty in the advancement of Princes, befides her felf, have been subject ; I fay, that fuch a confidence, although it may

But his Majesty hath already paid the greatest part of that debt. For besides the re-In my late Soveraigns time, although for lieving by Pensions all the poorer fort, he

He hath given a Coronet to the L. Thomas

ner Vicount, Knolles, Russel, Carem, Danvers, 1 tion, that dwelt beyond the River of Danu-Arundel of Warder, Gerald, and Chichester, Ba- bius, to abandon their seat, and come to rons, for their governments and fervices in him with all their multitude: who, besides the Netherlands, France, Ireland, & elsewhere. other great rewards, would help them to

ø. III.

Philip, making provision for war against the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own lubjects. His negotiation with the Bastarna. His cruelty. He suspecteth his son Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his brother Perseus; and shortly after slain by his fathers appointment. Philip repenteth him of his sons death whom he findeth to have been innocent: and intending to revenge it on Perseus, he dieth.

Ontius Martius the Roman Embassador, who travelled up and down, seeking what work might be found about Greece, had received instruction from the Senate, to who should withstand them upon the way: use the utmost of his diligence in looking rather it was thought, that the Scordisci, home, that he might not feem to have disco- whose Country they were to pass, would vered nothing, he told the Fathers, That accompany them against the Romans, were Philip had done whatfoever they enjoyned it only in hope of fpoil. Now to facilitate him: yet so, as it might appear, that such the remove of these Bastarna from their his obedience would last no longer, than own habitations, into the Land of the Darmeer necessity should enforce him thereun- danians, upon the border of Macedon; a to. He added further, That all the doings long and tedious journey unto them, that and fayings of that King, did wholly tend carried with them their wives and children: fing. Now it was so indeed, that Philip much of some Thracian Princes, Lords of the repented him of his faithful obsequiousness Countries through which they were to pass. to the Romans, and forefaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdom into their himself with the help of the wild Nations, otherwise (as to him seemed apparent) by to find affistance from any civil Nation, what means foever. He was in an ill about the whole compals of the Mediterracase: as having been already vanquished by nean Scas. But these devises were long ere them; having lost exceedingly both in they took effect: fo as the Bastarna came strength and reputation; having subjects that abhorred to hear of War with Rome; and death being the overthrow of that purpose. having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if In the mean time he neglected not the trainhe were thereto urged, would adventure to ing of his men to war, and the exercise of take his part: yet he provided as well as them in some small Expedition against those he could devile, against the necessity which wilde people that bordered upon him, and he daily feared. Such of his own people as dwelt in the maritime Towns, and gave him cause to suspect that they would do but bad fervice against the Romans, he compelled to that fell upon him, both in his Kingdom, forfake their dwellings, and removed them and in his own house. The Families and all into Emathia. The Cities and Coun-whole Townships, which he had caused much try, whence these were transplanted, he filled with a multitude of Thracians, whose faith dwellings, and betake themselves to such he thought a great deal more affured against new habitations, as he in his discretion those enemies that were terrible to the Ma- thought meeter for them, were vehemently cedonians. Further, he devised upon al- offended at the change. Yet their anger at luring the Bastarna, a strong and hardy Na- strict contained it self within words: he ha-

root out the Dardanians, and take possession of their Country. These were like to do him notable fervice against the Romans ; being not only frout fighting men, but fuch, as being planted in those quarters by him, would bear respect unto him alone, The least benefit that could be hoped by their arrival. must be the utter extirpation of the Dardanians; a people alwayes troublesome to the Kingdom of Macedon, whenfoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perswade those Bastarne, by hope of spoil, and other incitements. unto a more desperate Expedition, through Illyria, and the Countries upon the Adriatick Sea, into Italy it felf. It was not known into the Estate of Macedon. At his return and peradventure some others through unto rebellion, about which he was devi- | Philip with gifts did purchase the good will And thus he fought means to strengthen own hands; which fatety of their honour, which neither knew the Romans, nor were if they could find convenient means; or known unto them; fince he was not like not before fuch time as he was dead; his

But these his counsels and proceedings were miferably disturbed by the calamities against their wills to forsake their ancient

ration, otherwise than by neglecting their open and unwary in his actions, yet thought affection to the places wherein they had long old and crafty enough, to entertain more lived: which also he did unwillingly, being dangerous practices than his free speeches himself over-ruled by necessity, that seemed discovered. The jealous head of the King apparent. This evil therefore would foon having entertained fuch suspitions, that were have been determined, had not his cruel much increased by the cunning practice of and vindicative nature made it worfe. He his clder Son, a flight occasion made the fire could not pardon words proceeding from break out, that had long lain fmothered. A just forrow: but imputed all to traiterous Muster and ceremonious lustration of the malice; and accordingly fought revenge Army, was wont to be made at certaintimes where it was needles. In his rage he cau- with great folemnity. The manner of it at fed many to dye: among whom were fome the prefent was thus. They cleft in twain a eminent men; and few or none of them de-Birch; and threw the head and forepart, fervedly. This increased the hatred of the with the entrails, on the right hand, and the people, and turned their former exclama- hinder part on the left hand of the way tions into bitter curfes. Which grew the more which the Army was to pass. This done, the general, when the King in a barbarous and Arms of all the Kings of Macedon, from the bale fury, miftrufting all alike whom be had very first original, were born before the injured, thought himfelf unlike to be fafe, Army. Then followed the King between his until he should have massacred all the chil-two Sons: after him came his own band, dren of those Parents, whom tyrannically and they of his Guard; whom all the rest he had put to death. In the execution of of the Macedonians followed. Having perthis his unmanly pleasure, some accidents, formed other ceremonies, that Army was dimore tragical than perhaps he could have vided into two parts: which under the defired, gave men cause to think (as they Kings two Sons, charged each other in mancould not in reason think otherwise) that, ner of a true fight; using poles, and the like, not without vengeance poured on him from in fread of their pikes and accustomed wea-Heaven, he felt the like mifery in his own pons. But in this present skirmish there children. It is hard to say what the Romans appeared some extraordinary contention for intended, in the extraordinary favour which the victory: whether happening by chance, they shewed unto Demetrine, the Kings or whether the two Captains did overyounger Son. It may well be (though it may earneftly feek each to get the upper hand, be also suspected) that they had no purpole as a betokening of their good success in a to make and nourish diffention between the greater trial. Some small burt there was brethren, but only to cherifi the vertue and done, and wounds given, even with those towardiness of Demetrius; like as we find stakes, until Perseus his side at length reit in their Histories. But their notable fa- coyled. Perfens himself was forry for this, spirit, though much desective in valour. De- | go visit his brother, and see what chear he

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ving done them no great wrong in that alte-metrius was younger by five years, more vour towards this young Prince, and his mu- as it had been some bad presage: but his tual respect of them, bred extreme jealousie friends were glad, and thought, that herein the Fathers head. If any cultom of the of might be made good use. They were of Romans, the manner of their life, the fashion the craftier fort: who, perceiving which of their apparel, or the unfightly contriving way the Kings favour bent, and how all the and building (as then it was) of the Town courses of Demetrius led unto his own ruine, of Rome, were jested at in ordinary dif-addressed their services to the more malicicourse and table-talk; Demetrius was sure ous and crafty head. And now they said, to be presently on fire, defending and that this victory of Demetrius would afford praising them, even in such points as rather matter of complaint against him; as if the needed excule. This, and his daily conversa- heat of his ambition had carryed him tion with their Embassadours as often as beyond the rules of that solemn passime. Each they came, gave his Father cause to think, of the brethren was that day to feast his that he was no fit partaker of any counsel own companions, and each of them had spies held against them. Wherefore he commuin the others lodging, to observe what was nicated all his devices with his elder Son faid and done. One of Perfess his Intelligen-Perfeus: who fearing fo much left his brocers behaved himself so indiscreetly, that ther should step between him and the succet- he was taken and well beaten by three or fion, converted wholly unto his destruction, four of Demetrius his men, who turned him that grace which he had with his Father. out of doors. After fome flore of wine, De Perfess was then thirty years old; of a ftirring metrius told his companions, that he would

kept. They agreed to his motion, except- by his own virtue, at least wife from their opiing fuch of them as had ill handled his bro- mion thereof: fo as by any impious practice. thers man: yet he would leave none of his he were more like to lose it wholly, than to train behind, but forced them all to bear increase it. In this wretched pleading there him company. They, fearing to be ill re- wanted no fuch passions, as are incident to warded for their late diligence, armed them- fathers, children, and brethren, belides those felves fecretly to prevent all danger. Yet that are common to all Plaintiffs and Dewas there fuch good espial kept, that this fendants, before ordinary Judges. The King their coming armed was forthwith made pronounced like a Father, though a jealous known to Perseus: who thereupon tumul- Father, That he would conclude nothing tuously locked up his doors, as if he stood in upon the excess or errour, whatsoever it fear to be assaulted in his house. Demetrius wondred to fee himfelf excluded, and fared very angerly with his brother. But Perfew bidding him be gone as an enemy, and whole carriage of themselves both in word one whose murdrous purpose was detected, and deed. And herein he may seem to have fent him away with an entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the mat- from this time forward he gave himself over ter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the younger unto the Father of them both. Much there was alledged. and, in effect, the same that hath been here recited, fave that by misconstruction all was made worfe. But the main point of the accufation, and which did aggravate all the rest, sed between Demetrius and T. Quintius, or was, That Demetrius had undertaken this any other of the Roman great ones. And to murder, and would perhaps also dare to un- this purpose he sent Embassadours to Rome, dertake a greater, upon confidence of the Philocles and Apelles ; men whom he thought Romans; by whom he knew that he should no way interested in the quarrels between be defended and born out. For Perseus made the brethren, though indeed they altogether shew, as if the Romans did hate him; because | depended on the elder, whom they saw the he bore a due respect unto his Father, and more in grace. These brought home with was forry to fee him spoiled, and daily robbed them a Letter, said to be written by Titus of somewhat by them. And for this cause he faid it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they fought how to win unto Demetrius the love of the Macedonians. For proof hereof he cited a Letter, fent of late from Titus Quintius to the King himself: whereof the contents were, That he had done wifely in sending Demetrius to Rome; and that he should yet further do well to fend him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honourable train of cibly perswade the King to think his Son a That this counsel was given by Titus, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that trius in custody, made shew as if he had pimake them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become fervants to this young Traitor Demetrius. Hereto Demetrius made answer, by rehearing all passages of the day and night foregoing in such manner as he remembred them, and had conceived of them: ter likelihood, than he could find at home, bitterly reprehending Perseus, that converted matters of pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusathers death, As for the love which the Ro- on both hands, offered unto the Prince his

were, of one day and night, nor upon one hours audience of the matter, but upon better observation of their lives, manners, and dealt both justly and compassionately. But wholly to Perfew: using so little conference with his younger Son, that when he had marters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the Romans, he liked neither to have him prefent nor near unto him. Above all he had especial care to learn out what had pas-(whose feal they had counterfeited)unto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious defires had caufed him to enter into practices unjustifiable, against his elder brother, which yet should never take effect: for that Titus himfelf would not be author, or abettor of any impious device. This manner of excuse did for-Macedonian Lords. Hence he enforced, dangerous Traitor. To ftrengthen him in this opinion, one Didas, to whom he gave Demeshould wait upon his brother to Rome; and tied the estate of the unhappy Prince, and so wrung out of him his fecret intentions, which he shortly discovered unto Philip. It was the purpose of Demetrius to fly secretly to Rome; where he might hope not only to live in fafety, from his father and brother, but in greaof bettering such claim as he had in reversion unto the Crown of Macedon. What soever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought tion, whereby he fought his innocent bro- through the fallhood of Didas; who, playing mans did bear him, he said that it grew, if not help for making the escape, and in the mean

Winde So Philip refolved to put his Son to thing that could give him fatisfaction, or by death, without further expence of time. It good probability induce him to think, that was thought behoveful to make him away malice had not been contriver of the whole privily, for fear left the Romans should take process. His only remaining Son Perseus privily, for real reaction and hold it as a proof could foill diffemble the pleasure which he fufficient, at leaft, of the Kings despight took in being freed from all danger of comagainst them, if not of his meaning to renew petition as there might easily be perceived against them, a not of managed managed to in him a notable change, proceeding from the war. Didas therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This fome other cause, than the remove of those rid the unmappy rimite of this Kings unadvifed fendangers which he had lately pretended, accurfed minister of his Kings unadvifed fendangers which he had lately pretended. tence, first gave poylon to Demetrius: which The Romans were now no less to be feared wrought neither to hastily, nor to fecretly, as than at other times; when he, as having acwas defired. Hereupon he fent a couple of complished the most of his defires, left of his Ruffians, to finish the tragedy: who villain- usual trouble of mind, and carefulness of oully accomplished their work, by fmother-making provision against them. He was

greatest hope of Macedon.

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dealt with any Prince of his own blood. The houses of Lysimachus and Cassander fell either with themselves, or even upon their heels; by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on defire of foveraign rule, or fear of lofing if. By the like unnatural hatred, had almost been cut off the lines of much vexed: and so much the more, for Ptolomy and of Seleucus : which, though narrowly they cleaped the danger, yet were their Kingdoms thereby grievoully diftempered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upstart-family of the vellous greatness, in very short space, from which troubled the King, became also Kings of Pergamus had raised it self to marthe condition of meer flavery: whereof a partaker of his fecrets. This Counfellor, principal cause was, the brotherly love maintion of their piety. Neither was Philipignorant of these examples; but is said to have known whether Demetrins were guilty or no propounded the last of them to his own of the treason objected; as also that Philochildren, as a pattern for them to imitate. cles and Apelles (the Embaliadours which Certainly he had reason so to do: not more had brought from Rome that Epiftle of Flain regard of the benefit which his enemies minius, that ferved as the greatest evidence reaped by their concord, than in rememagainst Demetrius) were suspected of forgery he too late began to examine the crimes that practice of one Son, he had fo wretchedly head here of the day of had been objected; and to weigh them cast away another, far more virtuous and

while revealed the whole matter to the in a more equal ballance. Then found he noouny accompanied that Prince, in whose life confisted the more diligently courted, than in former In all the race of Antigonus there had not ference between a rifing and a fetting Sun. As been found a King, that had thus cruelly for old Philip, he was left in a manner fome scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with suspitious imagination; the like whereof he had never been flow to apprehend. He was fectly whereof to complain. One honourable man, a Couzen of his, named Antigonus, continued fo true to Philip, that he grew thereby hateful to Perfeus: and thus becoming subject unto the same jealous impressions against Perseus would not vent it self, and brance of the tender fosterage, wherewith in the business: made diligent enquiry after King Antigonus his Tutor had faithfully the truth. In thus doing he found one cherished him in his minority. But he was Xychus, a man most likely to have understood himself of an unmerciful nature 5 and there- what false dealing was used by those Embasfore unmeet to be a good perfivader unto fadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the kindly affection. The murders by him done Court, and prefented unto the King: faying, upon many of his friends, together with the that this fellow knew all, and must there barbarous outrages, which for the fatiating fore be made to utter what he knew. Xychus of his blood-thirfty appetite, he delightful- for fear of torture, uttered as much as was ly had committed upon many innocents, both before suspected: confessing against himself, ffrangers and fubjects of his own; did now that he had been employed by the Embaliaprocure vengeance down from Heaven, dours in that wicked piece of business. No that rewarded him with a draught of his marvel if the Fathers passions were extreme, own poyfon. After the death of his Son, when he understood that by the unnatural

innocent. He raged exceedingly against himfelf, and withall against the Authors of the mischief. Upon the first news of this discovery, Apelles fled away, and got into Italy; Philocles was taken : and either for a much as he could not deny it when Xychus confronted him, yielded himself guilty; or else was put to torture. Perseus was now grown stronger, than that he should need to fly the had been taken, long before, both for the Country: yet not fo frout as to adventure free paffage, and for the indempnity of himself into his fathers presence. He kept on the Country. This Compact was friendly the borders of the Kingdom towards observed, as long as no other was known Thrace, whilst his father wintred at Demetri- than that Philip did live to recompence all 28. Philip therefore, not hoping to get into that should be done, or sustained, for his ferhis power this his ungracious son, took a vice. But when it was heard, that a new resolution, to aliene the Kingdom from him, King reigned in Macedon; and not heard and confer it upon Antigonus. But his weak withal, that he took any care what became body, and excessive grief of mind, so of the enterprize: then was all dasht and condifabled him in the travel thereto belong- founded. The Thracians would no longer ing, that ere he could bring his purpose to afford so good markets unto these strangers. effect, he was constrained to yield to nature. as formerly they had done. On the other He had reigned about two and forty years: fide, the Baftarne would not be contented alwayes full oftrouble; as vexed by others, with reason, but became their own carvers. and vexing himself with continual wars; of Thuseach part having lost their rich hopes which that with the Romans was most un reposed in Philip, grew careful of thriving in happy, and few or none of the rest found the present; with little regard of right or the conclusion, which a wife Prince would wrong. Within a while they fell to blows; have defired, of bringing forth together and the Baffarne had the upper hand, so as both honour and profit. But for all the they chafed the Thracians out of the plain

edly gotten.

became more obnoxious to Rome, than in delightful spectacles, magnificently by him

ø. IV.

former times. Further quarrels to Perfeus. He feeks friendship of the Achaans, and is withflood by Callicrates. The Romans discover their intent of warring upon him.

Mmediately upon the death of Philip, came the Baftarne into Thrace; where order evil that befell him, he might thank his Countrys. But the victors made little use of own perverse condition: fince his Uncle, their good fortune. For whether by reason King Antigonus, had left unto him an estate, of some overthrow, received by them in asfo great, and so well settled, as made it easie faulting a place of strength; or whether befor him, to accomplish any moderate desires, cause of extream bad weather, which is said if he had not abhorred all good counsel, to have afflicted them as it were miraculous-Wherefore he was justly punished by feeling ly:all of them returned home, save thirty thousand, which pierced on into Dardania. the difference between the imaginary happiness of a Tyrant, which he affected, and How these thirty thousand sped in their voythe life of a King, whereof he little cared to age, I do not find. It feems that by the careperform the duty. His death, even whilft less using of some victories, they drew loss yet it was only drawing near, was fore-figni- upon themselves : and finally took that ocfied unto Perseus, by Caligenes the Physician, casion, to follow their companions back inwho also concealed it a while from those to their own Country. that were about the Court. So Perseus

As for Perfers, he thought it not expedicame thither on the sudden, and took post ent, in the novelty of his reign, to embroil fession of the Kingdom: which in fine he himself in a war so dangerous, as that with no less improvidently lost, than he had wick- the Romans was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the fetling of his Estate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himfelf, as the condition of his affairs should require, either for How the Bastarnæ fell upon Dardania. The be- war or peace. To prevent all danger of rehaviour of Perseus in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the Romans: and how tigonus. To winslove of his people, he sate they suffered Masanissa cruelly to oppress the personally to hear their causes in judgement, Carthaginians. They quarrelled with Per- (though herein he was so over-diligent and feus. They allow not their Confederates to curious, that one might have perceived this make war without their leave obtained. The his vertue of justice to be no better than fai-Treason of Callicrates, whereby all Greece ned) as also he gratified them with many

necessity of war with Rome: and therefore made lamentable complaint unto the Romade it his first work, to fend Embassadors man Senate. They shewed now grievously thither, to renew the league; which he ob- they were oppressed by reason of two Artained, and was by the Senate faluted King, tieles in their League: That they should not and friend ento the State. Neither was he make war out of their own Lands; nor negligent in feeking to purchase good will of with any Confederates of the Romans, Now the Greeks, and other his neighbours: but although it were so that they might lawwas rather berein to excellively bountiful, fully withfrand the violence of Mafaniffa, inthat it may feem a wonder how in few years, vading their Country, howfoever he was to his utter ruine, he became so griping and pleased to call it his: yet since he was Contenacious. His fear was indeed the mastring federate with the Romans, they durst not paffion which over-ruled him, and changed prefume to bear defensive arms against him, him into fo many shapes, as made it hard to but suffered themselves to be eaten up, for differn which of his other qualities were na- fear of incurring the Romans indignation. turally his own. For proof of this, there is Wherefore they intreated, that they might requisite no more, than the relation of his have fairer justice; or be suffered to deactions paft and following.

buffe in wars against the spaniards and Li- | That the Romans yet would be pleafed to garians; people often vanquished, and as determine, how far forth Mafanisa should often breaking forth into new rebellion. be allowed to proceed in these outrages. If They also conquered ffria; subdued the re- none of these petitions could be obtained. belling sardinians; and had some quarrels, then defired they, that the Romans would though to little effect, with the Illyrians and others. Over the Carthaginians they bore (as ever fince the victory) a heavy hand; and | peace; and vouchlafe to inflict on them such inflered Majaniffa to take from them what punishment as they themselves in honour he lifted. The Carthoginians, like obedient | thould think meet: for that better and more Valials to Rome, were affraid, though in de- to their comfort it were, to fuffer at once fence of their own, to take arms: from what should be appointed by such Judges; which they were bound by an Article of than continually to live in fear, and none peace, except it were with leave of the Ro- otherwise draw breath, than at the mercy of mans. Alafanisfa therefore had great advanthis Numidian Hangman. And herewithal tage over them, and was not ignorant how to the Embassadors threw themselves prostrate use it. He could get pessession by force, of on the ground, weeping; in hope to move whatfoever he defired, ere their complain- compaftion. ing Embassaders could be at Rome: and then were the Romans not hardly entreated to envyto that valiant house of the Eureliner; leave things as they found them.

did he tile them again and again; with pre- of expence when they had adventured their tence of title, where he had any 5 otherwife, whole effate in the purchase of a great Emwithout it. Gala the Father of Majaniffa had pire. Now are they fervants, even to theserwon fome land from the Carthaginians 3 vants of those men, whose fathers they have which afterward syphax wan from Gala, often chased, slain, taken and sold as bondand within a while, reflored to the right flaves in the firects of Carthage, and in all Ciowners, for love of his wife sophonista, and tics of Africk and Greece. Now have they of Afterubal his father-in-law. This did Ma- enough of that Roman peace, which Homo lo fanifia take from them by force: and by the often and so earnestly desired. Only they Romans (to whose judgement the case was want peace with Majanifia, once their merreferred) was permitted quietly to hold it cenary, and now their mafter or rather their The Carthaginians had now good experitormentor; out of whose cruel hands, they beence, how beneficial it was for their Estate, feech their masters to take the office of corto use all suanner of submillive obedience to recting them. In such case are they, and adore Rome. They had fearcely digested this in the Romans, whom they see flour shing in such jury, when Majanifa came upon them prosperity as might have been their own.But again, and took from them above feventy the Romans had far better entreated Farro, Towns and Castles, without any colour of who lost the battel at Canna; than Hamibal.

fet forth. Above all he had care to avoid all right. Hereof by their Embaffadors, they fend their own by strong hand; or at least, The Romans continued, as they had long, if right must wholly give place to favour. let them understand, wherein they had offended fince the time that Scipio gave them

Here may we behold the fruits of their of their irrefolution in profecuting a war fo So had he once dealt before, in taking important, as Hannibal made for them in Haly; from them the Country of Emporia: and fo and of their half-penny-worthing in matter they had freely bestowed, every man of do well to send Embassadors, more fully inthem, all his private riches upon the Com- structed in this matter. This happened when mon-wealth; and employed their labours for the Macedonian war was even ready to the publick, without craving recompence : as | begin : at which time the Romans were not also they had not thought it much, willing too much to offend, either the Carthough being in extream want, to set out an thaginians (for sear of urging them unseasons). Army into Spain, at what time the enemy lay nably to rebellion) or Mafanissa, at whose under their own walls. These were no Car- hands they expected no little help. So were thaginian vertues: and therefore the Cartha- they aided both by the Carthaginians, and junans, having fought against their betters, majanifa: by the Carthaginians, partly for mult patiently endure the miseries belong fear, partly for hope of better usage in the ing to the vanquished. Their pitiful beha- future; by Masanija, in way of thankfulnes; viour bred peradventure some commisera- though if it had happned (which was unliketion; yet their tears may feem to have ly) that they should be vanquished; he made envy to the Romans, than from any feel- round about him, and Carthage therewithal, ing of their own calamity. They thought should be his own. themselves able to fight with Masanisa: In the midst of all these cares, the Romans which estimation of their forces was able to had not been unmindful of Perseus. They vimake them, after a little while, enter into fitted him daily with Embassadors; that is, comparisons with Rome. Wherefore they with honourable spies to observe his behaviobtained not such leave as they fought, of our. These he entertained kindly at first, defending their own right by arms: but until (which fell out ere long) he perceived contrariwise, when without leave obtained, whereto their diligence tended. First they they prefumed fo far, the destruction of Car- quarrelled with him about the troubles in thage was thought an easie punishment of Dardania: neither would they take any satisthat offence. At the present, they received faction, until the Bastarna were thence gone; a gentle answer; though they had otherwise though he protested, that he had not sent for little amends. Guluffa the fon of Mafaniffa them. Afterward they pried narrowly into was then in Rome, and had not as yet cra- his doings; and were no less ill contented ved audience. He therefore was called be- with good offices, by him done, to fundry of fore the Senate; where he was demanded his neighbours, than with those wrongs, the reason of his comings and had related un- which (they said) he did unto other some. to him the complaint made by the Carthagi- Where he did harm to any; they called it nians against his father. He answered, That making war upon their friends. Where he did his Father not being throughly aware of good; they called fuch his bounty, feeking any Embassadors thither sent from Carthage, triends to take his part against them. The had therfore not given him inftructions, Dolopians, his subjects, (upon what occasion how to deal in that business. Only it was it is uncertain) rebelled, and with exquisite known, that the Carthaginians had held torments slew Euphranor, whom he had ap-Councel divers nights, in the Temple of pointed their Governour. It seems that Eu-Æsculapius: whereupon he himself was dif- phranor had played the Tyrant among them. patched away to Rome, there to intreat the For they were a people without fireigth to Senate, that these common enemies of the refist the Macedonian: and therefore unlike-Romans, and of his Father, might not be over-much trufted; especially against his Father, had been extreamly provoked; or else were whom they hated most maliciously, for his secretly animated by the Romans. Whatsoconstant faith to the people of Rome. This ever it was that bred this courage in them, answer gave little satisfaction. Wherefore Perseus did soon allay it, and reclaim them by the Senate replyed, that for Mafanissa his strong hand. But the Romans took very anfake, they had done, and would do, whatfo- gerly this prelumption of the King: even as ever was reasonable 3 but that it stood not if he had invaded some Country of their Hawith their justice, to allow of this his vio- lian Confederates, and not corrected his lence, in taking from the Carthaginians, those own rebels at home. Fain they would have Lands, which by the covenants of the League had him to draw in the same yoke with the were granted unto them freely to enjoy. Carthaginians; whereunto had he humbled With this mild rebuke they dismissed Gu- once his neck, they could themselves have liffa; bestowing on him friendly presents (as done the part of Masanista; though Eumenes, also they did on the Carthaginians) and or some other fit for that purpose, had been

that wan it was used by the Carthaginians: willed him to tell his Father, that he should been mistrusted, as proceeding no less from none other account, than that all Africk

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tween them were fuch as made it unlawful finians far fooner than was expected; and both to his Father heretofore, and now to when as not only no Town rebelled from the him, to take arms without their licence first Achaans, but many entered into their Corobtained.

their adherents, even fuch as had entred into league with them upon equal terms: whom of the City,) That they had firaightly forufually they rewarded with a frown, when-bidden all manner of fuccour to be carried to foever they prefumed to right themselves Melsene. Thus thinking, by a fained graby force of Arms, without feeking first the vity, to have served their own turns, they Oracle at Rome. Hercof the Acheans had manifested their condition; both to set on good experience: whose confidence in their the weaker against the stronger and more proper strength, made them otherwhiles suspected, and also to assume unto thembold to be their own carvers; and whose hope felves a Soveraign power, in directing all of extraordinary favour at *Konje* caused matters of war, which diffemblingly they them the more willingly to refer their causes | would have seemed to neglest. In like manto arbitrement. For when they went about ner dealt they with all their Confederates: to have chastifed the Mefferian by war; not permitting any of them to make war; T. Quinting rebuked them, as too arrogent, in whether of enlive or defensive; though it taking fuch a work in hand, without his au- were against meer strangers; without inthority: yet by his authority he ended the terpoling the authority of the Senate and matter, wholly to their good liking. Sem- people of Rome: unless peradventure, someblably at other times were they reprehend- times they winked at fuch violence, as did ed, even with Lordly threats, when they help towards the accomplifhment of their took upon them to carry any business of importance, by their own power, without stand- Arts, howsoever many (for gainful or tiing unto the good grace of the Romans. Who merous respects) would feem to understand nevertheless upon submission, were apt them; yet were generally displeasing unenough to do them right. Thus were they to all men endued with free spirits. Only tamed by little and little, and taught to for- the Athenians, once the most turbulent Ciget their absolute liberty, as by which they ty in Greece, having neither subjects of their were not like to thrive; especially in usurping own that might rebel, nor power wherethe practice of Arms, which belonged only to with to bring any into subjection; for want the Imperial City. In learning this hard lef-of more noble argument wherein to practife fon, they were such untoward Schollers, that their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, 51.6 55; they needed, and not long after felt, very remainder of their ancient commendations, sharp correction. Yet was there no smal part were much delighted in flattering the most of blame to be imputed unto their Masters. mighty. So they kept themselves in grace For the Roman Senate, being defirous to hum- with the Romans, remaining free from all ble the scheans, refused not only to give trouble, until the war of Mithridates: being them fuch aid as they requested, and as they men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; challenged by the tenor of the League be- yet bearing a part in many great actions, as tween them; but further, with a careless in Gratulators of the Roman victories, and

the Common-wealth of Achaia was like to much better it were to bow, than to fall into much diffres: were it not upheld break. by countenance of the Romans. All this

wanting. And to this effect, they told him, notwithstanding; when Lycortas Prætor of That the Conditions of the League bethe Acheans had utterly subdued the Megporation; then did the Romans with an ill-To the same pass they would also sain savoured grace, tell the same Embassadors, have reduced the Greeks, and generally all to whose petition they had made such bad folency, rejected this honeft and reasonable Pardon-cravers for the vanquished. Such petition, That the Enemy might not be fup- were the Athenians become. As for those plied from Haly, with victuals or arms. Here- other Common weals and Kingdoms, that with not content, the Fathers, as wearied with over-nice diligence, strove to preserve with dealing in the affairs of Greece, pronountheir Liberties and Lands from confuced openly, That if the Argives, Lacedemoni- ming by piece-meal: they were to be ans, or Corinthians would revolt from the devoured whole, and swallowed up at Acheans; they themselves would think it a once. Especially the Macedonian, as the most unpliant, and wherein many of This was prefently after the death of Philogemen: at what time it was believed, that Neither Perseus, nor the Romans were ignorant, how the Greeks at this time frood | Country, than to let any other be of more affected. Perfeus, by reason of his neer neigh- authority than himself therein. Wherefore bourhood, and of the daily commerce be- in stead of well discharging his credence, and tween them and his subjects, could not alledging what was meetest in justification of want good information of all that might his people, he uttered a quite contrary tale; concern him, in their affairs. He well knew, and strongly encouraged the Romans, to opthat all of them now apprehended the dan- press both the Acheans, and all the rest of ger which Philopamen had long fince fore- Greece, with a far more heavy hand. He told told, of the milerable subjection, whereinto the Senate, that it was high time for them, to Greece was likely to be reduced, by the look unto the fetling of their authority, Roman Patronage. Indeed they not only among his froward Countrimen: if they perceived the approaching danger, but as meant not wholly to forego it. For now being tenderly fenfible of their liberty, felt there was taken up a custome, to stand upon themselves grieved with the present subje- points of confederacy, and laws: as if these ction, whereto already they were become were principally to be had in regard, any inobnoxious. Wherefore though none of them junction from Rome notwithstanding. had the courage, in matters of the publick Hence grew it, that the Acheans, both now, to fall out with the Romans; yet all of them and at other times, did what best pleased had the care to choose among themselves themselves, and answered the Romans with none other Magistrates, than such as affer excuses: as if it were enough to say, That cted the good of their Country, & would for by some condition of League, or by force no ambition, or other fervile respect, be flat- of some Law, they were discharged or terers of the greatness which kept all in fear. hindred from obeying the Decrees of the Thus it feemed likely, that all domestical Senate. This would not be so, if he, and conspiracies would soon be at an end ; when some other of his opinion might have their honesty, and love of the Common-weal, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this Columns, or Monuments, erected, nor no

careful provision for the fafety of Greece, the folemn oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie Romans were not throughly advertifed: the observance of Confederacy or Statute, either because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadors; whom all willed the contrary. But it was even the men knew to be little better then spies; or fault of the Romans themselves, that the because little account was made of that in- multitude refused to give ear unto such pertelligence, which was brought in by fuch swasions. For howsoever in popular Estates, Traitors (of whom every City in Greece had the found of liberty used to be more too many) as were men unregarded among plaufible, than any discourse tending against their own people, and therefore more like to it : yet if they which undertook the mainspeak maliciously than truly; or perhaps tenance of an argument, seeming never so because the Embassadors themselves, being bad, were sure by their so doing, to proall Senators, and capable of the greatest Of- cure their own good; the number of them fice or charge, had no will to find out other would increase apace, and they become the matter of trouble, than was fitting to their prevalent faction. It was therefore, strange own defires of employment. But it is hard how the Fathers could fo neglect the adto conceal that which many know, from vancement of those, that sought wholly to those that are feared or flattered by many. enlarge the amplitude of the Roman maje-The Acheans being to fend Embassadors to sty. More wifely, though with seditious and Rome, that should both excuse them, as touch- rebellious purpose, did the Greeks; who maing some point wherein they refused to obey | ny times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great the Senate; and inform the Senate better in honours, upon men otherwise of little acthe same business: chose one Callicrates, count or desert, only for having uttered some among others, to go in that Embassage. By brave words against the Romans. The Fathers their making choice of fuch a man. one may hearing these and the like reasons, wherwith perceive the advantage, which mischievous he exhorted them to handle roughly those wretches, who commonly are forward in pur- that were obstinate, and by cherishing their fuing their vile defires, have against the friends, to make their party strong; resolplain fort of honest men, that least earnestly ved to follow this good counsel, in every thrust themselves into the troublesome bu- point; yea to depress all those that held finels of the weal-publick. For this Callicrates with the right, and to set up their own folwas in fuch wife transported with ambition, lowers, were it by right or by wrong. And Pol. Lie. that he chose much rather to betray his to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth is.

Herewithall he took upon him, fomewhat

liberally, to make the Acheans beforehand

upon Perseus from Rome. He told them how

Philip had made preparations for the same

War; how Demetrius had been made away,

because of his good affection to the Romans;

and how Perfeus had, fince his being King,

done many things, tending to the breach of

peace. Briefly, He rehearled all those mat-

ters, which were afterwards alledged by the

Romans; the invation of the Bastarna, upon

the Dardanians; the Kings journey against

the Dolopians; his voyage to Delphi; and

finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was

(he faid) a dangerous temptation of men to

his party. Wherefore he advised them to ex-

pect the event of things, and not over-halfily

cause of War was given.

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had been their manner informer times ; but some acts of hostility in his passage. Yet, as wrote at the prefent unto all Cities of Greece, if he ought not to have taken fuch a journey, requiring them to see that their mandate without their licence; this also was made a (which was concerning the reflitution of valuable matter, and cast into the heap of those that were banished out of Lacedemon) his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalf of love of the Acheans: which his Father had fo Callierates, they advited all men to be fuch, loft, that by a folemn decree, they forbade and fo affected, as he was, in their feveral any Macedonians to enter their territories, common-weals. With this diffratch, Caili- It was jealoufie perhaps, no less than hatred, order returned home a joyful man: having which caused them, at the first, to make such brought his Country into the way of rune. a decree. For howfoever Philip had by mabut himfelf into the way of preferment. Nevertheless he forbore to vaunt himself of his two Arati, given them cause to abhor him; cloquence used in the Senate. Only he so re-yet in the publick administration of their ported his Embassage, that all men became estate, he had, for the more part, been to fearful of the danger, wherewith he threat them fo beneficial, that not without much ned those that should presume to oppose the ado, and at length, without any general con-Romans By fuch Arts he obtained to be made fent, they refolve to forfake him. Where-Practor of the Ackeans: in which Magi- fore it was needful, even for prefervation of ftracy, as in all his courses following, he concerd among them, to use all circumspeomitted nothing, that might ferve to manifeft thon, that he might not, by his agents, negohis ready obsequiousness unto those whom tiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a he had made his Patrons.

Now, as the Romans by threatning-terms wan many flatterers, and loft as many true friends: fo Perfess on the other fide, thinking by liberal gifts, and hopeful promifes, to affureunto himielf those that ill could brook when all danger of innovation was past, his enemies; got indeed a multitude of was uncivil, if not inhumane; as nounihing partakers, though little honester than his deadly hatred, without leaving means of reenemies had. Thus were all the Cities of conciliation. And hereof the Achaans reaped Greece diffracted with factions: fome hold- no good fruit. For, although they were not, ing with the Romans, fome with the Mucedo in like fort, forbidden the Kingdom of Manian, and some sew respecting only the good | cedon: yet understanding what would be due of the Estates wherein they lived. Hereat the to them, if they should adventure thither, Lords of the Senate were highly offended; none of them durft fet foot therein, Hence and thought it an indignity not sufferable, it came to pass, that their bond-men, know-That a King, no better than their Vassal, ing a safe harbour, out of which their Mashould dare to become head of a faction sters could not fetch them, ran daily away against them. This therefore must be reckon- in great numbers : exceedingly to the loss of ed in the number of his trespasses: whereof such, as made of their slaves very profiif not any one alone, yet all of them together, table use. But Perfess took hold upon this fhall afford them just occasion to make War occasion: as fitly serving to pacific those, upon him. Perfeus having finished his business | whose enmity fain he would have changed among the Dolopians, made a journey to into love. He therefore apprehended all neighbours. The Romans perhaps could none other, than a plain device, to make them have been pleased better, if he had behaved depart from the friendship of the Romans.

more peremptorily with the Acheans, than himself after a contrary fashion, and done Country towards him to doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his meffages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of War, and Apollo his Temple at Delphi. He took his Ar these fugitives, to send them home again: my along with him: yet went, and returned and wrote unto the Acheans, That as for in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no good will unto them, he had taken pairs place was the worfe for his journey, but the to reftore back their fervants, fo fould they good affection towards him generally increa- do very well to take order for keeping them, led thereby. With those that were in his that hereaftet they might not run away way, he dealt himself; to such as lay further again. His meaning was readily understood, off, he sent Embassadours or Letters: praying and his Letters kindly accepted by the greathem, That the memory of all wrongs whatfoever, done by his Father, might be buried tor, before the Councel. But Callierates took with his Father; fince his own meaning was the matter very angerly; and bade them be to hold friendship sincerely with all his advised what they did: for that this was

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acquainted with the War, that was coming | How Eumenes King of Pergamus was bufied with Pharnaces, the Rhodians, and others. His hatred to the Maccdonian: whom he accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate bonours him greatly, and contemns his enemies the Rhodians; with the causes thereof, The unufual frontness of the Macedonian Embassadours. Perseus his attempt upon Eumenes. The brotherly love between Eumenes and Attalus. Perfeus his device to poylon fome of the Roman Senators : whereupon they decree War against him, and fend him defiance. Other things concerning the justice of this War.

"Umenes King of Pergamns had been troubled about these times, by the Kings to enter into any degree of friendship with the Macedonians. Hereto good answer was Pharnaces and Mithridates, his neighbours. made by the Prators brother: That Calli- He had taken the right course, in making Pol. Lescrates was too carnest in so light a matter; first his complaint to the Romans: by whom 56 6 55 and that, being neither one of the Kings he was animated with comfortable words, Cabinet, nor of the Roman Senate, he and promife, That they, by their authorimade himself too well acquainted with all ty, would end the business to his content. that had passed, or was like to follow. But in conclusion, by the help of the Kings, For it was well known, that Perseus had Prusias and Ariarathes, he ended the War renewed his League with the Romans; that himself; and brought his Enemies to seek he was by them faluted King, and friend to and accept peace, on fuch conditions as the Estate; and that he had lovingly en- pleased him to give them. After this, being tertained their Embassiadours: This being so; at good leisure; he began to consider how why might not the Acheans, as well as the the affairs of Mucedon stood under Persens. Atolians, Theffalians, Epirots, and all the His hatred to Perfeus was very great: and Greeks, hold with him fuch correspondence, therefore he was glad to understand, that as common humanity required? Neverthe- the hatred of the Romans, to the same his less Callicrates was grown a man so terrible, Enemy was as great, and withall notorious. by his Roman acquaintance, that they durst Now, besides his ancient and hereditary not over-fliffly gainlay him. Therefore quarrel with the Macedonian; it vexed him the matter was referred unto further deli- exceedingly, That his own honours (whereberation: and answer made the whilst, That of the Greeks, prodigal in that kind, had fince the King had only fent a Letter with- heaped immoderate store on his Father and out an Embaffadour, they knew not how to him) began to wax every where stale: resolve. Better it was to say thus, than, that whilest Perseus, either by his currying fathey were afraid to do as they thought most vour, or by the envy born to the Romans, reasonable and convenient. But when Per- had gotten their best liking and wishes. For fens herewith not contented, would needs despight of this indignity, Hestirred up the urge them further, and fend Embafiadours: Lycians against the Rhodians his old friends: then were they fain, without any good pre- and in helping these rebels, was so violent, tence, to put on a countenance of anger, and that he proceeded, in a manner, in open War, deny to give audience : which was prooffuf- But fmall pleasure found he in these poor ficient (to one that could understand) of and indirect courses of revenge. the condition wherein they lived. For

The Lycians could not be laved by his Pahearkening to this advice of Callierates; tronage from severe and cruel chastisement, Polite Ligar they were soon after highly commended by given to them by the Rhodians. This render-74 a Roman Embassadour: whereby it became ed him contemptible: as likewise, his acts intended War of hostility, little different from robberies, upon the Macedonian; though hitherto no made him hateful to those which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of Greece; they not only continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a

decree

him beyond the proportion of his defer-nized with great concourse of Embassages vings. All this (which he needed not to from all quarters. Neither spared he totell Livel, 4: have regarded, had he not been too vainly them, (though feeming both to utter it plainambitious) befell him; especially for his ly) That even the envy to their Estate was being over serviceable to the Romans, and the cause, why many that could not endure for his malice to that noble Kingdom, which to hear of amity with Philip, were now if it fell, the liberty of Greece was not like to grown marvelloufly well affected to his fland. Now for the redrefs hereof, he thought it vain to strive any longer with bounts, against such an Adversary, as by hopeful (as that he had procured the death of some promises alone, without any great perfer- which were friends to the Romans, and that promies alone, without any great perfect which were find to the Romans, and that mance, had over-topped him in the general he had expelled Abrypolis the Illgrian. favour. And therefore he resolved even to who invaded Macedon, out of his Kingdom, overturn the foundations of this popularity, or Lordship) Eumenes failed not to amplifie by inducing the Romans utterly to take unto the most; saying, That he thought it away from the eyes of men this Idol, the his duty to forewarn them: fince it would Macedonian Kingdom, which all so vainly be to himself a great shame, if Fersens got the worshipped. Neither would it prove a disti- start of him, and were in Haly making War cult matter, to perswade those that were already defirous: rather he was like to be thicher to tell them of the danger. highly thanked, for fetting forward their withes; and perhaps to be recompenced with fome piece of the Kingdom, as he had been should fet upon them in Italy. Nevertheles, rewarded, for the like fervice, when Antioches was vanquished.

Rome: where, though he had little to fay, ther hurt intended: great thanks were which they knew not before, yet his words given to Eumener, who had every way furwere heard with fuch attention, as if they nished them with such goodly colour, to had contained some strange nevelty; and so beautific their intendment. Now, though it pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of were fo, that he told them little elfe than them were to turn the ballance, that before what they knew before : yet his person, and was equal. The death of Demetrius, the expedition of the Taftarne into Dardania, that greater. For if upon any relation made by of Perfeus himself against the Dologian, and their own Embassadours, or upon tales devito Delphi, the great estimation of the Ma- led by their flatterers and spyes, they had cedonian in Grecce, his intermeddling in bu- warred against Persens, ere he had committed fines of his neighbours, his riches and his great provisions, were all the material injustice and oppression would have been points of Eumenes his discourse. Only he most manifest. But when the wrongstothem descended unto particulars, having searched done, were so notorious, and the danger into all (as he professed) like unto a Spy. He threatning them so terrible, that such a Prince faid, that Perfeus had thirty thousand foot, as Eumens came out of his own Kingdom, as and five thousand horse, of his own, mony in far as from Asia, to bid them look to them. Perfers not wooing, but selences offering the he would speak; and with matter of rectimatch; That King Prussias of Bithynia, by mination. The vanity, either of him, of some

decree of the Acheans, as too unmeasured, earnest fuit, had gotten to wife the Sister of milbelceming them to give, and affected by Perseus, and that these marriages were folemupon the Romans, ere Eumenes could come

It were too great folly, to believe that the Romans stood in fear of Persens, lest he for a fmuch as they loved not to make war without fair pretence, not only of wrong To this end he made a second voyage to done to them or their associates, but of fura readiness to entertain ten thousand Mer- selves; who could blame them, if they took cenaries for ten years. Arms to furnifi a took the speedicst order to obtain their own number thrice as great: The Thracians his right and security? Toward this justificafriends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him tion of the war, and magnifying the neces Souldiers as many as he should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten years, than usual curiosity, in concealing what because he would not be driven, either to Eumenes had uttered in the Senate, when live upon spoil, or to take from his own they could not but understand that his er-Subjects. Herewithall he prayed them to rand was well known; helped not a little confider, that King Scleucus, the Son and The Macedonian and Rhodian Embashadours fuccessor of Antiochus the Great, had given were at Rome, provided of answers to the his Daughter Laodice in marriage to Perseus; words, which they knew before hand that CHAP. VI. the weariness of the Fathers, in hiding that travel in this kind proved vain, then would which all men knew, made a notable shew he be ready to defend himself by arms, and of some fearful apprehension; against which, stand to the chance of war, which often falls it behoved their wisdom to neglect no pos- out contrary to expectation. These bigg fible remedy. Wherefore careless audience words may seem to have proceeded from was given to the Rhodian Embaffadors; who the vehemency of Harpalus, that was chief accused Eumenes, as one more troublesome of the Embassadors; rather than from into Asia, than Antiochus had ever been, and struction given by the King, with whose a provoker of the Lycians to rebellion. The faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there Rhodians had with great pomp conveighed good reason, why Persons himself might, at by Sea unto Perseus, his Bride Laodice; this time, think to speed better by a shew of

Holiati Romans, to alien quite from their own pro- to a work of fuch importance. Whefore he, tection any people or Nation by them van- or his Embafiador for him, was bold to quished: and that the Lycians were by them fet a good countenance on a game not very affigned unto those of Rhodes, not as meer bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune, vassals, but as dependants and associates. which might have been his, had he known For proof hereof, they referred themselves how to use it. unto the Commentaries of the ten Emballadors; whom they had fent to dispose of things termed than courage) proceeded from the in Asa, after the victory against King Kings own heat; it appears by his daring to Antiochus. Hereat Eumenes, Masanissa, the adventure soon after, on a practice that Etolians, and all other Kings or Etiates that more justly might anger the Romans, and were beholding to Rome for increasing the give them fairer show of reason to make war number of their subjects, had cause to find upon him. It was known that Eumenes, in themselves agrieved, if they well conside- returning home, would take Delphi in his way red the matter: fince by force of this or the and there do facrifice to Apollo. Perfeus deadlike decree, those their subjects might ea- ly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, fily be made their fellows, whenfoever it resolved to way-lay him, and by making should please the Senate: though it were so, there of him a sacrifice, to rid his own hands that all men knew the present meaning of the of a most mischievous enemy. So there were Senate: which was only to plague the *Rhodians* for their good will to *Perfens*, by fetting them and the Lycians together by the ears. a broken mud-wall, on the fide of a very The Fathers could therefore see no reason to narrow path leading up from the Sea to the dislike Eumenes, upon this complaint made Temple, did thence assault the King ; whom by the Rhodian Embaffadors, which indeed they forely bruifed with great stones, and more neerly touched themselves. Rather left for dead. They might have finished they honoured the King so much the more: their work, such was the opportunity of for that others (as they would needs take it) the place which they had chofen; but fear of conspired against him, because of his love to being apprehended, made them, without Rome.

venture it well contented them to find cause he should not discover them. Eumener was of anger. For whereas at other times all conveighed away to the little Isle of Ægina, care had been taken, to pacific them with where he was cured being all the while kept gentle words and excuses: now heard they fo secretly, that the same of his death was plainer language, and were told, That King current in Ma. Hence it came, that his brother Perfeus defired much to give them fatisfacti- Attalus took upon him as King, and either on, concerning any deed or word of his, took or would have taken to wife (supposing

about him, seems to have disclosed all: when that might favour of hostility; but that, if his which friendly office, as the Macedonian daring, than he was like to do by any subbountifully required, fo the Romans de-miffion. For the eyes of all Greece being fpightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, of deliverance from the *Roman* fervitude; it to be of, were setting themselves in their obedience to was not expedient, that he should lessen, or the people of Rhodes, Embassiadors came from perhaps utterly cut off, the general expecta-Rome with strange news, which gave new life tion, and the good affection born to him, to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced which thereon depended, by discovering his That it flood not with the manner of the too much weakness of spirit, unanswerable

Now that this bravery (as better it may be staying to see all sure, fiee in such haste, that But the Mucedonian Embassiage they heard they killed one of their own companions, not fo carelelly as angrily: though perad- who could not hold pace with them; because

daughter of King Ariarathes, whom he then lity; sure in operation, yet not to be perceithought the Widow of Eumenes. It may well ved either in the taking or afterward. He be numbred among the rare examples of durst not refule to accept this employbrotherly love, That when the King turned ment: for fear left the vertue of this medialive home, Attalus going forth to meet him cine should be tryed upon himself. But being and do his duty, as in former times, received once at liberty, he discovered all. Rammins none other check, than, that he flould forbear was but one man, and one whom the King to marry with the Queen untill he were well had never feen before, nor was like to fee affired of the Kings death. More than this, again: and therefore, befides that the Kings Eumenes never spake of these matters; but denial ought to be as good as such a fellows bequeathed at his death, unto the same bro- affirmation, the accusation was improbable. ther, both his Wife and Kingdom As likewife Thus did Perseus, in time shortly following. Attalus forbore to attempt any thing to the answer for himself; and in like fort concerprejudice of the King his Brother: though the ning the attempt upon Eumenes: denying to Romans (with whom he continued and grew have had any hand, either in the one or in special favour, when Eumenes fell into other: yet withall protessing; That such their hatred) were in good readiness, to have objections were not to be made unto a King, transferred the Kingdom from his Brother to prove the rightfulness of making war

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with the Romans, to the benefit of Perfeus. he understood that his Ministers had both very suitable to these practices. Neither did accomplished his will, and had saved all from the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matdiscovery. But as he was deceived in the ter with him: these his treacheries being held main point, and heard shortly after, that Eu- inexcusable. And as for his Royal Estate, menes lived, so was he beguiled in that other wherein he supposed that they ought not to hope, of the concealment; which he vainly touch him for fuch private offences, it gave esteemed the less material. For he had him no priviledge: they judging him to have written to one Praxo, a Gentlewoman of offended in the nature of aking Herein sure-Delphi, to entertain the men whom he fent ly they wanted not good reason. For if he about this business: and she, being appre- might not lawfully make war upon Eumehended by C. Valerius, a Roman Embalador, nes their confederate, that is, if he might then attending upon the matters of Greece, not fend men to waste the Kingdom of Fergawas carried to Rome. Thus all came to light. mus, or to befiege the Towns: might he Valerius also brought with him to Rome, out | fend Ruffians to murder the King? If it were of Greece one Rammius, a Citizen of Brundu- no less breach of the league to destroy the fum; who coming newly from the Court of Senators by fire or famine, than by violence Macedon, loaden with a dangerous feeret, had prefently fought out the Embaflador, by poyfon? Wherefore they prefently deand thereof discharged himself. Brundn creed war against him; and sent Embassafium was the ordinary Port for ships passing dors to denounce it unto him, unless he between Italy and Greece. There had Ram- would yield to make such amends as they mino a fair house; wherein he gave enter- should require. He seemed at this time to tainment, being a wealthy man, to Emballa | have been fo confident in the general favour dors, and other honourable personages, both of Greece, and other comfortable appearing fro. By occasion of such his hopitality, he not fear it or at least he thought by shew of of all was, That he must needs do a turn, in Eumenes had charged him adding thereto, giving to such of the Romans as the King that he had entertained long & secret confe-

it be like a matter of State) Stratonica the should hereafter name, a poylon of rare quato him. By fuch concord of Brethren was the upon him, but rather unto a subject pleading Kingdom of Pergamus raised and upheld; as for his life in judgement. But howfoever the might also that of Macedon have been, if De- Romans neglected the getting of ftronger metrius had lived and employed his grace proof (which might have been easie) than any that we find by them produced: yet It is likely that Perseus was very glad, when the base and cowardly temper of Perseus was Romans and M.cedonians, journying to and rances, that if he defired not war, yet he did was commended to Perseus, and invited into courage, to make his enemics more calm. He Macedon with friendly letters ; as one, whose caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, many courtefies to his Embafiadors, the King till being weary, they departed without auwas studious to requite. At his coming he dience. Then called he them back, and bad was much made of; and shortly, with more them do their errand. They made a tedious familiarity than he expected or defired made rehearfal of all matters, which they had long partaker of the Kings secret. The summ been collecting against him, and wherewith rence in the Isle of samothrace, with Embaf-| message, he commanded them to be gone out fadors sent to him out of Asia, about some of his Kingdom in three dayes. But either ill purpose. In regard of all which they pe- he should have been less vehement, or more remptorily required fatisfaction; as was their constant in his resolution. For if his heart manner when they intended to give defiance. could ferve him to undertake the war, he Better they might have flood upon the evi- should couragiously have managed it, and dence, brought against him by Rammius and have faln to work immediately, whilst the Praxo. For if those accusations could be ve- Enemy was unprepared; not have lost opporrified, then wanted they not good ground tunity, as now and often be did, in hope of whereon to build: of which otherwise they obtaining a worse peace than the former. were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be ftrong, wel-beloved, and wel-befriended. Perfeus answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the Romans, greedy, proud, infolent, The Romans solicit the Greeks, to joyn with them and underminers of him by their daily Emballadors, that were no better than meer spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the League made between them and his father; and renewed by himfelfindeed only for fear; but wished them to descend to more equal conditions; whereupon he for his part, would advise, as they might also do for theirs.

GHAP. VI.

In the form of the League between Philip and the Romans, as is fet down by Polybius, we find no condition, binding the Macedonian to Liv.lib.33, any inconvenience in the future; excepting those which he immediately performed. But Livy inferts a clause, whereby he was expreny forbidden to make any war abroad, without leave of the Romans. It is most likely, that all the Roman confederates were included in this peace: whereby every one of the neighbors round about Macedon, entring

fhortly into league with Rome, did fo bind

article of the peace, which never was agreed for it, when it came; and not (as they were) upon, but only was inferred by consequence. behind hand in provisions. But it was on Now if the Romans would urge this point a sudden that they met with a confluence further, and fay, that the Macedonian might of good pretences to make the war: not bear defensive arms, without their per- whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, mission; then had Perseus very just reason to yet all of them together seemed more than find himself aggrieved. For fince they had sufficient. This opportunity of making allowed his father; without controll, to make their cause honest in common opinion, was war in Thrace, (whilest they themselves not to be neglected : though otherwise were unacquainted with the Thracians) they were unprepared for the action. elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their Wherefore knowing, or having reason to belicence: why should they now interpret the lieve, that their own strengths were such as bargain after another fashion? Was it now would prevail in the end; they hastily embecome lawful for him to chaftise his own braced the fair occasion of beginning, and Rebels?or to repay an Illyrian that invaded referred other cares to the diligence of Time.

ø. VI.

in the war against Persons. How the Greeks stood affected in that war. The timerousness of Perseus. Martius a Roman Embassador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of Thesialy. The forces of Licinius the Roman Conful: and what affiftants the Romans had in this ward of Tempe in Thesialy; & what advantages the Macedonian had or might have had; but loft by his fear. Perfeus braves the Romans, fights with them knows not how to use his victory fues for peace, and is denied it by the vanauished. Perseus having the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the Country lying about Tempe. The Baotians rebel against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the war against Perseus. They vex the Greeks their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes provision, baving heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

the Kings hands, that he could no more make war abroad, then if he had been restrained by

Scasson to take in hand this Macedonian plain covenant. And thus might that feem an war, that well they might have been ready Macedon? By such allegations he maintain- Neither was this their unreadines a small ed the right of his cause, in very mild fort; help, towards examining the disposition of when it was too late. At the present, by dif- the Greeks and others; who must afterwards claiming the League as unjust, he ministred dearly pay for any backwardness found in occasion unto the Embassadors, to give him their good will. There was not indeed any defiance. Having heard the worlt of their cause to fear, that all of the Greeks or

other Eastern people should conspire toger lerve to terrifie him: and consequently, that ther, and take part with the Macedonian: it should at all times be in the Romans power, such was the diffention between the feveral by giving him any tolerable conditions of Estates; howsoever the generality of them peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those were inclined the same way. Nevertheless which had affifted him: little cause was Embaffadors were fent to deal with them there why any should adventure to partake all; and to crave their help against Perfeus, with him. He made indeed a great noise; or rather to demand it, in no less ample man- leading about his army; taking by force or ner, than heretofore they had yielded it composition some few Towns, and soliciting against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in wars pretending the liberty of *Greece*. The Emballanot be so beguiled. For at the same time, he dors used as gentle words for fashions sake, as sought all means of pacification; and to that if they had flood in doubt that their request | end, made humble suit unto the Roman Emmight happen to be denied. But the Greeks balladors. Q. Martius, the chief of those were now grown well acquainted with Embafladours, and a man of more fineness fuch Roman courtefie: and underfrood that in cunning than was usual among the Ronot only fuch as made refufal, but even they mans, made flew of inclination to the Kings who might feem to have granted half un-defire; and gave out such comfortable willingly, were like to hear other manner words, that the King entreated, and obtain of words, when once this business was end- ned a meeting at the River Peneus. There did ed. Wherefore none of them were ferupu- Martius very gently rebuke the King, and lous in promifing the best of their help to charge him with those crimes that are before the Romans: the * Achains and Rhodians, mentioned. Whereto though Perfem made the Romans: the *Accessing and Romans; included to the Romans which were chief among them, being rather home other answer, then the same which could have made for him; yet the Emstern description of the Romans: the *Accessing and Romans; included to the Romans; inclu doubtful, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their duty. It is strange that men could be fo carnest to set up the fide, whereof they gladly would have feen Senate. That this might conveniently be the ruine. The vulgar fort was every where addicted to Perfeus; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were venemently Roman, they King lese time. For Persens had all things wanted not oppofers, that were wholly Alacedonian; yea, the wifelt and most honest, *rel. Les He * judged the victory of Perfeus, like to in recompense nothing elle, than leifure

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balladors, and especially Martins, took it in good part, as therewith fatisfied; and advised him to give the like satisfaction to the done, a truce was agreed upon. Thus had Martius his defire; which was, to make the then in readiness, and might have done much, ere the Roman Army could have been who regarded only the benefit of their in Greece. But by the interpolition of this Country, wished better to Perseas than to the truce, he no way increased his forces; he Romans. And of this number Polybius the fuffered a most convenient featon, of winning chief of Historians was one: who though upon the enemy, to flip away; and obtained prove hurtful unto Greece, yet wished he and vain hope. Yet washe pleased herethe Romans ill to thrive, that so the Greeks with, as it had been with some victory: pubmight recover perfect liberty: for his en- lifthing a copy of the disputation between deavours in which course, he was at length him and the Romans, whereby he gave men tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed here- to understand, how much he had the better, after. This confidered, it appears, that an and what great hope there was of peace. He extraordinary fear, and not only reverence fent Embaffadors also to the Rhodians, of of the Imperial City, made the Acheans, whose good will to him he was best perswaand other Estates of Greece, thus conforma ded; not only to let them know how much he ble to the Romans. The occasion of this their was superiour in cause; but to intreat them, fear, may be justly imputed unto the ti- that they would take upon them, as Moderamorous demeanor of Perfens himself. He tors, to compound the differences between had undertaken a war, whereof the bene- him and the Romans, if perhaps notwithfit flould redound, not only to his own standing the goodness of his cause, he should Kingdom, but unto all that were oppressed be denied peace. These were poor helps by the Romans. Yet no fooner were fome For hereby it appeared, that his late flandfew companies brought over-fea, to make a ing upon point of Honor, was no better than countenance of meaning fomewhat against meer vanity, his own safety being the uthim, than he began to speak the enemy fair, most of his ambition. This his fearfulness and fue for Peace at Rome. Since therefore might feem excusable, and the blame thereof it was known, that every small thing would to appertain unto the Greeks; who dehim in time of a necessity, that was partly ther did this poor courtese serve alone to their own: had it not been his office, who hide the craft of Martius, as if he had meant took upon him as their Champion, to give none other than good earnest: but it was a fuch a manly beginning to the war, as might likely mean, both to keep a long while from encourage all others to follow him. But Perfeus the knowledge of his business, and to his timorous quality being found, men grew stagger his resolution, when he should need daily more and more averse from him; and it most firm. were careful, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The Rhodians, among whom the Roman Conful was at Apollonia, in a he had many frout Partizans, defired him not manner as foon as the Macedonian Embafiato crave any thing at their hands, in which dours were with their King at Pella. Which, they might feem to do against the good liking though it were enough to have rouzed Perof the Romans. The Exotians also, who fins, and have made him lay alide all cowardhad entred of late into a frict fociety with ly hope of getting pardon, yet was he conthe Macedonian; renounced it now, and made tent to deliberate a while, Whether it were the like with the Romans: to whom further, not better to offer himself tributary to the in a fort, they yeelded themselves as vassals. Romans, and to redeem their good will with Neither was Martins contented to accept some part of his Kingdom, that to he might their fubmission under a general form; but enjoy the rest; than to put all at once to caused their several Towns to make cove- hazard. But finally, the stoutest counsel prenant apart, each for it self; to the end, that vailed; which also was the wifelt, and fo being thus diffracted into many little Common-weals, they might not (were they never fo defirous to rebel) have such force to do war had not begun until now, to do what hurt, as when they agreed, and were incor- should have been done long afore. He porated in one, under the City of Thebes.
This work, of separating the Beotians from and appeinted their Randezvouz at Ci-Thebes their head, was more than Agesslaus tinm, a Town in Macedon. All being in readicould effect, or Epaminondas would fuffer, ness, he did royal facrifice, with an hunthen when all Greece followed the Lacedamonians. So far more available to Thebes, being destitute of help from abroad, was try: and then, with all his Courtiers, and the virtue of Epaminondas, and a few brave Citizens, than was the fociety with King Per-

Martius brought this to effect, whilest the where, vaunting what he had wrought by lively speeches, laying before them the glory them to depart out of Haly: whereas they, only to furnish him with Carts, for his enwho came last on the same errand, did their gines and munition. mediage without the walls, in the Temple of Out of his own Kingdom he iffued forth Bellona (the usual place of giving audience into The flat: knowing that the Romans to open enemies, or to fuch Commanders, as were to pals thorow that Country, in their might not, by reason of some cultom enter journey towards him. Some Towns of the City) and had only the short warning Thessaly opened their gates unto him, with-

few, against a number not so great as fol-

lowed the Lacedamonians.

ceived his expectation, by being wanting to of eleven dayes, to be gone out of Haly. Nei-

And accordingly it fell out. For Licinius would have proved, had it been floutly and dred beafts, to I know not what Minerva. that was peculiarly honoured in his Counthefe of his guard, fet forward to Citium. His Army he found confifting of nine and thirty thousand foct, and four thousand horse, whereof about twelve thousand foot, and a thousand herse were strangers, of fundry King fate ftill, as being bound by the truce: Nations, most part Thracians; the rest of his and having done this, he turned to the City; own Macedonians. These he animated with his craft, he was commended, and (though of their Ancestors, the insolency of the Rofome reproved it as difhonest) employed mans, the goodness of his cause, the greatagain by the Senate, with committon to nels of his provisions, and the many advandeal as he should think expedient. Touching the Embaffadours which Perfess had ly in numbers. They answered him chearfully, fent 3 audience was given to them, for that with loud acclamations, and bade him be of they should not plainly see how their Master good courage. From all Cities of Macedon was deluded: but neither excule, nor in-there came likewise messengers, offering to treaty would ferve their turn: the Senate help him with mony and victuals, according being refolved before-hand, what to do. It to their feveral abilities. He gave them was enough that they were admitted into the thanks: but answered, That his own provi-City, and had thirty dayes respite allowed fions would abundantly suffice, willing them

he balked, thinking them too strong or well thither this Fleet. But whatsoever Gentius manned; and some he wan by force. Of thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost these last was Nyle; a Town thought im- both his Kingdom and himself, in the end of pregnable, and therefore, not more floutly this war; by offering, rather than giving than proudly defended by the inhabitants, his help to Perseus. who gave contumelious language to the affailants. It was taken by reason of a fally; brought over the Sea, Licinius came into which the Towns-men ra hly made, and be- Theffaly: fo tyred with a painful journey, ing driven back, received the Macedonians, through the Mountainous Country of Athathat entred pell mell with them at the gate, manis, which flood in his way from Epirus; All cruelty of war was practifed here: to that if Perfeus had been ready, attending his the greater terrour of the obstinate. So Ve- descent into the Plains, the Romans must latic and Connus (Towns of much impor-needs have taken a great overthrow. He tance, especially Connus, which stood in the refreshed himself and his wearied Army, by ftraights of Offic, leading into Tempe) yeelded the River Peneus; where he encamped, atat the first. Having well fortified this passage, tending his auxiliaries, that came in as sast the King marched onwards to Sicurium, a asthey could. It was not any flender help, Town feated on the foot of Mount offa; that could enable him to deal with Perfeus. where he reflect a while, expecting news of Therefore he refolved to abide where he

the Enemy. ly two Roman Legions: being promifed tenting himself in the mean while, to have other strength of auxiliaries, which was gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The thought sufficient. Eumenes and Attalus his Land of Thessay, in which these two Armies brother came to him in Theffaly, with four lay, was better affected to the Romans, than thousand foot, and a thousand horse. This any part of Greece besides: as having been ther also came, from every part of Greece, freed by them from a more heavy yoke of such aid as the several Estates could afford, bondage to the Macedonian, when there was or thought expedient to lend: which from little hope of expectation of luch a benefit, the most of them was very little. Of the It was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding Kings abroad; M.Janiffa fent thither his Son in all things needful to mans life. In the Atifagenes, with a thousand foot, as many midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, horse, and two and twenty Elephants. was that beautiful valley of Tempe, so exAriarathes the Cappadocian, by reason of ceedingly full of all delights, that the name his affinity with Eumenes, was friend to the was often used at large to fignific The most Romans, and had fent to Rome his young pleasant and goodly places. This valley of Son, there to be brought up: yet he did it self was not great; but adding to it those little or nothing in this war; perhaps because huge Mountain's Offa and Olympus (famous in Fumenes himself began within a while, but Poche) with their Spurs or Branches, by when it was too late, to be otherwise advi- which it was on all sides enclosed; it occufed than he had been in the beginning. Fru- pied the better part of Theffaly. And this fias was centent to be a looker on: as be- way were the Romans to enter into Maceing allied to Perfeus, and yet fearing the Ro- don; unless they would make an hungry mans. Antiochus and Itolomy (though Ptolo- journey thorow the Country of the Daffaremy was then young, and under Tutors) had tians, as in the former war with Philip, they buliness of their own; the Syrian meaning had long, in vain, attempted to do. Persian to invade the Egyptian: yet each of them therefore had no small advantage, by being promifed help to the Romans which they Master of the Straights leading unto Tempe: cared not to perform. Gentius the Illy- though far greater he might have had, if by rian was inclinable to the Macedonian, yet mif-spending of time he had not loss it. For made good countenance to the Romans, for if in defending the ragged passages of these fear. It was a pretty trick wherewith Mountains, he were able to put the Romans M. Lucretine, the Roman Admirals brother, often to the worfe; yea, to win upon them ferved him, for this his counterfeit good will. (for a while) every year more than other, This King had four and fifty thips, riding in both in ftrength and reputation: queftionthe Haven of Dyrrachium, uncertain to what less he might have done far greater things, purpose: all which Lucretius took away, af- had he seized upon the Straights of Ams, ter a very kind fort; making flew to believe, which his Father once kept, and defended all That for none other end than to ferve the the Country behind the Mountains of findus.

out making offer to defend themselves; some Romans, their good friend Gentine had sent

With none other company than what he then was, and keep his trenches, until his Licinius the Conful brought with him on- numbers were sufficiently increased: conthe Romans have either travelled by Land, ground. What was performed by him or the with all their carriages and impediments, Romans, all the while that he kept his footthrough places wherein was no relief to be ing in Theffaly, it is hard to shew particularly, found 3 or else have committed their Armies, for that the hiltory of those things is much and all things thereto needful, unto the perished. Wherefore we must be contented mercy of Seas that were very dangerous; if with the fumm. they would have fought other way into The Conful having no defire to fight, untries Macedon, than through the heart of Greece: til fuch time as all his forces were arrived; upon neither of which courfes they once kept within his Trenches, and lay ftill endevised, notwithstanding any trouble which camped by the River of Peneus, about three they found in this prefent war. It may per-miles from Lariffa. That which perswaded haps be faid, that the Greeks, and others the Conful to protract the time, did contrawhom the King must have left on his back, wise incite the King to put the matter unto a would have made him unable to defend any hasty tryal. Wherefore he invited the Roplaces too far from his own home. But they mans into the field; by wasting the Land of were all, excepting the Theffalians, better affected now to him, than they had been to his them patient of this indignity; he grew bold Father in the former war. The Atolians, to adventure even unto their Trenches: out upon whom the Athamanians depended, of which, if they issued, it was likely, that his grew into suspicion with the Komans (as we advantage in horse would make the victory finall find anon) even as foon as they met his own. At his coming they were troubled 5 with Perseus. The Bactians, how politically for that it was sudden; yet no way terrified; foever Martins had wrought with them, ad- as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. ventured themselves desperately in the Ma- They sent out a few of King Eumenes his cedonian quarrel: what would they have horse, and with them some light armed foot, done, if he at first had done his best? The to entertain skirmish. The Captain, and some Rhodians, Illyrians, yea and Eumenes himself, other of these were slain: but no matter of after a while began to waver, when they importance done; for that neither Licinius, faw things go better with Perfeus, than they nor Eumenes, found it reasonable to hazard had expected. So that if in stead of discou-battel. Thus, day after day, a while together, raging his friends, by fuing basely for peace; Perseus continued offering battel : which they he had raifed their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and increased the number of his well-willers; yea, and bought down with mony (as he might have bought down with mony (as he might have hought down with mony (as he might have houg done) fome of his enemies, and, among them, that fell upon them by their enduring these Eumenes, who offered for good recompence, bravadoes. The Town of sycurium, where to forget his broken head: then might the Perseus then lay, was twelves miles from the

Surely, not without extreme difficulty, must was inevitable, if he gave a little further

Romans perhaps have been compelled to for- Romans: neither was there any convenient Take their imperious patronage over Greece; watering in that long march, which used to and to render the liberty, by them given, en- take up four hours of the morning, but he tire; which otherwise was but imaginary, was fain to bring water along with him in Such benefit of this war, fince it was hoped Carts, that his men might not be both weafor afterwards, might with greater reason ry and thirsty when they came to fight. For have been expected at first, from greater ad-remedy of these inconveniencies he found vantages. But as a fearful company running out a lodging, seven miles nearer to the enefrom their enemies, till fome River stay my: whom he visited the next day by the their flight; are there compelled by meer Sun-riling. His coming at fuch an unulual desperation to do such acts, as done, while hour, filled the Camp with tumult: inthe battel lasted, would have won the victo- fomuch as though he brought with him onry: fo fell it out with Perfens. In feeking to ly his Horfe and light armature, that were avoid the danger of that war, whereof he unfit to assail the Trenches, yet the Conshould have sought the honour; he left his ful thought it necessary; and resolved to friends that would have stood by him, and give check to his pride. Wherefore he sent gave them cause to provide for their own forth his brother C. Licinius, King Eumefafety: yet being overtaken by necessity, he nes, Attalus, and many brave Captains, with chose rather to set his back to the Mountains all his power of horse, his Velites, and all of Tempe, and defend himself with his proper the rest of his light armature to try their forces 3 than to be driven into such milery, as fortune : he himself remaining in the Camp,

nour of this morning, was the Macedonian that if they would shun indignation, or in-Kings; for he obtained the victory in a man- cur favour, then must they adventure no ner entire (though the Thessalians made a less for their Lords the Romans, than glady good retrait) with little loss of his own. But they would do for their own liberty. Thus he discoveres his weakness ere night, by fared it with the Consul and his Army, hearkening, has Princes commonly do, to Perseus came the next day to correct the counfel given by one of his own temper. former dayes errour; which, how great it For whereas the Romans were in great fear was, he not until then found. The Romans left he should attault their Camp; and to were gotten into a place of fafety; whithat purpole, upon the first news of his ther they could never have attained, if the fuccefs, his Phalaux was brought unto him King had either preffed his Victory, or by the Captains, though unfent for: he ne- given better heed to them that night: his vertheless took it for found advice, which light armature alone being sufficient to have indeed was timorous and base, To work routed them whilest they were conveying warily, and moderate his victory; by which themselves to the other side of Peneus. But means it was faid, That either he should get it was vain to tell what might have been honest conditions of peace, or at leastwife done, fince there was no remedy. The many companions of his fortune. Certainly Romans were beaten, even the flower of it was like, that his good fortune would ex- their City, The Gentlemen of Rome; out alt the hope and courage of his friends. of whom were chosen their Senators, and Yet, had it been greater, and had he won the consequently the Generals themselves, Pra-Roman Camp, his friends would have been tors, Confuls, and all that bore office or the more, and the bolder. But over-great command among them; yea, they were was his folly, in hoping then for peace: beaten fo shamefully, that they stole away And in fuing for it, even when he had the vi- by night, and fuffered him to gather up the ctory; what else did he, than proclaim unto poils of them without resistance, as yeeldall which would become his partakers, That | ing themselves overcome. With such brave neither good nor bad fortune should keep words did the King set out the glory of his him from yeelding to the Romans, whenfo- action; dividing the spoils among his folever they would be pleafed to accept him? lowers. But there was much wanting At this time the joy of his victory would ad- within him, to have made his honour found. mit none of the Confiderations. He had He came nearer to the Romans, and enflain of the Roman horse two hundred, camped at Mopfelus, a place in a mid-way beand taken of them prisoners the like num- tween Tempe and Larissa: as if it were his ber. Of their foot he had flain about two meaning to press them somewhat harder. thousand: losing of his own no more than Nevertheless he was easily perswaded to use twenty horse, and forty foot. The Roman the occasion, which he seemed to have, of Camp, after this disafter, was full of heavi- obtaining peace. Therefore he sent unto the neß and fear: it being much doubted that Conful, and offered to yeeld unto the same the enemy would fet upon it. Eumenes gave | Conditions, wherein his Father had been counsel to dislodge by night, and remove bound to the Romans; if the war might so to a furer place beyond the River Peneus, take end. It were needless here again to The Conful, though ashamed to profess, by shew the folly of this his course. Towards fo doing, in what fear he flood, yet thought the accomplishment of this defired peace, it better to acknowledge the loss past, there was in the Conful no greater power passed the River in the dead of the night, and People to approve the conditions and raand encamped more fitrongly on the further fide. The #ziolians were forely blamed for by Martins, he had lately found no small difthis lofs: as if rather a trail rous meaning, commodity redounding. But Licinius dealt than any true fear, had occasioned their plainly, and returned answer, That other

with his Legions in readiness. The ho- might learn, by examples of either kind flight, wherein the reft of the Greeks follow- hope of peace there was none; fave that Perfeed them. Five of them that were men of espe- us would yield both his Kingdom and person, cial mark, had been observed to be the first simply and absolutely, to discretion of the which turned their backs: an observation Senate, A manly part it was of Livinia to likely to cost them dear, at a time of better be so resolute in adversity. On the other leifure. As for the The saint, their virtue fide, ir argued a very faint heart in 1976, was honoured with reward: to as the Greeks that having received an antiver to peremptory

he still persisted, making vain offers of grea- came within themselves more absolute, than ter tribute. Finding that the peace which formerly they had been. The causes hereof he so much defired, could not be purchased were to have been sought among the with money, the King withdrew himfelf back | changes happening in their va jable factions : to Sycurium. There he lay hearkening what whereof the knowledge is r. v loft. Some the Enemy did; whose forces were well re- of them rebelled, and were throughly pupaired by the coming of Misagenes the son nished by Lucretius the Roman Admiral: of Masanissa, with the aid before mentio- who got so much by spoiling them, that he ned. This distance between the King and would have brought others to rebell in them, caused the Romans to wax the more like fort, if by extream oppression he could bold in making their harvest: about which have driven them so far. Neither was Libusiness they ranged over all the fields. Their cinius the Consul undiligent in the same careless demeanour gave him hope to do kind. What his doings were, after such fome notable exploit: which he attempted, time as he was at leifure from Perfess, I both upon their Camp, and upon those that | find no where mentioned Only this is said in were abroad. The Camp he thought to general 5 That in the war which he made, have fired on the fudden: but the alarm being taken in good season, he failed in the self. enterprize. As for the forragers; he had a After the same sashion dealt they, that good hand upon them, if he could have with- commanded in the year following; Hostilius drawn it, and given over in time. But whilst the Conful, and Hortensius the Admiral, or he strove to force a guard, he was visited Prætor of the Fleet. Hostilius shewed by the Conful; by whom either in a skirmish more of his industry, in picking quarrels of horse, or (for the report is divers) in a with the Confederates of Rome, than in progreat battel, he was overcome. This milad- fecuting the war against the Macedonian, venture, whether great or small, caused Per- For concerning the Roman war upon his fews, after a few dayes, to fall back into Ma- Kingdom, after that the Consul had sought cedon; as being naturally given to fear palage in vain over certain mountains. Perdanger, even where none was; where leured, in a manner, free from it. He was by what loss he felt, will appear here-troubled indeed on that side which looked after He left all behind him, fave only Tempe, towards Illyria, by Ap. Claudius, whom the weakly guarded : and confequently an eafie Conful fent thither with an Army of four prey to the Romans.

pe. But finding the work too hard, he thither in such careless order, that the inreturned back unto the Perrebians and habitants which had made shew of treaafter his victory, Perfeus did greater acts pened, Perfeus very soon recovered it, and than we find recorded, and got some part of many other places there shall : Cotys a The faly.

time, it is hard to give a precise account; for ted from the Roman 10, 10 sie other. Perfeus terrifie, and bring altogether to his own will, that Region. Of this h should not be afraid of a Roman Army, then disappointed by those of

thousand, and who by levies made upon the After the Kings departure, Licinius went | Confederates, doubled this his Army. But straight unto Connus; hoping to have taken Claudius thinking to have taken Uscana, it, and so to have gotten entrance into Tem- a border town of Illyria, by treason; came others; from whom he won some Towns, son, with purpose only to train him into and among the rest, Larissa. There were danger; sallied forth upon him, overthrew fundry Towns thereabout, bearing the same him, and chased him so far, that hardly he name of Lariffa: fo that this which the escaped with the fourth part of his compa-Consul took, may seem not to have belong- ny. Yet this Town of Uscana, shortly afed unto the Theffalians; unless, perhaps, ter became Roman: which howsoever it hap-Thracian King, securing in on the one side Of matters happening in Greece at this of Macedon; and Ceph and Epirot, revolthat the histories of them are greatly de- likewise made a party into Attofective. One may think it strange, that the lia; where he was ecc to be admitted Bæotians, whom a Roman Embassador could into Stratus, that we rongest City in "hough he were Romans faction foot in Greece, and a Navy on their on, yet in his return hou..., he took in coast. But more strange it is, that the The- Aperantia; and shortly heard good news, bans, from whom their dependants were ta- that Ap. Claudius was again throughly beaken by the Art of Martius, were more true ten by Clevas, one of his Lieutenants. Such to Rome, than other petty Towns, which success had the Macedonian war under Hoby that same distraction of the Beotians, be- stillus. The same Consul offended much Bbbbbbb

the Greeks, by the strict inquisition which ence to any Roman Magistrate, imposing any his Embafladors made into mens affection to burden for the prefent war, unless it were wards Rome. For these Embassadors travel-such, as the Senate had likewise thought ling thorow all the Cities of Peloponne u, meet. Of this Decree the whole Country gave out speeches tending to shew, That was glad for it was, or seemed, a good remethey liked no better of those who fought dy of many inconveniences. But they that they made no octat of those their bullfanding on priviledges hereof, refused to fulfinels, than of those which were of the Ma-fill every commandment, were numbred ecdonian faction. Their meaning was, to among the Patriots; which in the end of have accused by name, in the Parliament of this war proved little better, if not work, Achaia, Lycertas that worthy Commander, than to have been Traytors. The Senate was who nobly followed the fteps of Thillope- driven to fet down this order, by reason of men; and together with him, his fon Polylins, many and vehement complaints brought who foon after was General of the Achean to Rome, concerning the wrongs done by Who from after was General of the Roman Magistrates, and especially by the Ad-Hiftery which he wrote, than by his great mirals, Lucretius and Hortenfius. Lucretius employments, which he well and honoura- was condemned in a great fumni of mony, for bly discharged. The summ of the accusati- the wrongs by him done: highly to the comon flould have been; That thele were not mendation of the Romans, in that they lohearty friends unto the Romans, but fuch as ved not to have their subjects oppressed. abstanced from raising troubles, more for Hortensius being still in office, had warning to lack of opportunity, than for any love to the amend. common quiet. But fince no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to fuch a talesit was thought better, for the feek redress of injuries, or to offer their ferpresent, to let it alone, and give gentle words, vices: it is note-worthy, that from Alabanda, as if all were well. In like manner dealt a Town of the lefter Afia, there was prefented they among the Etolians: They demanded unto the Senate, and well accepted, a most holtages; and found fome in the Councel base piece of flattery. These Alabanders that approved the motion: as also among brought three hundred horsemens targets, the Acarnanians, there were that intreated to and a crown of gold, to beftow upon Jupihave Roman Garrisons bestowed in their ter in the Capitol. But having a desire to Towns. But neither the one nor the other gratifie the Romans with some exquisite toof these propositions took effect. They of ken of their dutiful obedience, wherein the Roman faction, accused not only such as they would be singular: and being not able were inclinable to the Macedonian, but also to reach unto any great performance: they the good Patriots; making it no Jess than a built a Temple, unto the town Rome, and matter of treason, to be a Grecian in Greece. appointed anniversary games to be celebra-On the contrary fide, there wanted not some, ted among them, in honour of that goddesis. who roundly told these pick-thanks of their Now who can wonder at the arrogant follybase flattery, rating them openly, in such fort, of Alexander, Antigonus, Ptolomy, and the like that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, even in the presence of the Embassa-the shamefull flattery of such as bestowed dors. Thus was all full of accufations, and upon men, and not the most vertuous excuses: among which the Embassadors of men, divine honours; when he sees carried themselves, as men that could believe a Town of houses, wherein powerfull none ill: though it were well enough known men dwell, worshipped as a Goddess 5 what they thought. The best was, that and receiving (without scorn of the Gian order from the contact was brought into a receiving without to the order from the contact was brought into dreece, and publify to this effect: That it should be free for i men, to refuse obediable banda?

The fifth Book of the first Part

Among the great number of Embassages that came to Rome about this time, either to

CHAP. VI.

difficulty and danger enters into Tempe. The and being uncertain what way he meant to comardize of Perseus in abandoning Tempe. take, distributed his own forces, to the The Town of Dium quitted by Marrius; re- defence of all places which might give enpaired and fortified by the King. The Romans trance, or permit ascent. But the Conful attempt many places, with ill success. Their proceeded in his journey: with hope, either a bad man. Polybius fent Embassador to break through all opposition, or at leastwise, Martius from the Acheans. Polybius his to fight on as convenient ground, as they starna, by his wretched parsimony.

At things were further out of tune in burner him, and fought with him, two or two than when the war began; which had been thought likely to reform all those three dayes together; each returning to Countreys, and bring them to what pass the Romans defired; as it did in the end. either fide. This bickering was on the Perseus had hitherto the better, and was narrow ridge of a mountain, which gave ftronger now, than when he lived in peace. fcarcely room unto three to march in front. He had enlarged his borders on the Illyrian So that very few hands came to be employfide; his friends, in all parts of Greece, took ed; all the rest were beholders. In this courage daily; and his reputation grew case it was impossible to get forwards: vet fuch, as caused those that were before a shame to return. Wherefore Martius wholly Roman, to fuspect what the islue of took the only course remaining; and inthe war might prove, and thereupon to be- deed the best: Part of his men he left with come wife for themselves. Contrariwise, Li- Popilius, to attend upon the Macedonians: cinius, and Hostilius the Confuls, had one after whilst he, with the rest, setcht a compass the other spent their time in vain, seeking about, and sought out wayes that never way into Macedon; and defaced the glorious had been trodden. Herein he found exenterprize of conquest, by many losses re-tream difficulty: which notwithstanding ceived. The Roman Admirals had so de- he overcame. Besides the troubles commeaned themselves, that many Towns even monly incident to such journeys, through of the best affected to Rome, kept them places unfit for habitation: he was comout by force. Generally, the fear was great pelled by labour of hand; to make paths on the Roman fide; and the Army much where none were, yea, where Nature might lessend, not only by casualties of war, but seem to have intended, that none should be. by the facility of the Tribunes or Colonels, So freep he found the descent of the mounor else of the Consul himself (for they tains, in this way which he took: that laid the blame one upon the other) in li- of feven miles, which they travelled the cenfing the fouldiers to depart. Quintius first day, his men were compelled, for the Martius the new Conful, who succeeded un-more part to rowl themselves down; as to Hostilius, was to amend all this: which not daring to trust their feet. Neither was nevertheless was more than he knew how to this the worst. For they met with rocks, do; though he brought with him a ftrong that stood one over another, so upright, supply of men. He began hotly to set the and cumbersome to get down: that their war on foot, which a long time had flept. Elephants were affaid of that giddy project, And he began the right way: not feeking to and casting their governours, made a terforce the ftraights that were furely guarded, rible noise, which affrighted the horses, and but taking pains to climb the mountains bred great confusion. Having therefore

which were thought able to forbid all paffage over them, without help or need of any Q. Martius the Roman Conful, with extream cuftody. The King heard of his approach; affairs in hard estate. Martius a cunning and not to be discovered by the Enemy, or to honest wisdom beneficial to the Acheans, should have that lay to stop him, and at King Eumenes grows averfe from the Ro- length, if all failed, to make a fafe retreat. mans. Perseus negotiates with Antiochus, He sent before him four thousand of his most and Eumenes. His false dealing with Genti- expedite foot, to discover the ways. Two us King of Illyria; whom he draws into the days was this company troubled, in over-Roman war. He fends Embaffadors to the coming the difficulty of no more than fifteen Rhodians; who vainly take upon them to be miles: after which they had fight of the arbitrators between him and the Romans. Enemy, that lay to deny their parliage. They Perseus loseth a mighty succour of the Ba- occupied therefore a safe piece of ground; and tent back word to the Conful, where they were 5 intreating him to haften unto Fier two years of the Macedonian war, them: which he did. The Macedonians

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yous journey; there was nothing more defired by the fouldiers, than that they might tempted in vain, and another like unto it: be fuffered to creep back again, the fame the laft, by the City of Dium out of Mareway which they had come. But thift was don. All these were sufficiently guarded; made to let down the Elephants, by a kind and wholoever would feek any other way, of bridges, like unto falling draw-bridges: must be fain to take such pains as Marine whereof the one end was joyned to the had undergone. The entrance by Dium edge of the cliff; the other fulfained by was fairer than any of the reft; whereofontwo long pofts, faftened in the ground be- ly the King had benefit: for that his enemies low. Upon these two potts, or poles, (which could not get thither, fave through the valindeed, not being very ftrong, fince it was ley it felf, into which they must first pierce intended that they should be either cut or another way. Dinm frood upon the foot of broken) were fastened two rafters, answethe huge mountain Olympus, about a mile rable in length to the diffance, between the from the fea: of which mile, the River Hehigher and the lower fall: To as the end of heon becoming there a lake, and called Baone bridge might reach to the beginning phyras, took up the one half; the rest being of another. These were covered with fuch as might easily have been fortified. Beplanks and turfe; that they might feem fides all these, there was in the midst of Tempe, continent with the ground: fo to make a paffage which ten men might eafily keep: the beafts adventurous to go upon them. where the spurs of the mountains, reach-If there were a plain of any good extent ing far into the valley; drew near to the from the foot of a rock, to the next downfall; then might the bridg be shorter . When an Élephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of these; the posts upholding the frame the Consul repent him of his troublesome were cut afunder 5 thereby cauting him to journey: if Ferfeus could have feen his own fink down unto the next bridge; whence advantages. For the Roman Army was he was conveyed in like manner, to the not only in ill case to fight, after the vexa-

only pallages there were , leading into without battel. Herewithal he began to Tempe: the first by Connus; which the Ro- take out of Dium, what he could carry

gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grie- mans were unable to force: the fecond and very banks of Peneus, a goodly and deep river which ran through it. Wherefore nothing had been more case, than to make third, and onward ftill to the very bot- tion of that miferable travel : but must tom. Thus went they down fliding, some needs have either perished for want of vion their feet, others on their buttocks, chuals, or been inforced to return the fame till they came to an even valley. By this it way that he came if the King had made good appears, how throughly provided the Ro- the straight of Dium. To have returned, mans used to be in their journeys, of things and climbed up with their Elephants and needful in all occations: as also what in carriages, against those rocks, from which, estimable pains they took in this descent, with extream labour, they could hardly get about the conveyance of themselves and down, it seems a matter of impossibility: all their carriages down the mountains. The especially considering how the enemy from next day they refled; staying for Popilius above their heads, would have beaten upon and his company, who hardly, or perhaps ne- them; being now aware of the path which ver, should have overtaken them, if the Ene- they had taken, though he knew it not when my had followed, & fet upon him from aloft. they ftole away from him. It may therefore The third and fourth dayes journeys were be thought ftrange that the Ramans did not like unto the first: save that custome, and rather take their journey into Macedon, from the nearnes to their ways end without meet- the fide of Illyria, whence that Kingdom ing enemy, caused them the better to endure had often been invaded, as lying open on that Person could not be ignorant of the Ro- breaking into Tempe, whence, after that they mans coming towards him fince they fought were arrived, there was no means to with his men upon the passage, three days cleape, without forcing one of those passage. together, he lying fo nigh, that he might welnear have heard the noile. Yet was he for the cowardize of Perfeus did commend the possessed with fear; that he neither stirred counsel by them followed, as wife. For to help his own men, or to hinder the Confull, normade any provision for that which over the Mountains into Tempe, than he might fallout; but as one void of couniel, fared like one out of his wits; faying. That hearkening after the event. Four only referes these weeks after the leading into the was vanquished; and had lost all, he was vanquished. ed the Town. In the same vehemency of towards Thessuly. His Fleet came to him, in amazement, he fent a ftrait command- this time of necessity, well appointed to have ment to Theffalonica, that the Arfenal there holpen him in the war: but having left should be set on fire; and to rella, that his behind, at Magnesia, the ships of burthen, treasures there should be cast into the Sea: as which carryed the provisions. Wherefore it if the Romans were like prefently to be Ma- fell out happily, that one of his Licutenants fters of these two Cities. Niceas, who was ap- had been careful to occupy the Castles pointed to drown the treasure, performed it about Tempe, which were forfaken by the as hastily as well he could: though soon Macedonians: for by those wayes only after, his Master grew sorry for the loss; and might Corn be brought into the Army. To it was all, in a manner, recovered by Di- meet the sooner with this Corn, which was vers from under the water. But Andronicus, most desirously expected, he for look Dium, who had charge to let fire on the Kings and went to Phila; by which foolish jour-Arfenal, deferred the execution; forefeeing ney (if not worse than foolish) he lost more, that repentance might follow: and so he than a little the longer fasting had been prevented the damage. Whether Niceas, worth. It is probable that his Carts, with all, for his absolute and blind obedience, or or the most of his store, were lost among the Andronicus, for his careful providence, me- Mountains: for otherwise it had been madrited the greater commendation, or more nesto put himself on such an enterprize, so easie pardon; it rested in the King to inter- sleenderly provided, as that without ensorcepoor men, which had fercht his treasure out when it most behoved him to have profecuof the Sea by their diving, were payed their | ted the action. wages after the same fort: that so there might be no witness of the Kings base folly. Such end must they fear, who are privy to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If Perseus would have gone furely to work, and laboured to make what amends he for the hiding of his fault 3 then must be so could. He quickly reposlessed the Town of royally have behaved himself, that no man Dinm, which he hastily repaired, finding it raight believe him to be the Author of any dif-mantled by the Romans. This done, he unworthy act or counsel. But his vertue encamped strongly by the River of Entpens: was of no fuch capacity. He thought it meaning there to ftop the Enemies proceedenough to lay the blame upon others. And ing all that Summer. Less diligence, more therefore, having called *Hippist* away (the timely used, would have been enough, not Captain which had stopped the Conful on only to have delivered *Martins* into his hand, openly; faying, That they had betrayed a good end of the war upon fair conditions, unto the Enemy the gates and bars of *Mace*-and not to begin again in hafte. Yet this they have sped as did Niceas and Andronicus.

The Conful Martius had great cause to rejoyce, for that the King had so hastily relinquished his possession of Tempe, and all the ther by a trick of climbing upon mens heads, paffages leading thereinto: fince the Roman fomewhat after the manner of our tumblers. Army, this notwithstanding, was hardly able But it made such defence as it could, and to substift for want of victuals. He took Dium was not given up for fear. After this, Martins without refistance, and thence went for- did fet a bold face towards Dium; as if he ward into Macedon: wherein having travel- would have taken it again, and have driven led about a dayes journey, and gotten one the King further off; though his intent or Town that yeelded, he was compelled by hope was nothing like fo great; his chief

away in haste; and straightwayes abandon- meer lack of food for his men, to return back pret. The reward of their fervice, was this. ment, or light of the Enemy, he flould Perseus growing ashamed of his mad cowar- be fain to quit it. Howsoever it was: men dize, that appeared in this hasty direction; thought him a coward, or at least a bad man caused them both to be flain. Also those of war; fince he thus recoyled and gave off,

By understanding the folly, or cowardize of Martins; the King recollected himself, understood his own errour, sought to hide it by fuch poor means as have been shewed, the top of the Mountain and Afclepiodatus, who had beguiled him with an idle hope from defence of the pallages, whereto they of peace, but to have given him fuch a noble were by him appointed: he rated them victory, as might cause the Romans to seek don. Of this reproach, if they would dif- recovery and fortification of Dinm, was to charge themselves, by laying it upon him, the Conful an exceeding hinderance. For to whom of right it belonged: then might little or nothing could afterward be done toward the Conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the Town of Heraclea, standing on the River of Peneus, five miles from Dium, was taken by force, or rafent the Admiral to make attempt upon the had fent his Lieutenant to befiege it: and by Sca-Towns, Thessalonica, Cassandrea, De- the terrour of his appearing suddenly over metrias, and others. All these were assayed: their heads, caused the besiegers to dissolve but in vain. The fields about Thessalonica in all haste, setting their Camp on fire. were wasted; and some companies, that fundry times adventured forth of the Town, rather, fo far was their ability short of their were still put to the worse. As for the Town Enterprises; ever fince their Consul (wheit felf; there was danger in coming near ther daftardly, or carelelly) most unlike a it either by Land or Sea; by reason of the good Commander, had let go his hold of engines, which shot from the walls, and Macedon, by forfaking Dinn Yea, it is to be reached unto the Fleet. Wherefore the Ad- suspected, that some greater harm befell miral fetting fail from thence, ran along by them, or, at least, that they were in some grea-Enia, and Antigonea, (landing near to each of ter danger, than is expressed in the broken them; and both doing and receiving hurt)un- remaining History of this war. For Martil he came to Pallene in the territory of Caf- tins perswaded the Rhodians by Agesspolis fandrea. There King Eumenes joyned with their Embassadour, who came to him at Hehim, bringing twenty ships of War: and five racker about other business of less imporother were fent thither from King Prussas, tance, That they should do well to interpose which was bad. There was a new ditch late- probably conjecture, that this was rather a ly cast by Perseus, before the Town: which, while the Romans were filling up, question ing to bring the Rhodians in danger (as was made, What became of the earth taken anon it fell out) by their oppoling the resothence, for that it lay not upon the bank? Iution of the Senate; than that it proceeded By this occasion, it was learned, that there from any true fear in him, either of Perfens, were Arches in the Town-wall filled up with or of Antiochus, who had then an Army on that earth, and covered with one fingle row foot: yet fince he made flew of fear, it is of brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope like withall, that fomewhat had happened, of making way into the Town, by fapping which might make his fear feem not counterthe walls. To this work he appointed fuch as feit. And fo were the Rhodians moved to he thought meeteft: giving an alarm to the think of him; not only for that the extraorother fide of the Town, thereby to shadow dinary courtesie, both of him and of the Adhis attempt. The breach was foon made. miral, towards their Embassadour, com-But whilest the Romans were shouting for ing from proud natures, did argue diffi-

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care, being to provide for his wintering. He (that he might not be quite without work)

Such fortune attended on the Romans, or With this access of ftrength, the Admiral themselves as Mediators, and seek to finish was bold to try his fortune at Cassandrea: the War. Now, although Polybins do most entropy was bold to try his fortune at Cassandrea: malicious device of Martins, craftily feekjoy, and ordering themselves for the assault : dence, where there was no ambition to cause the Captains within the Town perceived it; but much more, for that flortly after what was done; and fallying forth unexpect- the Embassadours of regleus, and of Gentius ed, gave a fierce charge on the companies the Illyrian, did fet out their business at that were between the ditch and the wall; of Rhodes, not more with the firength of a good whom they flew about fix hundred, and fuf- Fleet, which the Macedonians had gotten, fered few to escape unwounded. This dif-than with the honour of some victory, whereafter, and the want of good fuccess on that in he had lately flain great numbers of the part of the Town which King Eumenes Roman horse. Thus much we find intimated; Pulph, Liaffailed (a supply in the mean while entring though the time, place, or other circumstan- gai. 27. the Town by Sea) caused the fiege to break | ces of the fight, be not specified. And hereto up. Torone was the next place which the Ad- may be referred, the report of those that miral thought meet to attempt: and thence were fent from Rome to view the estate of likewise he was repelled. Finding this too Martius his Army. For they found the Conwell manned; he made way towards Deme- ful wanting meat; the Admiral wanting men; trias: whereinto Euphranor, a Macedonian and, for those few that he had, wanting both Captain, was gotten before his coming, with mony and clothes: and App. Claudius the fuch forces, as were not only fufficient to have Prætor, who lay on the frontier of Wiria, fo defended the Town, if the Admiral had laid unable to invade Macedon, that contrariwife, flege to it, but to keep the Land about it he was in extreme danger; so as either he from spoil; or, at least (as they did) to make must quickly be sent for thence, or a new the enemy pay dear for all that he there got. Army he fent thither to him. Wherefore it This Euphranor had taken his journey to Demetrias, by Melibea; whither the Conful the Illgrian fide, which made all to halt; or

than is before spoken of, had been driven that the Consul was so earness in this busifrom fome of the Towns which they be- fines; or rather for envy, and to hinder fieged.

ning, which one hath most aptly termed, A doubt, that more nearly concerned his own crooked or sinister kind of wisdom, he dealt as self, and those of his party. For as he was a crafts-mafter, with a restless working sure to incurr the great indignation of the diligence. This indeed neither proved his Conful, if he should neglect what was given fufficiency, nor commended his honesty: him in charge; so was it manifest on the fince thereby he effected nothing to his own other fide, that the words by Martins utterbenefit; and nevertheless out of envy, ed to him in private, would prove no good vain-glory, or fuch delight as weak and bu- warrant for him and his friends, if openly fie-headed men take, in creating inexpli- they should refuse to help Claudius, alledging cable troubles, he directly made opposition that he had no need: In this case therefore, to the good of his Country. At fuch time as he had recourse unto the Decree of the Se-Perfens, by the fuccels of his doings against nate: which exempted men from necessity Hoftilius, had gotten much reputation, and of doing what the Roman Commanders was thought likely to invade Theffuly. Archo, should require, unless, by special order from Lycortas, and other good Patriots among the Senate, the same were likewise appointthe Acheans, judged it expedient for their ed. So for lack of warrant from the Senate, Nations to help the Romans; as in a time of this demand of Appins was referred unto adversity, whom in prosperity they loved not the advice of the Consul: by whom it to flatter. Wherefore Archo proposed a was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the decree, which passed: That the Acheans were savers, of more than an hunshould fend their whole power into Thessay, dred and twenty Talents: though Polybius and participate with the Romans in all dan- himself ran into danger of Appins his difgers. So the Army was levied: and Polybins, pleasure; and for such honest dealing in his This with others, fent Embassadours unto Mar- Countries behalf, was afterwards rewarded tius, to certifie him thereof, and know his by the Romans with many a long years impleasure. Polybius found the Consul busie in prisonment. finding passage thorow Tempe into Macedon. He went along with the Army; and awaited Martins, that King Eumenes grew cold in his the Confuls leifure, till they came to He- affection to the Romans; or whether this raclea; where, finding the time convenient, King began when it was too late, to fland in he prefented the Decree, and offered the fear left the fire, which he himself had helped fervice of his Nation, wherein foever it should to kindle, would shortly take hold on his be commanded. Martins took this very own lodging; or whether the regard of mony kindly; but faid, That he needed now no were able to overfway all other paffions; it manner of help. Forthwith Polybius dispatchis hard to determine: fince they that had ed home his companions, to fignific thus better means to know the truth, have not be put to such needless charges. Away went that Eumenes gave a willing car to Perfeus his Polybius; musing, and unable to resolve, desire of accord, for meer desire of gain,

at least, that the Romans, with greater loss, whether it were for love to the Acheans. Ap. Claudius from doing any thing, fince Now, although it were so, that Martius, in himself could do nothing. But when Polybins very few of his actions, behaved himself was to deliver his opinion in the Councel like a man of war: yet in exercise of Cun- touching this matter; then found he a new

Whether it were by the like policy of much: tarrying himself behind in the precisely affirmed any certainty. One report Camp. After a while, word was brought to is, That Eumenes did not fo much as give any Martius, that Ap. Claudius defired, or ra- help to Martius: but coming to have joynther imperiously required, of the Acheans, ed with him, in such friendly manner as he five thouland men, to be fent him into Epirus, did with the former Confuls, was not enter-It was manifest, that Appius had need of these tained according to his liking; and theremen3 and that if he were strong in field, upon returned home in such anger, that he he might do notable service, by distracting refused to leave behind him certain horse of the forces of Perseus. But the Labyrinthian the Gallo-Greeks, being requested to have head of Martins, could not allow of fuch done it. If this were true, and that his broplain reason. He called unto him Polybius, ther Attalus tarrying behind with the Conto whom he declared, That Appins had no ful, did the Romans good service : then is the need of fuch aid, and therefore willed him to reason apparent, of the hatred, born afterreturn home, and in any wife take order that ward by the Senate to Eumenes, and the love the men might not be fent, nor the Achaeans to Attalus. But it is more generally received; him on, in the course, whereinto indignation might happen to succeed: so that needs he first led him. Howsoever it befell; Perseus would have part of his wages in prest. Thus caused Eumenes to be sounded, and found the two Kings did no more, than lose time: him so tractable, that he was bold to solicite and Eumenes grew suspected of the Romans him by an Embassage. The tenour of his ad- as a Traitor. vertisements, both to Eumenes and Antiochus, was: That there could be no perfect love King Gentius the Illyrian. He had attempted between a King and a free City: that the Ro- this Illyrian before; who dealt plainly, and mans had quarrel alike to all Kings, though faid, That without mony he could not flir. they dealt with no more than one at a time, Hereunto Perseus loved not to hearken; and used the help of one against another; thinking, that his Treasures would serve at that Philip was oppressed by them, with the the last cast, to deliver him from all his sears. help of Attalus; Antiochus, with the help But when the Romans had gotten within of Philip and Eumenes; and now Perseus Tempe, then did his fear urge him to prodiassailed with help of Eumenes and Prusias. gality; so as he agreed to pay three hun-Herewith he willed Eumenes to confider, dred Talents which Gentius demanded for a that when Macedon was taken out of their recompence. So the bargain was foon way, they would be doing with him in Asia, made, and pledges on both sides delivered which lay next at hand; yea, that already for performance. This was openly done by they began to think better of Prusias, than of Perseus, to the end that all his Army might him. In like fort he admonished Antiochus, have comfort, by such access of strength to not to look for any good conclusion of his their party. Presently upon the bargain war with the Egyptian, fo long as the Romans made, Embassadours were sent to Rhodes, could make him give over, by denouncing from both Perfeus and Gentius: who defired their will and pleasure. Finally, he request- the Rhedians, to take upon them, as Arbitraed both of them, either to compel the Ro- tors, between Perseus and the Romans, and to mans to furcease from their war upon Mace- bring the war to an end. The Rhodians thinkdon; or else to hold them as common ene- ing that Martius the Conful was no less demies unto all Kings. Antiochus lay far out sirous of peace than the Macedonian, arroof the Romans way : and therefore was little gantly promifed, that they, by their authotroubled with fuch remonstrances. Eumenes rity, would make peace; wishing the Kings was more nearly toucht; and as he felt part to shew themselves conformable. But the of this to be true, so had he reason to stand Roman Senate, hearing proud words to the in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should same effect, from the Rhodian Embassadours; give answer, he began to offer a bargain of gave an answer as dildainful, angry, and in: and that for some greater quantity of mony (how much I finde not) he would also he would have hastened this young and rash bring the Romans to condefcend unto peace: Illyrian to enter with all speed into the War: mony no nearer to him, being there, than Gentius had laid hands upon two Jaman if it remeained in Pella. Besides, his labour Embassadours, and cast them into prison

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And it might well be, that covetousness drew | deserved somewhat, howsoever the business

After the same manner dealt Perseus with peace for mony. He thought the Romans to menacing, as they could devife: so as this be no less weary, than Persens was affraid. vain glory of the Rhodians was thoroughly Wherefore he promifed for his own part, chastised; and more thoroughly should have That if he might have fifteen hundred Ta- been, if their submission had not been as lents for withdrawing his hand from this humble, as their folly was proud. Such use of war, then would he remain a Neuter there- Gentius his friendship, made Perseus, withand for affurance of his true meaning herein, but then must the mony be hastened away. he offered to give hostages. Perseus liked Pantauchus the Macedonian Embassadour, well to receive the hoftages, but not to lay who remained with Gentius, exhorted him out the mony; especially before-hand, as was daily to begin the War by Land and Sea, required. He would fain have peace with whilest the Romans were unprovided. But Rome, and not with Eumenes only. For pro- | finding what it was that made all to flay; curing of this, he promifed to be at any rea- he fent word to Fersens. Hereupon ten Tafonable cost; but he would lay down the lents were sent to Pantauchus: who delivermony in the Temple at Samothrace: whence ed it to the young King, as Earnest of that it should be delivered unto Eumenes, after which followed. More followed indeed; that the peace was fully concluded and rati- and fealed up with the feal of the allyrians, fied. The isle of Samothrace was Persens his but carryed by Macedonians, and not 100 own: and therefore Eumens thought the fast. Before this mony came into Illyria,

Which Perfeus no fooner heard, than he re- shifting excuses, the Bastarna returned precalled his Treasure bearers, and fent them fently towards Danubius, wasting the neighwith their load to Pella; for that now the bour-parts of Thrace; yet suffering this craf-Illyrian was of necessity to make war with ty messenger to escape unburt: which was the Romans, whether he were hired thereto more than he could have well expected.

Lv.lib.44 Aema!.

CHAP. VI.

There came about the same time through surer, and one that would preserve his mony Illyria, to the aid of Perseus, under one Cloudi- for the Romans, without diminishing the cus, a petty King, ten thousand horse, and summ. But of this painful Office he was very ten thousand foot of the Gauls, which were foon discharged by L. Emplius Paulus the (as Plutarch hath it) the Baffarne. These had new Consul: who in fifteen dayes after his before-hand made their bargain, and were fetting forth from Italy, brought the Kingto receive present pay at the first. At their dom of Macedon to that end, for which entry into the Kingdom, Terseus sent one to God had appointed over it a King so foolish them; defiring their Captains to come vifit | and fo cowardly. him, whom he promifed to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their General asked, of L. Emilius Paulus the Conful. His Jourwas, Whether the King had fent mony to give their Souldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the meffenger had not what to answer. Why then (faid Clondicus) tell thy Master, that the Gauls will not stir one foot further until they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages. Perseus hereupon took counsel: if to utter his own opinion before men so wise that they would not contradict him were to take counsel. He made an invective against the incivility and avarice of the Bastarne: who came with

Thus dealt Perseus, like a careful Trea-

ø. VIII.

ney. He forceth Perseus to discamp. He will not hazard battel with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moon. Emylius his superstition. The battel of Pydna. Perseus his slight. He forsakes his Kingdom: which hastily yeelds to Æmylius. Perfeus at Samothrace. He yeelds himfelf to the Roman Admiral, and is sent prisoner to Æmylius.

BY the War of Macedon, the Romans Bhitherto had gotten much dishonour. fuch numbers, as could not but be dangerous Which, though it were not accompanied to him and to his Kingdome. Five thousand with any danger, yet the indignity so horse of them he said would be as many as he moved them, that either * they decreed plue, in should need to use; and not so many, that he that Province to L. Amylius Paulus, with vit. demy! should need to fear them. It had been well out putting it, as was otherwise their mandone, if any of his Counfellors would have ner, to the chance of lot, between him and told him, That there wanted not employ- his fellow-Conful; or at least were gladder ment for the whole Army of them, fince that the lot had cast it upon him, than without any danger to the Kingdom, they that fo worthy a man was advanced to might be let out by the way of Perræbia, into the dignity of a fecond Confulship. He Theffaly: where, wasting the Country, and refused to propound unto the Senate any filling themselves with spoil, they should thing that concerned his Province; unmake the Romans glad to for sake Tempe, even til by Embassadours, thither sent to view for hunger and all manner of want; therein the estate of the War, it was perfectly doing the King notable fervice, whether understood, in what condition both the they won any victory or not. This, and a Roman Forces, and the Macedonian, at the great deal more, might have been alledged, prefent remained. This being throughly if any man had dared to give advice freely. known to be fuch, as hath been already In conclusion, Antigonus, the same messenger told, the Senate appointed a strong supply; that had been with them before, was fent not only to the Conful, but unto the Naagain, to let them know the Kings mind. He vy, and likewise to the Army that laybedid his errand : upon which followed a great tween Illyria and Epirus; from which App. murmure of those many thousands that had Claudius was removed, and L. Anicius sent been drawn so far to no purpose. But Clon- thither in his place. Æmylius, before his dieus alked him now again, Whether he had departure from Rome, making an Orabrought the mony along with him to pay those five thousand, whom the King would with much gravity and authority. He reentertain. Hereto when it was perceived that | quested those that thought themselves wise Antigonus could make no better answer, than enough to manage this War, either to Ccccccc

fift him with their advice; or elfe to govern pus, leading into Perrebia; hard of afcent, their tongues at home, and not take upon but flenderly guarded, and therefore prothem to give sirections by hearfay, and cen- mising a fair journey. Martius either had not fure by idle reports: for he told them plain-been informed hereof, or durft not attempt ly, that he would frame his doings to occasi- it; or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to ons, not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father L. Emylius, who died valiantly in the Battel of Canne, been their march over Offa into Tempe. But might well be living in some of their memories; which was enough to make them rage, and ability to command. He had reconform themselves the more gladly unto formed, even at his first coming, many diforthe instructions given by a wise and resolute ders in the Roman Camp: teaching the soul-Conful.

fpatched, Emplius was honourably atten-bling themselves, as had been their manner, ded, at his fetting for th on his journey, with to examine the doings and purposes of their an especial hope of men, that he should finish General. And now he appointed about five the war : though that he should simil it to thousand men to this enterprise; whereof he foon and happily, was more than could have committed the charge unto Scipio Empliabeen hoped or imagined. He came to Brun-nus and Q. Fabius Maximus, his own fons by dufum: whence, when the wind came fair, nature; but adopted, the one of them, by a for he fet fail at break of day, and arrived of scipio the African; the other, by one of the fafely at the Isle of Coreyra before night, Fabii. Scipio took with him fome light-ar-Thence passed he to Delphi: where having med Thracians and Cretians; but his main done facrifice to Apollo, after the fifth day strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings he fet forwards to the Camp, and was there guard, upon the mountain, confifted in a in five dayes more. So are there but five of manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers, who the fifteen dayes remaining, in which he fir though, at some distance they might do no-

nished the war.

ving spared no labour of men and of women away their aim, they were like to make a to fortifie the banks of Euipeus, where it was bad nights work, being to deal with those foordable in dry weather: fo as there was that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal little hope or none, to force him; and the business about which they went, scipio confequently, as little possibility to enter and Fabius took a wrong way towards the that way into Macedon. One great inconvenience troubling the Romans, and much difabling them to make attempt upon Dium, was lack of fresh water. For there were ten miles the country. All the way they were passing between Dium and Tempe; all the way lying the mountains (which was about three days) between the Sea shore and the foot of Olympus, without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that side. But Amylius found prefent remedy for this, by digging Wells on the shore; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no shore that wants them, though they rife not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder Martius from taking up his lodging any raclea, on the River of Peneus; where he had not for those that were weightily armed to Wherefore it was necessary to fearch ano- also beat upon the Romans and gave them to ther way: which by enquiry was foon found understand, that their labour was in vain

accompany him into Macedon, and there af- out. There was a narrow pallage over Olymmake the adventure; they fearing left it would prove fuch a piece of work as had diers among other good lesions, to be obedi-All his business within the City being dient and ready in execution; without troutable fervice against those that should climb Perseus lay strongly encamped at Dium: ha- up unto them; yet when the darkness took journy:it being noised, that they were to run along the coast of Macedon by sea, and waste the Conful made shew of a meaning to set upon Perseus where he lay, rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his main Enterprise, than upon any hope to do good, in feeking to get over Empeus. The channel of Enipeus, which received in Winter time a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-near all dry, yet it served watering at pleasure, but could perform no fight upon. Wherefore Emplin employed fervice of any worth. Yet when the Roman none fave his Velites; of whom the Kings light Camp had fuch means to lye close to the Macedonian, as it presently did, the passage though the Romans were better appointed for onward being defended as hath been flowed, seemed no less difficult than before. which Perseus had raised on his own bank, did recontinued his affault, such as it could be, more, than to give battel immediately: the fecond day. This might have ferved to doubting left otherwife the King should teach the Macedonians, that some greater change his mind, and get further off. And work was in hand: fince otherwise a good to this effect scipio brake with the Consul; Captain, as Amylius was known to be, would praying him not to lofe occasion by delay. not have troubled himself with making such But Amylius told him, that he spake like a brayado's, that were somewhat costly. But young man; and therefore willed him to Perseur lookt only unto that which was before have patience. The Romans were tyred with his eyes: until his men, that came run-their journy; had no Camp wherein to rest ning fearfully down the Mountain, brought themselves, nor any thing there, save only word into the camp, that the Romans were the bare ground whereon they trod. For following at their backs. Then was all full these, and the like respects, the Consul made of tumult; and the King himself no less a stand; and shewing himself unto the Ma-(if not more) amazed than any of the rest. cedonian, who did the like, in order of bat-Order was forthwith given to dislodge: or tel, gave charge to have the Camp measured rather without order, in all tumultuous out and entrenched behind the Army; wherehaste, the Camp was broken up, and a speedy into, at good leisure, he fell back, without retreat made to Pydna. Whether it were any manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it fo, that they which had the custody of the was hoped both by the Romans and the Mapassage were taken sleeping, or whether they cedonians, that the matter should be detercited by Plutarch out of Polybius, and an Epi- shewed, which he communicated to those ftle of Scipio, may each of them have been about him the next day. true. Thus was an open way cleared into Macedon: which had been effected by Mar- of september, by the Roman account) C. Sultius in the year foregoing; but was closed pitius Gallus, a Colonel, or Tribune of a up again through his not profecuting fo rich Legion, who had the former year been Præ-

opportunity.

course to take, after this unhappy begin- the Moon, which was to be the same night: ning. Some gave advice to man his Towns, willing the fouldiers not to be troubled and so to linger out the War: having been therewith, for that it was natural, and might taught by the last years example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But the manner of the Romans, in such Eclipses far worle council prevailed: as generally to beat Pans of Braß, and Basons, as we it doth in turbulent and fearful delibera- do in following a swarm of Bees; thinking be first of all besieged; and hetherein (as their superstition into admiration of his cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not deep skill, when they faw it verified. Conover-carefully relieved. This was even trarile, the Macedonians howled and made a that fame that *Æmilius*, or any invader, great noife, as long as the Eclipfe lafted: that fame that *Æmilius*, or any invader, great noife, as long as the Eclipfe lafted: falhion, should have defired. So a place was chosen rather perhaps because it was their falhion, near unto Pydna, that served well for the than for that they were terrified therewith, Phalanx, and had likewife on the fides of it as with a prodegie betokening their loss: fome pieces of higher ground, fit for the fince their defire to fight was no whit lette-Archers and light armature, There he abode ned by it. I will not here stand to dispute, the coming of the enemy; who stayed not Whether such Eclipses do signifie, or cause long behind him. As foon as the Romans any alteration in civil affairs, & matters that had fight of the Kings Army 5 which with have small dependance on natural complexigreater fear than diffretion, had hafted away on: for the argument is too large. More wor-

Yet Emplies perfifted as he had begun: and notably well fortified: they defired nothing were beaten by plain force, Scipio and Fabi- mined; each part thinking their own Genew had very good fuccess in their journy. It ral too blame, for that they had not fought may well be, that they flept until the Romans the fame day. As for the King, he excused came somewhat near to them; and then ta- himself by the backwardness of the enemy, king alarm, when their arrows and flings who advanced no further; but kept upon could do little fervice, were beaten at handy- ground ferving ill for the Phalanx: as on the strokes: so as the different relations that are other side, the Consul had the reasons before

tor, foretold unto the Conful, and (with his Perseus was in an extream doubt what good liking) unto the Army, an Ecclipse of

That evening (which followed the third

tions. The King resolved to put all at once that thereby they did the Moon great to hazzard of battel: fearing belike to put ease, and helped her in her labour. But himself into any one Town, left that should this prognostication of sulpitius converted

from them, forfaking the Camp that was fo thy of observation it is, how superstition cap-

tivates the wisdome of the wisest, where two or three of the Roman fouldiers followthe help of true religion is wanting. Emy- ed into the River, wading after him up to lins, though he were fufficiently instructed the knees. The Kings men lay on the further concerning this defect of the Moon, that it bank; whence a couple of Thracians ran inwas no supernatural thing, nor above the to theWater, to draw this horse over to their reach of humane understanding, so as he consider the fell to blows, as in a private floud need to trouble himself with any dequarrel; and one of the Thracians was slain, vout regard thereof; yet could he not refrain His Countrimen feeing this, hafted to refrom doing his duty to this Moon, & congra-venge their fellows death, and followed tulating with facrifice her delivery, as foon as those that had flain him over the river. fhe shone out bright again: for which he is Hereupon company came in, to help on each commended even by Plutarch, a fage Philoso- part, until the number grew such, as made in pher, as a godly and religious man. If Sulpitiwe perhaps did not affift him in this foolish careful of the event. In fine, each of the Gedevotion, yet it is like, that he, being a Senator, and one of the Councel for war, was par- cordingly as the manner of his country, and taker the next morning in a facrifice done to the arms wherewith they ferved, did require, Hercules; which was no less foolish. For a The ground was a flat level, save that on the great part of the day was vainly confumed, lides a few hillocks were raifed here and ere Hercules could be pleased with any sa- there; whereof each part might take what crifice, and vouchfafe to shew tokens of good advantage it could. The Macedonians were luck in the entrails of the beafts. At length, the greater number, the Romans the better in the belly of the one and twentieth facri- fouldiers, and better appointed. Both the fice, was found a promife of victory to King and the Conful encouraged their men Amyling: but with condition, That he with lively words: which the present condifhould not give the onset. Hercules was a tion could bountifully affoord. But the King, Greek, and partial, as nearer in alliance to having finished his Oration, and senton his the Macedonian than to the Roman. Where- men, withdrew himself into Pydna: there to fore it had been better to call upon the new do facrifice, as he pretended, unto Hercules. goddes, lately canonized at Alabanda; or It is the less marvel, that he durst adventure uponRomulus, founder of their City, on whom battel, fince he had bethought himfelf of the Romans had bestowed his Deity; or (if | such a stratageme, whereby to save his own a God of elder date were more authentical) person. As for Hercules, he liked not the saupon Mars the Father of Romulus, to whom crifice of a Coward: whose unseasonable debelonged the guidance of military affairs; votion could be no better then hypocrifies and who therefore would have limited his For he that will pray for a good Harvest, favour, with no injunctions contrary to the ought also Plough, Sow, and Weed his

throughly perfuaded, that the King meant to and he in looking to his own lafety, cauabide it: for that otherwise he would not have fed it to be lost altogether, by beginning stayed at Pydna, when as, a little before, his the flight. leisure served to retire whither he listed, the Romans being further off. In regard of corded are, That the Roman Elephants, could this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in do no manner of good: That the Macedonithe Sacrifices, the Conful thought that he an Phalanx did fo fourly press onwards, might wait upon advantage, without making and beat off all which came before it, as any great hafte. Neither was it to be negle | Emplius was thereat much aftonished, that cted, that the morning Sun was full in the the Peligni rulhing desperately on the Pha-Romans faces: which would be much to their lanx, were over-born; many of them flain, hinderance all the forenoon. Since therefore and the fquadrons following them fo discou-Perfew kept his ground, that was commodi raged herewith, as they retired apacetoous for the Fhalanx, and Æmilius sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder, there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to pass that, which whereto neither of the Generals had over earnest desire.

past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be nerals placed his men in order of battel, ac-Ground. When therefore the King returned Now concerning the Battel; Emilius was to the battel, he found it no better than loft:

The acts of this day, such as we find rewards an hill. These were the things that fell out averse to the Romans; and which the Conful beholding, is faid to have rent his Coat-armor for grief. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his devoyre, the victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the A Horse brake loose at watering, which battel, was the same which doubtless the Condifficulty or almost the impossibility of as they had been wont. But of his great holding the Phalanx long in order. For men that had escaped from the battel, there whilest some of the Romans small battalions was none appearing in the Court. In this prefled hard upon one part of it, and others melancholy time, there were two of his recoyled from it; it was necessary (if the Treasurers that had the boldness to come to Macedonians would follow upon those which him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But were put to the worse) that some files ha- in reward of their unseasonable admonitiving open way before them, should advance ons, he stabbed them both to death. After themselves beyond the rest that were held this, none whom he sent for would come at a ftand. This coming fo to pass, admo- at him. This boded no good. Wherefore nished the Consul, what was to be done. The standing in fear, lest they that refused to come long Pikes of the Macedonians were of little at his call, would shortly dare some greater use, when they were charged in flank by mischief, he stole out of Pella by night. Of the Roman Targettiers; according to the his friends he had with him only Evander direction given by Amylius, when he saw (who had been employed to kill Eumenes at the front of the enemies great battel become Delphi and two other. There followed him unequal, and the ranks in fome places open, by reason of the unequal resistance which of his money than of him. To these he they found. Thus was the use of the Pha-lanz proved unavailable against many small about fifty talents, though shortly he couse-Squadrons, as it had been formerly in the ned them of some part thereof; making shew battel of Cynoscephala: yea this form as if he would have redeemed it, but neof embattailing was found unferviceable ver paying the money. The third day afagainst the other, by reason, that being not ter the battel he came to Amphipolis, where every where alike diffressed, it would break he exhorted the Townsmen to sidelity, with of it felf; though here were little fuch in- tears: and his own speech being hindeconvenience of ground, as had been at Cyno- red by tears, he appointed Evander to speak

ran amain towards Pella. All his horse first fame of the overthrow, they had emescaped, in a manner untouched, and a great pried their Town of two thousand Thranumber followed him; the little harm cians that lay there in Garrison: fending which they had taken, witnessing the little them forthunder colour of a gainful emgood fervice which they had done. As for the poor foot, they were left to the mercy of the Enemy: who slew above twenty bad Evander to be gone. The King hearing thousand of them, though having little cause this, had no mind to tarry: but embarking to be furious, as having loft in that battel, himself and the treasure which he had there, only some four core, or fixscore men at the in certain vessels that he found in the river most. Some of the foot, escaping from the Strymon; passed over the Isle of Samothrace: execution, overtook the King and his where he hoped to live fafe, by priviledge company in a Wood, where they fell to of the religious Sanctuary therein. railing at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traitors, and fuch other names, till the less doubtful, how all the Kingdom fell at length they fell to blows. The King was into the power of Emplius, within so few in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himself: dayes after his victory, Pydna, which was and therefore turned out of the common nearest at hand, was the last that yielded. way, being followed by fuch as thought it About fix thousand of the fouldiers, that good. The rest of the company dispersed were of sundry Nations, sled out of the battel themselves: every one as his own occasions into that Town; and prepared for defence: guided him. Of those that kept along with the confused rabble of so many strangers their King, the number began within a while hindering all deliberation and confent. to lessen. For he fell to devising upon whom Hippius, who had kept the passage over Osa he might lay the blame of that dayes misfortune, which was most due to himself: there- been sent Embassador to Gentius the Illyrian; by causing those that knew his nature, to were the first that came in : yielding firink away from him, how they could. At themselves, and the Town of Berga, whither his coming to Pella, he found his Pages they had retired out of the battel. With

ful expected, even from the beginning: the and houshold-servants, ready to attend him. what himself would have uttered. But Perseus, when he saw his battel begin to the Amphipolitans made it their chief care rout, turned his bridle presently, and to look well to themselves. Upon the

These miserable shifts of the King make it

the shoar: who had stayed so long about

this, that he might fear to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ran

way, left he should be taken, he hid him-

nica, from Pella, and from all the Towns of breaks off without effect. Presently there Macedon, within two dayes: the loss of the arrives at Samothrace Gn. Octavius the Rohead bereaving the whole body of all sense man Admiral with his Fleet: who assays and strength. Neither did they of Pydna, as well by terrible threats, as by fair lanftand out any longer, when they knew that guage, to draw the King out of his lurking the King had forfaken his Country: but hole; wherein, for fear of imprisonment, opened their gates upon fuch terms, that he had now already imprisoned himself. the fack of it was granted to the Roman Ar- When all would not ferve, a question my. Emylius fent abroad into the Country, was moved to the Samothracians; How fuch as he thought meetest, to take charge they durst pollute their Temple, by receiof other Cities: he himself marching to- ving into it one that had violated the like wards Pella. He found in Pella no more than holy priviledge of Sanctuary, by attempting three hundred Talents: the same, whereof the murder of King Eumenes at Delphi? This Perseus had lately defrauded the Illyrian. went to the quick. The Samothracians, be-But within a very little while he shall have ing now in the power of the Romans, take

taken Sanctuary in the Temple at 8amo- the Temple, is accused of an impious fact. thrace: his own Letters to the Conful con-committed at Delphi, whereof unless he can firming the roport. He fent these Letters clear himself in judgment, he must not by persons of such mean condition, that his be suffered to prophane that holy place. case was pitied, for that he wanted the ser- by his abiding in it. The reverence born vice of better men. The scope of this wri- to his Majesty, now past, makes them forting was, to defire favour : which, though he bear to fay, that Perfew himself is charged begged in terms ill befeeming a King, yet with the same crime. But what will this fince the inteription of his Epiftle was, King avail, when the Minister of the fact being Perseus to the Consul Paulus; the Consul, who brought into judgment, shall (as is to be had taken from him his Kingdom, and feared) appeach the Author? Perseurtherewould not allow him to retain the Title, fore willeth Evander to have confideration refused to make any answer thereunto. So of the little favour that can be expected at there came other Letters, as humble as the Romans hand; who are like to be precould be expected: whereby he craved and fidents and overfeers of this judgment: fo as obtained, that some might be sent to confer it were better to dye valiantly, since none with him about matters of his present other hope remains, than hope to make good estate. Nevertheless, in this Conference, anill cause; where, though he had a good he was marvelloully earnest, that he might plea, yet it could not help him. Of this be allowed ftill to retain the name of motion Evander feems to like well: and King. And to this end it was, perhaps, either kills himself, or hoping to escape that he had so carefully preserved his thence, by deferring the time as it were to Treasure, unto the very last: flattering get poyson wherewith to end his life, is kilhimself with such vain hopes as these; That led by the Kings commandment. The death the Romans would neither violate a San- of this man, who had fluck to Persons in all ctuary, nor yet neglect those great riches times of need, makes all the Kings friends in his possession, but compound with him that remained hitherto, to forsake him: fo as

the like mellage came others from Theffalo- far against his mind, that the Conference this matter to heart; and fend word to the It was foon understood, that Perfers had King, that Evander, who lives with him in for mony, letting him have his defire to none are left with him, fave his wife and chillive at ease, and to be called King. Yea, dren, with his Pages. It is much to be fuit feems that he had indeed, even from specked, that they which leave him upon this the beginning, a defire to live in this II)e occasion, will tell perillous tales, and lay, That of Samothrace: both for that in one of his the King hath loft the priviledge of this holy confultations about the War, he was de Sanctuary, by murdering Evander therein. horted by his friends, from feeking to exchange his Kingdom of Macedon, for for flall dare to gain ay them? Since therefore * fuch a paltry Illand; and for that he offer- there is nothing but a point of formality, and ed to lay up the mony which Eumenes de- even that also liable to dispute, which premanded, in the holy Temple that was there. ferves him from captivity; he purposeth to But he finds it otherwise. They urge him make an escape, and flye, with his Treasures, to give place unto necessity, and, without unto Cotys his good friend, into Thrace, Orbinal Units Cotys his good friend, into Thrace, Orbinal Unit more adoe, to yeeld to the diferetion and andes, a Cretian, lay at Samothrace with one mercy of the people of Rome. This is fo ship; who easily was perswaded to wast the

King thence, With all fecrecy the King's mo- answered all with a fearful filence. He was ny, as much as could be so conveyed, was comforted with hope of life, or (as the carryed aboard by night; and the King Conful termed it) almost assurance; for the said with himself; with his wife and * children (if that such was the mercy of the people at rather it were not true, that he had with Rome. After these good words, being in-Liv. 1.44. him only * Philip his elder Son, who was vited to the Conful's Table, and respectively only by adoption his Son, being his * brother entreated, he was committed prisoner to by nature) with much adoe got out at a Q. Ælius.

window by a Rope, and over a mud-wall. Such end had this Macedonian War, after At his coming to the Sea-side, he found no four years continuance: and such end there-Oroandes there: the Cretian had played a withall had the Kingdom of Macedon; the Cretian trick, and was gone with the mony glory whereof, that had fometime filled all to his own home. So it began to wax clear parts of the world then known, was now day, whilest Perseus was searching all along translated unto Rome.

therefore amain towards his lodging: and Gentius King of the Illyrians taken by the Romans.

thinking it not fafe to enter it the common Relf in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ran up and down making inquiry; till off avius made Proclamation, That all succeeded unto App. Claudius, had the like the Kings Pages, and Macedonians whatfo- fuccess against King Gentius the Illyrian. ever, abiding with their Master in Samo- Gentius had an Army of fifteen thousand; thrace, should have their lives and liberty, with which he was at Liffus, ready to afwith all to them belonging, which they had lift King Perfeus as soon as the mony should either in that Isle, or at home in Macedon, come, whereof he had received only conditionally, That they should presently ten Talents. But Anicius arrested him on yeeld themselves to the Romans. Hereupon the way, fought with him, overcame him, they all came in. Likewise Ion, a Thessa- and drave him into * Scodra. This Town Called lonian, to whom the King had given the was very defensible by nature, besides the now Scacultody of his children, delivered them up help of fortification; and ftrongly manned tank to Octavius. Lastly, Perfeus himself, with with all the force of Illyria; which, affifted his Son Fhilip, accusing the gods of Samo- with the Kings presence, made it seem unthrace, that had no better protected him, possible to be won, in any not a very long rendred himself, and made the Roman time. Yet Anicius was consident in his Victory compleat. If he had not trusted in late Victory; and therefore prefented his those gods of Samothrace, but employed his Army before the walls, making countewhole care in the defence of Macedon, with nance to give an affault. The Illyrians, out other hope of living, than of reigning that might eafily have defended themselves therein; he might well have brought this within the Town, would needs iffue forth War to an happier end. Now, by dividing and fight. They were, it feems, rather his cogitations, and purfuing at once, those passionate, than couragious: for they were contrary hopes of faving his Kingdom by beaten; and thereupon forthwith began Arms, and himself by flight, he is become a amazedly to treat about yeelding. The fpectacle of milery, and one among the King fent Embaffadours; by whom, at first, number of those Princes, that have been he defired truce for three dayes, that he wretched by their own default. He was might deliberate concerning his effate. It presently fent away to Emplius; before ill became him, who had laid violent hands whom he fell to the ground fo basely, that on the Roman Embassadours, to have rehe feemed thereby to diffionour the Victory course to such mediation. But he thought over himself, as gotten upon one of ab- his own fault pardonable, in as much as hiject quality, and therefore the less to be thertothere was no greater harm done by esteemed. Emplius used to him the lan- him, than the casting of those Embassadours guage of a gentle Victor: blaming him, into prison, where they were all alive. Hathough mildly, for having, with so hostile ving obtained three dayes respite, he passed a mind, made war upon the Romans. Here- up a River, within half a mile of the Roman to good answer might have been returned Camp, into the Lake of Scorda, as it were by one of better spirit. As for Perseus, he to consult the more privately; though in-

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true, that his brother Caravantius was com- averse from the Romans in the late War of ing to his reseue. Finding that no such Macedon, were either taken and condemning to his reseurch help was toward, it is wonder, that he was ed, or fent prisoners to Rome; excepting fo foolish as to return into Scorda. He sent some that slew themselves for fear, whole messengers craving access unto the Prætor; goods also were conficated. Yet this probefore whom, having lamented his folly past cured little grace; and less would have (which, excepting the diffnoncity, was not done, if old M. Cato, a man by nature vehefo great as his folly prefent) he fell down ment, had not uttered a milde fentence, and humbly, and yeelded himself to discretion. advertised the Senate, That in decreeing All the Towns of his Kingdom, together War against Rhodes, they should much difwith his wife, children, brother, friends, honour themselves, and make it thought, that been imprisoned, brought word from Anicius Wars of Philip and Antiochus, helped well how all had passed.

1130

ø. X.

Greece and Macedon after their Victory over Perfeus.

JOW began the Romans to swell with equal friends. the pride of their fortune; and to look tyrannically upon those that had been Romans make themselves terrible in all parts unmannerly toward them before, whilest of Greece. Emplius himself made progress the War with Perseus seemed full of dan-thorow the Country; visiting all the ger. The Rhodian Emballadours were still famous places therein, as for his pleasure: at Rome, when the tydings of these Victo- yet not forgetting to make them understand ries were brought thither. Wherefore it what power he had over them. More than was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them do their errand again. Itries were flain at one time by those of the This they performed with a bad grace; Roman faction, and with help of the Rofaying, That they were sent from Rhodes to man Souldiers. Others fled, or were bamake an overture of peace; for a fmuch as it nished, and their goods conficated. Of was thought, that this war was no lefs grie- which things, when complaint was made to vous to the Romans themselves, than to the the Consul, the redress was such, as requited Macedonians and many others: but that not the pains of supplication. His friends, now they were very glad, and in behalf of that is to fay, those which betrayed unto the Romans did congratulate with the Se- the Romans the liberty of their Country, he nate and people of Rome, that it was ended | feafted like a King, with excellive chear; much more happily than had been expe- yet to, that he had all things very cheap in cted. Hereto the Senate made answer his Camp: an easie matter, since no man That the Rhodians had fent this Embat- durft be backward in fending provifions, nor fage to Rome, not for love of Rome, but in | fet on them the due price. Embaffadours favour of the Macedonian; whose partizans likewise were sent from Rome; some, to they were, and should so be taken. By give order for settling the estate of Macethese threats, and the desire of some (co. don, towards which they had more particuvetous of the charge) to have War pro- lar inftruction from the Senate, than was claimed against Rhodes; the Embassadours usual in such cases; and some, to visit the afwere so affrighted, that in mourning Ap- fairs of Greece. The Kingdom of Macedon parel, as humble Suppliants, they went was let at liberty by Emplius, and the Emabout the City, befeeching all men, espe-baffadours, his affiftants, who had order cially the great Ones, to pardon their in therefore from the Senate. But this liberty discretion, and not to profecute them with was such as the Romans used to bestow. The vengeance, for fome foolish words. This best part of it was, That the Tribute which danger of War from Rome being known had been payed unto the Kings, was leffened

deed, to hearken whether the report were at Rhodes, all that had been any whit were presently given up. So this War * rather the wealth of that City, which they com.in were presently given up.

ended in thirty dayes: the people of Rome were greedy to ranfack, than any just cause, out, and ended in thirty dayes: not knowing that it was begun, until Per- had moved them thereto. This confidera Canasa penna, one of the Embassadours that had tion, together with their good deserts in the Galille, the Rhodians: among whom, none of any mark remained alive, fave those that had been of the Roman faction. All which notwithstanding, many years passed, ere by im-How the Romans behaved themselves in portunate suit, they could be admitted into the fociety of the Romans: a favour which till now they had not effeemed; but thought themselves better without it, as

With the like, or greater feverity, did the

divided into four parts, and they forbid- to Callicrates was very urgent: fearing, den commerce one with the other. All and procuring them to fear in behalf of the Nobility were fent captive into Italy, him and his friends, that if some sharp orwith their wives and children, as many as der were not now taken, he and his fellows were above fifteen years old. The ancient should be made to pay for their michie-Laws of the Country were abrogated; vous devices, ere long time passed. So the and new given by *Emilius*. Such mif- Embaffadours came among the *Acheans*: chief the Senate thought it better to do, where one of them, in open affembly of at the first alteration of things in this Pro- the Nation, spake, as Callicrates had bevince, and in the time of Conquest, than fore instructed him. He said, That some of otherwise to leave any inconvenience that the chief among them, had with mony and Should be worse in the future: But con- other means be friended Perseus. This becerning the Greeks, that were not subjects ing so, he defired that all such men might to Rome, the things done to them could be condemned; whom, after sentence gideserve no better name than meer tyran- ven, he would name unto them. After senny: yea, and shameless perjury; were it tence given (cryed out the whole assemnot so, that the familiar custom, among bly) what justice were this? Name them Princes and great Estates, of violating first, and let them answer; which if they Leagues, doth make the Oaths of confocteation feem of no validity. The Embaffadours that were fent to vifit the baffadours that were fent to vifit the lall their Prætors, as many as had led their Greeks, called before them all fuch men Armics, were guilty of this crime. If this of note, from every quarter, as had any were true, said Xenon, a temperate man, and way discovered an unserviceable disposi- consident in his innocence, then should I tion towards the Romans. These they likewise have been friend to Perseus: fent to Rome; where they were made fure whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall enough. Some of these had sent Letters throughly answer him, either here presentto Perseur, which fell at length into the Ro- ly, or before the Senate at Rome. Upon mans hands: and in that respect, though these words of Xenon the Embassadour laid they were no subjects; yet wanted there hold, and faid, That even so it were the not colour, for using them as traitors, or best way, for him and the rest to purge at least as enemies. But since only two themselves before the Senate at Rome. ly on the Macedonian fide; and fince it is not until he had cited above a thousand; confessed, that the good Patriots were no willing them to appear and answer before less afflicted in this inquisition, than they the Senate. This might even be termed the manner of proceeding was inexcufable ty- the honestest and worthiest men were carfor fear of Rome, the season served fitly to Sould return into Achaia. Neither could any

by half. As for the rest, the Country was rank the Acheans with the rest. And heremen were beheaded, for having bin open- Then began he to name others, and left that had fold themselves to the King: this captivity of Greece; wherein so many of ranny. With the Acheans these Embassa- ried from home, for none other cause, than dours were to deal more formally: not so their love unto their Country; to be pumuch because that Common-wealth was nished according to the will of those, who ftrong; (though this were to be regarded could not endure, that virtue, and regard by them, having no Commission to make of the publick liberty, should dwell togeor denounce War) and like to prove unther in any of the Greeks. At their coming tractable, if manifest wrong were offered; to Rome, they were all cast into prison, as as for that there appeared no manner of men already condemned by the Acheans. fign, by Letters, or otherwife, whereby Many Embaflages were fent from Achaia any one of the Acheans could be suspici- (where it is to be wondred, that any such oully charged to have held correspondence with the Macedonian. It was also remaining: fince honesty had been thus fo, that neither Callicrates, nor any of his punished as a vice, in so many of the woradherents, had been employed by the Na- thieft among them) to inform the Senate, tion, in doing or offering their fervice to that these men were neither condemned the Romans, but only such as were the best by the Acheans, nor yet held to be offen-Patriots. Yet would not therefore the Emders. But in ftead of better answer, it was bassadours neglect to use the benefit of pronounced; That the senate thought it the time: wherein, fince all men trembled not expedient for the Country, that these men

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fed to importune the Senate for their liberty, prevail at all; until after seventeen years, efficacy of an Embassiage sent from them to fewer than thirty of them were inlarged, Antiochus; whereof, before we speak, we of whom that wife and virtuous man Polybins the great Hiftorian, was one. All the goers, of himself, and of his affairs about rest were either dead in prison, or, having which these Embassadours came. made offer to escape, whether upon the way before they came to Rome, or whether out of Jayle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malesactors. The War of Antiochus upon Egypt brought

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the Epirots. For the Senate being defirous to preserve the Macedonian Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gave order, that was memorable in the short time followthe whole Country of Epirus should be ing of his reign and life. He died the six and put to fack. This was a barbarous and hor-thirtieth year after he had worn a Crown, rible cruelty 3 as also it was performed by and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of Emplius with mischievous subtilty. Ha- Ptolomy Epiphanes; while he attempted to use the liberty bestowed upon them by three Sons, Selencus, Philopator, Antiochus the people of Rome; he sent unto the Epi- Epiphanes, Demetrius Soter; and one rots for ten of the principal men out of Daughter, Cleopatra, whom he had given every City. These he commanded to deli- in marriage to Ptolomy Epiphanes King of ver up all the Gold and Silver which they Egypt. Selencus, the fourth of that name. had; and fent along with them, into every and the eldest of Antiochus his Sons; reignof their Towns, what companies of men he ed in Syria twelve years, according to Euevery one the Town whereinto he was received, took from him the means of fent. Thus in one day were threefcore and managing any great affair. Of him, about ten Cities, all confederate with the Ro- three hundred years before his birth, Daand besides other acts of hostility in a time | ejus vilissimus & indignus decore regio. of peace, a hundred and fifty thousand of And in his place (speaking of Antiochus, the that Nation made flaves. It may be grant- Father of this man) shall flart up a vile pered, that some of the Epirots deserved pu- Son, unworthy the honour of a King. Under nishment, as having favoured Perseus. But this seleucus, those things were done which fince they among this people, that were are spoken of Onias the high Priest, in these ready sent into Haly, there to receive their peace, because of the godliness of Onias the due; and fince this Nation, in general, was Prieft, it came to pass, that even the King did ever otherwise his virtues were.

their Victory, with the Greek and Macedo the Books of the Macedbees take begin-

folicitation of the Acheans, who never cea- nians. How terrible they were to other Kingdoms abroad, it will appear by the must say somewhat of Antiochus his fore-

ø. XI.

to end by the Roman Embaffadours.

Ntiochus the Great, after his peace with the Romans, did nothing that ving taken leave of the Greeks, and of the rob the Temple of Bel, or (according to Strabl.16, Macedonians, with bidding them well to Justine) of Jupiter. He left behind him Just 1.351 thought convenient, as it were to fetch febius, Appian, and Sulpitius: though jo-Eufth in thought convenient, as it were the mony. But he gave fecret instructions fephus give him but seven years. A Prince, de hell. to the Captains, that upon a certain day who, as he was flothful by nature, to the Sp. Ass. by him appointed, they should fall to sack, great loss which his Father Antiochus had 22.6.5. mans, spoiled by the Roman Souldiers; niel gave this judgment, Et stabit in loco pasten thought guilty of this offence; yea, or but words, and other to the lame effect : What . Mac. 3: coldly affected to the Romans, had been alnot only at the present in good obedience, honour the place, and garnished the Temple but had even in this War done good fer with great gifts. And all that is written in vice to the Romans: I hold this act fo the third Chapter of the second of Maccawicked, that I should not believe it, had bees, of Simon of Benjamin, who by Appolany one Writer delivered the contrary. lonins betrayed the Treasures of the But the truth being manifest by confent of Temple: and of Heliodorus fent by the all, it is the less marvellous that God was King to seize them; of his miraculous pleased to make Amylius childles, even striking by God, and his recovery at the in the glory of his triumph, how great for prayers of Onias; of the Kings death, and of his successour Antiochus Epiphanes. It is In such manner dealt the Romans, after therefore from the reign of this King, that

vered by one and the same hand. For the unjust purpose; especially Antiochus, who first Book, although it touch upon Alexan- gave with his Daughter in marriage, unto der the Great, yet it hath nothing else of this Ptolomy, the Provinces of Cologria. his ftory; nor of the acts of his fucceffors, Phuenice, and Judua, which he had won by till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the his victory over Scopas, that was General brother and successor of this selenens, from of the Egyptian Forces in those parts. Newhom downward to the death of simon vertheless, Ptolomy adhered to the Ro-Maccabeus (who died in the hundred mans: whereby he lived in the greater threefcore and seventeenth year of the security. He left behind him two Sons, this Greeks in Syria) that first Book treateth. Ptolomy Philometer, and Ptolomy Physicon; The Author of the second Book, although with a Daughter Cleopatra. Cleopatra was he take the flory somewhat further off, by wife to the elder of her brethren, and afhundred and one and fiftieth year of the was cast off, and her Daughter taken in Grecian reign, and with the death of Ni- her stead. Such were the marriages of canor, flain by Judas: remembring in the these Egyptian Kings. fourth Chapter the practice of Jason the brother of Onias; who, after the death of the Lover of his Mother) by a bitter nick-

1Mac.12. Seleucus, prevailed with Antiochus Epipha- name, because he slew her, fell into harred nes, his successor, for the Priesthood. It is with his Subjects, and was like to be cha-

Onias, that Arius King of the Spartam lent ving a ftrong party, got possession of Alex-Embassadours to the Jews, as to their bro-andria; and Philometer held himself in thers and kinsmen. Which intelligence be- Memphis, craving succour of King Antiobreth in the Preamble of that Epiftle, protection of the young Prince, fought by which he himself directed to the people of all means possible to posses himself of that Sparta by Numenius and Antipater his Em-Kingdom. He fent Apollonius the Son of bassadours, whom he employed at the Mnestheus Embassadour into Egspt, and Priest, whereto Josephus adds, that the meter, to deliver the King his Nephew, name of the Lacedemonian Embassadour with the principal places of that Kingdom, was Demoteles, and that the Letters had a into his hands; pretending an extraordi-Eagle holding a Dragon in her claws.

he usurped from his brothers Son.

Sifter cleopatra, being then very young, had been about seven years King of Egypt.

Ptolomy Epiphanes, the Father of this had agreed to divide his Kingdom beween lonius being strucken by the Angel of God, them, whileft he was a child. But they and recovering again at the prayer of found fuch other bufiness ere long with the Onias: yet sufficed not this example to

ning. Which Books feem not to be deli- | Romans, as made them give over their way of a Proæme, yet he endeth with the ter his death to the younger, by whom the

Ptolomy Philometor, fo called (that is, alfo held by Jansenius, and other grave fed out of his Kingdom, his younger brother, that it was in the time of this ther being fet up against him. Physican hatween them and the Greeks, Jonathan the brother and fuccefior of Judas, remembers and fuccefior of Judas, remembers who under colour to take upon him the fame time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had fent to *Onias* the high before the first the fovernous of the young King *Philo*. fquare Volume, and were fealed with an nary care and defire of his Nephews fafety and well doing. And the better to answer Now to this seleucus, the fourth of that all arguments to the contrary, he prepared name, succeeded Antiochus Epiphanes, in a forcible Army to attend him. Thus came the hundred and seven and thirtieth year he alongst the coast of Syria to Joppe, and of the Greek in Syria. He was the second from thence on the sudden he turned him-Son of the Great Antiochus: and he ob- felf towards Jerufalem; where, by Jajon 2 Mac 4. tained his Kingdom by procuring the the Priest, (a Chaplain fit for such a Padeath of the King his brother; which also tron) he was with all pomp and solemnity received into the City. For though late-Ptolomy Philometor, his Nephew by his ly, in the time of Selencus, the brother and 2 Mac 3; predecessor of Epiphanes, that impious Traitor Simon of the Tribe of Benjamin, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have King Philometor, had reigned in Egipt four delivered the treatures thereof to Apolloand twenty year, in great quiet, but doing nins Governour of Celospria and Phelittle or nothing that was memorable. Phi nicia, was disappointed of his wicked purlip of Macedon, and the Great Antiochus, pose by miracle from Heaven; the said Apol-

crices. Presently upon the death of seleu- | conclusion, after that Antiochus had smit-3 Mac.4. the Priesthood for himself, offered unto people, and entred proudly into the Sandhathe King three hundred and threefcore ry, and took away the golden Altar, and the talents of filver, with other rents and Candlestick for the light, and all the instrufumms of mony. So he got his defire, ments thereof, and the table of the Shewthough he not long enjoyed it.

being over-reached by another in the Crowns, and the golden Apparel. He took alfame kind, calls to mind a by word taken fo the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious up among the Acheans, when as that mifchievous Callicrates, who had been too he had taken away all, he departed into his hard for all worthy and virtuous men, own Land, after he had murdered many men. was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his own condition. It was thus:

One fire than other burns more forcibly, One Wolf than other Wolves, does bite more fore, One Hawk than other Hawks more swift does fly: So one most mischievous of men before, Callicrates, false knave as knave might be, Met with Menalcidas more falle than he.

And even thus fell it out with Tason: who within three years after was betrayed, and over-bidden by Menelans the bro- the Greeks, pressed him, by several Embasther of simon, that for three hundred ta- fages, to some good conclusion. But his lents more obtained the Priesthood for answer was, that if the Alexandrians could himself: Jason thereupon being forced to be contented to receive their King his fly from Ferusalem, and to hide himself | Nephew Philometer, the elder brother of among the Ammonites.

Phanicia, to augment the numbers of his he saw that it was all hard piece of work men of war, and to prepare a Fleet for his to take Alexandria by force: he thought expedition into Egypt; with which, and it better to let the two brothers confume 1 Mac 1. with a mighty Army of Land-forces, He themselves with intestine war, than by the went about to reign over Egypt, that he terrour of his arms, threatning destruction might have the dominion of two Realms, and unto both of them, to put into them any entred Egypt with a mighty company; with defire of coming to agreement. He there-Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and fore withdrew his Forces for the present; with a great Navy, and moved war against leaving the Ptolomies in very weak estate, V. 18, 19, Ptolemaus King of Egypt; but Ptolemaus | the younger almost ruinated by his inva-20, &c. was afraid of him, and fled, and many were fron; the elder hated and forfaken by his wounded to death. He wan many strong Gi- people. ties, and took away the spoils of the Land of Egypt. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecy were, their hatred was thought to be so Daniel: He shall enter into the quiet and strong, that Antiochus might leave them to plentiful Provinces, and he shall do that the prosecution thereof; and follow, at

thers Father. Never indeed had any of the lem, or elsewhere. So after the fack of Fefiam, and the Hill Cassius, after which he as it were, by way of dowry to a Concuof all the Cities of Egypt, Alexandria Governour of Syria in his absence, he left

terrifie others from the like ungodly pra- excepted, which he could not force. In cus, this Jason, the brother of Onias, seek- ten Egypt, he turned again, and went up to Mall. ing to supplant his brother, and to obtain wards ifrael and Jerusalem with a mighty 6.1. bread, and the pouring Veffels, and the Bolls. This naughty dealing of Jason, and his and the golden Basons, and the Vail, and the Jewels, and the secret Treasures : and when

It was about the beginning of the Ma-Lib. 6. cedonian war, that Antiochus took in hand this Egyptian bufiness. At what time he first laid claim to Calofyria, justifying his title by * the same allegations which his Father * Cap: 5 had made; and fiffly averring, that this feet. a. Province had not been configned over to the Egyptian, or given in dowry with Cleopatra. Easie it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a fair way to get all Egypt. The 81, 81, Achaans Rhodians Athenians, and other of &c. the Ptolomies, then should the war be pre-From Jerusalem, Antiochus marched into | sently at an end ; otherwise not. Yet when

But how weak soever these Egyptians which his Fathers have not done, nor his Fa- good leifure, his other business at Fernsa-Kings of Syria fo great a victory over the rusalem, he rested him a while at Antioch, Egyptians, nor took from them so great and then made a journey into Cilicia, to riches. For he gave a notable overthrow suppress the Rebellion of the Thracians and to the Captains of Ptolomy, between Pelu- others in those parts, who had been given, entred and fackt the greatest and richest bine of the Kings, called Antiochis. For one Andronichus, a man of great authority | fently after this, at the fuit of one Ptolomy, about him. In the mean while , Menelaus a Traitor to Ptolomy Philometor , he conthe brother of Simon, the same who had demned innocent men to death, who justthrust Tason out of the Priesthood, and ly complained against Menelaus, and his promised the King three hundred talents brother Lysimachus, for a second robbing for an In-come; committing the charge of of the Temple, and carrying thence the the Priesthood to his brother Lysimachus, Vessels of gold remaining. Hereby it is stole certain Vessels of gold out of the manifest, that he was guided by his Temple: whereof he presented a part to own outragious will, and not by any re-Andronicus the Kings Lieutenant, and gard of justice: since he revenged the fold the rest at Tyre, and other Cities ad- death of Onias, he slew those that were in vance the payment of the three hundred told their canse, yea, before the Scythians, talents promifed; the same being now by they should have been heard as innocent. By Softratus eagerly demanded. Hercof when reason of such his unsteadiness, this King Onias the Priest (formerly dispossessed by was commonly termed Epimanes, that is, Jason) had certain knowledge, being mo- Mad, instead of Epiphanes, which signissived with zeal, and detesting the facrifedge eth Noble, or Illustrious. of Menelaus, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge, he withdrew himfelf for a fecond voyage into Egypt, and then

into a Sanctuary at Daphne.

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about ten miles: wherein were the Tem- of Spear-men, and as troops of Horsemen set ples of Apollo and Diana, with a Grove, in array, encountring and coursing one fweet Springs, banquetting places, and the against another. Of these prodigious like; which were wholly, in a manner, figns, or rather forewarnings of God, all abused to lust, and other such voluptuous. Histories have delivered us, some more, ness. Whether it were well done of Onies fome less. Before the destruction of Jeto commit himself to the protection of rusalem by Vespatian, a Star in the form of Apollo and Diana, or to claim priviledge a sword appeared in the Heavens directly from the holiness of a ground consecrated over the city, after which there followed own opinion, that the inconvenience is far | Pliny tells us, that the Armies were feen less, to hold this Book as Apocryphal, than fighting in the air from the morning till to judge this fearful shift which Onias the evening. (though a vertuous man) made for his life, e ther commendable or allowable, as the fountain poured out blood in flead of wabook feems to do. As for this refuge, it ter, in or near the City of Genoa; foon afcould not fave the life of the poor old ter which the City was taken by the Saraman: for Menelaus taking Andronicus apart, cens, with great flaughter. Of these and Mercus Vi. Muc, 2. 4 prayed him to flay Onias. So when he the like prodigious figns, Vipera hath colle- pera de prayed him to flay Onias. So when he the like productions ugus, repera hath confe pela de came to Onias, he counselled him crastily, cad many, and very remarkable. But this repera de giving him his right hand with an oath, one seemeth to me most memorable, be-prises and personaded bim to come out of the cause the most notorious. All men know, & sandinary ; so he slew bim incontinently that in the Emperour Nero, the off-spring without any regard of righteousness. Here- of the Casars, as well natural as adopted,

after his return out of Cilicia, He took | warning. away Andronicus his garment of purple, When Livia was first married to Au-38 and rent his clothes, and commanded gustus, an Eagle let fall into her arms a him to be led throughout the City; and in white Hen, holding a Laurel branch in her the same place where he had committed the mouth. Livie caused this Hen to be carewickedness against Onias, he was slain as stully nourished, and the Laurel branch to a murderer. In taking revenge of this be planted: of the Hen came a fair ininnocent mans death, I should have crease of white Poultry; and from the litthought that this wicked King had once the branch there fprang up in time a

joyning. This he did, as it feemeth to ad- the same cause with Onias ; Who, had they verse 47.

After this, Antiochus made preparation Mac,5.1. were there feen throughout all the City of Je-Daphne was a place of delight adjoyning rusalem, forty dayes long, horsemen running as as suburb to Antioch. In compass it had in the air with robes of gold, and as bands to any of the Heathen gods, I will not a flaughter like unto this of Epiphanes, Plin. lib.2. ftand to discourse. Only I say for mine though far greater. In the Cymbrian wars, cap. 57-

In the time of Pope John the eleventh, a. of when complaint was made to Antiochus took end; whereof this notable fign gave

When Livia was first married to Au- suet. Gaiba in his lifetime done Justice. But pre- Grove of Lawrel; so that afterwards, in

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all triumphs, the Conquerors did use to and a meaning to subject his younger brocarry in their hands a branch of Bayes ta-ther unto him, which he gave in answer ken out of this Grove; and after the tri- to all Embassadours; yet he now prepaumphs ended, to fet it again in the fame red to make a sharp war upon them both. ground: which branches were observed, And to this end he presently surnished and when they happened to wither, to fore-thew the death of those persons who car-shew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last to enter Egypt the Spring following. When year of Nero, all the broods of the white he was on his way as far as Rhinocorura, Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes he met with Emballadors fent from Ptolowithered at once. Moreover, the heads my. Their errand was partly to yield of all the Cesars Statues, and the Scepter thanks to Antiochus for the establishing placed in Augustus his hand, were stricken of Philometor in his Kingdom, partly to

might turn to good.

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into Egypt, was occasioned by discord of the ther call back his Fleet, nor withdraw his two brethrentherein reigning; so was this Army, upon any other condition; than fecond Expedition cauled by their good that Ptolomy should surrender into his agreement. For the elder Ptolomy being hands, together with the City of Pelufum, left in Memphis, not strong enough to the whole Territory thereto belonging: force his brother who had detended Alex- and that he should also abandon and leave andria against all the power of their Un- unto him the Isle of Cyprus, with all the cle; thought it the best way to seek en- right that he had unto either of them, for trance into that royal City, rather by per- ever. For answer unto these demands, he fwasion, than by arms. Physicon had not set down a day certain, and a short one, yet forgotten the terror of the former Which being come and paft, without any flege: the Alexandrines, though they lo- accord made, the syrian Fleet entred Nved not Philometor, yet loved they worse line, and recovered as well those places to live in fearcity of victuals (which was which appertained to Ptolomy in Arabia, already great among them, and like to as in Egypt it felf; for Memphis, and all grow extream) fince nothing was brought about it, received Antiochus, being unable in from the Country; and the friends of to refift him. The King having now no ftop the younger brother faw no likelihood in his way to Alexandria, passed on this of good iffue to be hoped for without re- therwards by eafie journeys. conciliation. These good helps, and Of all these troubles past, as well as of above all these, the loving disposition of the present danger wherein Egypt stood, Cleopatra, who then was in Alexandria, the Romans had notice long ago. But they encouraged Philometor, in his purpose found, or were contented to find, little rea-But that which made him carneftly de on for them to intermeddle therein. For firous to accomplish it, was the fear where- it was a Civil war : and wherein Antiochus in he frood of his Uncle. For though feemed to take part with the juster cause. Antiochus was gone out of Egypt with his Yet they gave fignification, that it would Army, yet had he left behind him a ftrong be much displeasing unto them, to have Garrison in Pelusium: retaining that City, the Kingdom of Egypt taken from the which was the Key of Egipt to his own rightful owners. More they could not, or use. This confideration wrought also would not do 5 being troubled with rewith Phyleon, and with those that were Jeus; and therefore loath to provoke Anabout him; fo as by the vehement media- tiochus too far. Nevertheless, the Egyption of Cleopatra their fifter the two bre- tian Kings being reconciled, and fland thren made an end of all quarrels.

brought to Aniochus, he was greatly enra- war against them both: it was to be exged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishing of the Greeks, as being thereto obliment of the King Philometer his Nephew, ged by notable benefits, should arm inde-

down with lightning. That the Jews did befreech him, That he would rather be not think fuch ftrange figns to be unworpleased to fignifie what he required to thy of regard; it appears by their calling have done in Egypt, which should be perupon God, and praying, that these tokens formed, than to enter it as an enemy with fo puissant an Army. But Antiochus retur-Now, as the first voyage of Antiochus ned this short answer, That he would nei-

ing joyntly in need of help against their When the news of this accord was Uncle, who prepared and made open fultained with food from Egypt, in the ly broken by the violence of Callicrates. War of Hannibal; when Italy, lying For when it was thought that the Decree wafte, had neither corn nor mony where- should have passed; he brought into the with to buy sufficient store. By help of Theater where the Assembly was held, the Egyptians had Aratus laid the founda- a Messenger with Letters from Martius: tion of that greatness, whereto the Acha- whereby the Achaans were defired to ans attained. And by the like help had conform themselves to the Roman Senate; Rhodes been defended against Demetrius and to labour, as the Senate had done, Poliorcetes. Neither were these friendly by sending Embassadours to set Egypt in turns, which that bountiful house of the peace. This was an advice against all Ptolomyes had done for fundry people reason. For the Senate had indeed sent abroad; ill followed, or feconded, by Embaffadours to make peace; but as in a other as bad in requital: but with continuance of fuitable beneficence, from fuch milde words, that nothing was eftime to time encreased. Wherefore the sected. Wherefore it was not likely two brothers fent abroad confidently for that the Acheans should do any good in aid; especially to the Rhodians and Ache- the same kind. Yet Polybius and his friends ans, who seemed most able to give it durst not gain say the Roman Counsel; effectually. To the Romans, Physicon and which had the force of an Injunction. So Cleopatra had fent, a year fince: but the Kings were left in much distress disaptheir Embassadours lay still in Rome. pointed of their expectation. But within Of the Acheans they defired in particu- a while was Perseus overcome; and then lar, that Lycortas the brave Warriour might the Emballadours, fent from the Romight be fent unto them, as General of all | man Senate, perform as much as any Army the Auxiliaries, and his Son Polybius, Ge- could have done. neral of the Horfe. Hereunto the Acheans readily condescended: and would imme- Senate, unto those Embassadours of diately have made performance, if Calli- Physicon and Cleopatra: which having staverates had not interposed his mischievous ed more than a whole year in the City. Art. He, whether feeking occasion to brought nothing of their business to effect vaunt his obsequiousness to the Romans, until now. The Embassadours delivered or much rather envying those Noble Cap- their message in the name of those that tains whose service the Kings desired; had sent them: though it concerned withstood the common voice: which was, | (which perhaps they knew not) Philome-That their Nation should, not with such | tor, no less than his Brother and Sister. fmall numbers as were requested, but with In this ambassage of Ptolomy, now reall their power, be aiding unto the Pto- questing help from Rome, appeared a nolomies. For it was not now (he faid) table change of his fortune, from fuch as convenient time to entangle themselves it had been before three or four years last in any such business, as might make them past. For in the beginning of these his the less able to yeeld unto the Romans troubles, which began with the Macedotence, he, with those of his faction, ob- laid) which had the government of him, ftinately perfilted; terrifying others with thought his affairs in fuch good effate, big words, as it were in behalf of the that not only he determined to fet upon Romans. But Polybius affirmed, that Mar- Antiochus for Calofyria, but would have tius the late Conful had fignified unto interpoled himself between the Romans him, that the Romans were past all need and Perseus, as a competent Arbitrator; of help: adding further, that a thousand though it fell out well, that his Embassafoot, and two hundred horse, might well | dour was by a friend perswaded to forget be spared to the aid of their Benefactors, that point of his errand. From these high the Egyptian Kings, without disabling their | thoughts he fell on the sudden, by the re-Nation to perform any service to the Romans; forasmuch as the Achaans could under protection of the same Antiochus. thousand Souldiers. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred have seemed to stand in no need of such

fence of their Kingdom. Rome had been from one meeting to another; and final-

Audience had been lately given by the

what help foever should be required in nian War; either he, or Eulaus, or Lenaus Polyto leg. the Macedonian War. And in this fen- (upon whom the blame was afterwards 72. bellion of his brother and subjects, to live without trouble, raile thirty or forty And now at fuch time as by attonement with his brother and subjects, he might Ddddddd 2 protection,

protection, he hath remaining none other and people of Rome, whom they found help whereby to fave both his Kingdom obitinate, or using delay. So these Roand life, than what can be obtained by mans, together with the Alexandrine their interceftion which were employed Embafladours, took their leave, and against him. This miserable condition went onward their way within three of him, his brother and fifter shewed it dayes after, felf, even in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorly clad; the hair on their way toward Fgypt, Antiochus had of their heads and beards overgrown, as transported his Army over Lufine, some was their manner in time of affliction; and forty miles from Alexandria. So near was they carried in their hands branches of he to the end of his Journey, when the Olive. Thus they entred into the Se- Roman Emballadours met him. After nate, and there fell, groveling and pro- greetings and falutations at their fuff enfirste, upon the floor, Their garments counter, Antiochus offered his right hand were not io mean and mournful, nor their to Popilius: but Popilius filled it with a looks and countenances to fad and deject- Roll of Paper; willing him to read those ed, but that their speech was than either Mandates of the Senate before he did any of the other far more lamentable. For, thingelfe. Antiochus did fo 5 and having having told in what danger their King and a little while confidered of the buffines, Country flood; they made a pitiful and he told Popilius, That he would advite grievous complaint unto the Senate, be- with his friends, and then give the Emfeeching them to have compassion of their basiladours their answer. But Popinius, ac-Estate, and of their Princes, who had al-cording to his ordinary blunt manner of wayes remained friendly and faithful to speech, which he had by nature, madea the Romans. They faid that the people Circle about the King with a Rod which of Rome had fo much heretofore favoured he held in his hand, willing him to make this Antiockus in particular, and were of him fuch an answer as he might report to fuch account and authority, with all other the Senate, before he moved out of that Kings and Nations; as, if they pleafed Circle. The King aftonished at this fo but to fend their Emballadours, and let rude and violent a Commandment, after Antieckus know that the Senate was of- he had frayed and pawfed a while, I will fended with his undertaking upon the be content (quoth he) to do whatfoever King their Confederate; then would be the Senate shall ordain. Then Popilius prefently raile his fiege from before Alex- gave unto the King his hand, as to a andria, and withdraw his Army out of Friend and Allie of the Romans. Egypt into Syria. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or used any delay; without any good issue of his costly Experience. repair to Rome, with shameful dishonour to stilling every particular circumstance, both the Senate and people thereof, in that, in of returning, and of doing mischief to fethe extream dangers of all their fortunes, rulalem after his return; like as if these

Lenus, C. Decimius, and A. Hoftilius, as and fettled the Kingdom of Egypt, leaving gave over Arms, they would take that tiochus Fleet, which had already given an King no more for a friend to the Senate overthrow to the Ecoppian ships.

Whileft Popilius and his fellows were

then should Ptolomy and Cleopatra be short-pedition; even in such manner as * Da-Das.H. ly driven out of their Realms, and make niel had prophefied long before: yea,ful. 2935084. they had not vouchfafed to relieve them. things had rather been historified than The Lords of the Senate moved with foreto'd by the Prophet. As for the Rocompassion, sent incontinently C. Popilius man Embassadors, they stayed a while, Embassadours to determine and end the it unto the elder brother, and appointed War between those Kings. In commission the younger to reign over Cyrene. This they had first to find King Ptolomy, and done, they departed towards Copprus; which then Antiochus, and to let them both unthey left, as it had been, in the power of derstand, that, unless they surceased, and the Egyptian, having first sent away An-

o. XII.

of the History of the World.

CHAP. VI.

How the Romans were dreadful to all Kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prufias, Mafanifla, and Cotys. The end of Perseus and his children. The instability of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of Paulus, Anicius, and Octavius. With the Conclusion of the Work.

Y this peremptory demeanour of Popi-Lins, in doing his Meliage, and by and Maronea: thereby making uneffectuthe ready obedience of King Antiochus al their promife; which otherwife they to the will of the Senate; we may per- could not, without shame, revoke. And ceive how terrible the Romans were as for the Gallo-Greeks, which were about grown, through their conquest of Ma- to invade the Kingdom of Pergamus; they cedon. The same Popilius had been well sent Embassadors to them, with such incontented, a year before this, to lay structions, as rather encouraged than aside the roughness of his natural conditi-on, and to give good language to the Ache-pleasure of the Senare being so manisest; ans and Ætolians, when he went Embassa- Eumenes thought it worthy of his labour dor to those people of Greece, that were to make another voyage to Rome. He of far less power than King Antiochus, might well blame the folly of his second Likewife, antiochus had with good words, and no more than good words, difmissed third: since, by his malice to Perseus, he other Embassadors which came from Rome, had laid open unto these ambitious Poin fuch fort, as they complained not, much | tentates the way to his own doors. No less used any menacing terms, though he sooner was he come into Italy, than the performed nothing of their request. But Senate was ready to send him going. It now the case was altered. So found other was not thought expedient to use him as Kings as well as Antiochus.

lus, to gratulate the victory over Perseus, avoided the note of fingular inconstancy: and to crave help or countenance of the and to entertain him as a friend, was molefted him. Very welcome was Attalm, ingratitude, as they deemed it, and lovingly entertained by most of the would permit. Wherefore they made a Senators: who bad him be confident, and Decree, That no King should be suffered request of the Senate his Brothers King- to come to Rome; and by vertue thereof dom for himfelf; for it should furely be fent him home, without expence of much given him. These hopeful promises tickled | farther complement. Attalus with fuch ambition, that he either | Prusias King of Bithynia had been at approved, or feemed to approve the moti- Rome somewhat before; where he was wel-Rome of purpose to keep his brother up-right. So, when he came into the Senate, killed the threshold, calling the Fathers his had been fent, recounting his own fer- a Cap, after the manner of flaves newly Liv. 1.45. * where withal, he forgat not to make of chifed bondman of the people of Rome. He his brother as good mention as he could: was indeed naturally a flave, and one that and finally, requested, That the Towns of by such abject flattery kept himself safe,

Enus and Maronea might be bestowed though doing otherwise greater mischief Paylo Leg, upon himself. * By his omitting to sue for than any wherewith Ferseus had been his brothers Kingdom, the Senate con- charged. His errand was, befides matter of ceived opinion, that he meant to crave | complement, to commend unto the Senate another day of audience for that busi- the care of his fon Nicomedes, whom he nels alone. Wherefore to make him under- | brought with him to Rome, there to receive stand how gracious he was, they not only | education. Further petition he made, to

granted all his defire; but in the prefents which they gave unto him(as was their cuftome to Emballadors that came with an acceptable meffage) they used fingular magnificence. Nevertheless Attalus took no Polyb, ibid, notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilft he was yet in Italy, they gave order for the liberty of Anus an enemy that came to visit them in love: Eumenes sent to Rome his brother Atta- neither could they, in so doing, have Senate against the Gallo Greeks, which more then their hatred to him, for his

on. But his honest nature was soon re- comed after a better sashion. He had learclaimed by the faithful counsel of Stratius | ned to behave himself as humbly as the a Physitian; whom Eumenes had sent to proud Romans could expect or defire. For, he delivered the errand about which he gods and faviours; as also he used to wear vices done to the Romans in the late war, manumified, profeffing himfelf an enfran-

Ddddddd a

whereto, because the grant would have might not be put to such disgrace: but been unjust, he received a cold answer. he still received one scornful answer, That But concerning the Wardship of his Son, it lay in his own power to prevent it; dren of Kings, that were to their Patro- the courtesie of his insolent enemies for a

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nage commended. held his credit with the Romans, good. hope, was no better than this: After that His quarrels were endless with the Carhe, and his fellow-King, had been led in thaginians: which made the friendship of chains thorow the streets, before the the Romans to him the more affured. In Chariots of their triumphing Victors, all Controversies they gave judgment on they were committed to prison, wherein his fide: and whereas he had invaded they remained without hope of releafe. the Country of Emporia, holding the It was the manner, that when the Tri-Lands, but unable to win the Towns 5 umpher turned his Chariet up towards the Romans (though at first they could the Capital, there to do sacrifice, he should find no pretext, whereby to countenance command the captives to be had away him in this oppression) compelled finally to prison, and there put to death: so as the Carthaginians both to let go all their the honour of the Vanquisher, and misery hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to of those that were overcome, might be the Numidian, for having hindred him both together at the utmost. This last senof his due so long. Now indeed had Rome tence of death was remitted unto Perseus: good leifure to devise upon the ruine of yet so, that he had little joy of his life; Carthage: after which, the race of Masa- but either familhed himself, or (for it is nissa himself was shortly by them rooted diversly reported) was kept watching perup. But hereof the old King never dream- force by those that had him in custody; ed. He fent to Rome one of his Sons, to and fo dyed for want of fleep. Of his Sons, congratulate the Victory over Persens; two dyed; it is uncertain how. The and offered to come thither himfelf, there | youngest called Alexander (only in name to facrifice for joy unto Jupiter in the Ca- like unto the Great, though destined somepital. His good will was lovingly accepted; times perhaps by his Father, unto the for-

excuse himself touching the aid by him ty ended the Royal house of Macedon: given to Perfeus, for that the Macedonian and it ended on the fudden; though some had him bound by hoftages; and to in- eightfcore years after the death of that treat, That his Son, which was taken with Monarch, unto whose ambition this whole the children of Perseus, might be set at li- | Earth seemed too narrow. berty, for convenient ransome. His ex- If Perseus had known it before, that his cuse was not taken; fince he had volun- own Son should one day be compelled to luntarily obliged himself to Perseus, by earn his living by handy-work, in a painful giving hostages without necessity: Yet Occupation; it is like, that he would not was his Son given back to him ransome- as in a wantonness of Soveraignty have free; with admonition, to carry himself commanded those poor men to be slain, better toward the Romans in time fol- which had recovered his treasures out of lowing. His Kingdom lay between Ma. the Sea, by their skill in the feat of divingsedon, and some barbarous Nations; in He would rather have been very gentle, which respect, it was good to hold him and would have considered, that the grea-

ftay at home.

Gentius, they were led thorow Rome, high Power, governing all alike with abwith their children and friends, in the folute command. But fuch is our unhappi Triumphs of Amylins and Anicius, Perseus ness; in stead of that blessed counsel, Do

have some Towns added to his Kingdom: had often made suit to Emplius, that he it was undertaken by the Senate: which, whereby was meant, that he might kill vaunting of the pleasure lately done to himself. And surely, had he not hoped Egypt, in freeing it from Antiochus, willed for greater mercy than he found, he him thereby to confider, what effectual would rather have fought his death in protection the Romans gave unto the chil- Macedon, than to have been beholding to wretched life. The iffue of the Roman But above all other Kings, Mafanisa clemency, whereof Emylius had given him his Son rewarded; and he entreated to tunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner, or, at his best preferment, a Scribe Cotys the Thracian fent Embassadours to under the Roman Officers. In such pover-

test oppressors, and the most und-rtrodden As for those unhappy Kings, Perscus and wretches, are all subject unto the One asse would be done unto, a fentence teach- understand, how happy that Country is my felf. One hath faid truly.

-ขอ -- Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam Polle volunt .---

CHAP. VI.

Would have it in their power to kill.

ability to do evil without controll : which of the Buoty. So great was the quantity is a dangerous temptation unto the per- of Gold and Silver carryed by Paulus into formance. God, who best can judge what the Roman Treasury, that from thenceis expedient, hath granted such power to forth, until the Civil Wars which followvery few; among whom also, very few ed upon the death of Julius Cafar, the For who fees not that a Prince, by racking any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph his Soveraign Authority to the utmost likely to have been hindred by the Soulextent, enableth (besides the danger to diers; who grudged at their General, for Edward the second; was, by reason of a lick. posterity: so do they necessarily make us Majesty that thy deserts have purchased.

ing all moderation, and pointing out the which hath obtained a King able to conway to felicity; we entertain that arro-ceive and teach, That * God is the forest . The true gant thought, I will be like to the most and sharpest Schoolmaster that can be devi-free Mo-High: that is, I will do what shall please fed, for fuch Kings, as think this world or narchies. dained for them, without controlement to turn it upfide-down at their pleafure,

Now concerning the Triumph of L. Æmylius Paulus, it was in all points like unto that of T. Quintins Flaminius : fiet, 4. Even they that have no murdrous will, though far more glorious, in regard of the Kings own person, that was led along therein, as part of his own spoils; and in All, or the most, have a vain defire of regard likewise both of the Conquest, and there are that use it not to their own hurt. Estate had no need to burthen it self with his own person) some one of his own Sons not having dealt more bountifully with or Nephews to root up all his progeny? them. But the Princes of the Senate Shall not many excellent Princes, notwith-over-juled the people and Souldiers hereflanding their brotherhood, or other near- in, and brought them to reason by severe ness in blood, be driven to flatter the exhortations. Thus Paulus enjoyed as Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Har- much honour of his Victory as men could lot that governs one, the most unwor- give. Nevertheless, it pleased God to thy of his whole house, yet reigning over take away from him his two remaining all? The untimely death of many Princes Sons, that were not given in Adoption : of which could not humble themselves to which, the one dyed five dayes before the fuch flattery; and the common practice of Triumph, the other three dayes after the Turkiff Emperours to murder all their it. This lofs he bore wifely: and told brethren, without expecting till they of- the people, That he hoped to fee the fend; are too good proofs hereof. Here- Common-wealth flourish in a continuunto may be added, that the heir of the ance of prosperity; since the joy of fame Roger Mortimer, who murdered his Victory was required with his own most traiterously, and barbarously King private calamity, in stead of the pub-

marriage, proclaimed, in time not long | About the fame time, Octavius the Adafter following, Heir apparent to the miral, who had brought Persew out of Sa-Crown of England: which, had he ob- mothrace: and Anicius the Prætor, who tained, then had all the power of Edward had conquered Illyria, and taken King fallen into the race of his mortal enemy, Gentius prisoner; made their several to exercise the same upon the Line of Triumphs. The glory of which magnithat unhappy King. Such examples of the ficent spectacles, together with the coninstability whereto all mortal affairs are fluence of Embassages from all parts; and Subject; as they teach moderation, and Kings, either visiting the Imperial City, admonish the transitory gods of King- or offering to visit her, and do their dudoms, not to authorize by wicked prece- ties in person; were enow to say unto dents, the evil that may fall on their own Rome, Sume Superbiam, Take upon thee the CHAP. VI.

TOY this which we have already fet wings far over his Nest, but the spa-Idown, is feen the beginning and end niard; who fince the time that Ferdinand of the three first Monarchies of the world; expelled the Moors out of Granado, have whereof the Founders and Erectors made many attempts to make themselves thought, that they could never have end- Mafters of all Europe. And it is true, that cd. That of Rome which made the by the treasures of both Indies, and by fourth, was also at this time almost at the many Kingdoms which they posless in the highest. We have left it flourishing in Europe, they are at this day the most the middle of the field; having rooted up, powerful. But as the Turk is now counor cut down, all that kept it from the eyes | terpoifed by the Perfian, fo in flead of fo and admiration of the world. But after many Millions as have been front by the feme continuance, it shall begin to lose English, French, and Netherlands in a dethe beauty it had; the storms of ambition fensive War, and in diversions against shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall the charge of two hundred thousand off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut | three at the most, they may not only be her down.

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Nations, have been the subject of those ancient Histories, which have been preferved, and yet remain among us 5 and withall of so many tragical Poets, as in the perfens of peweiful rinces, and other mighty men have complained against Infidelity, Time, Deftiny, and most of all against the Variable fuccess of worldly things, and Instability of Fortune. To these undertakings, these great Lords of the world have been stirred up, rather by the defire | fuccession and continuance of this boundof Fame, which ploweth up the Air, and foweth in the Wind; than by the affection to that which hath been already faid; of bearing rule, which draweth after it fo much vexation, and fo many cares. And | have alwayes laid before them the actions, that this is true, the good advice of Cinear but not the ends of those great Ones to Fyrrhus proves. And certainly, as Fame bath often been dangerous to the transported with the glory of the one, living, so it is to the dead of no use at all; but they never mind the misery of the because se parate from knowledge. Which, other, till they find the experience in were it otherwise, and the extreme ill bar- themselves. They neglect the advice of gain of buying this lafting discourse, un-God, while they enjoy life, or hope of it; derfroed by them which are diffolved; but the follow they counfel of death, upon they themselves would then rather have his first approach. It is he that puts into wished, to have stoln out of the world man all the wisdom of the world, without without noile, than to be put in mind, that | speaking a word; which God, with all they have purchased the report of their the words of his Law, promises, or threats, actions in the world, by rapine, oppref- doth infuse. Death, which hateth and fion, and cruelty: by giving in fooil the destroyeth man, is believed; God, which innecent and labouring foul to the idle hath made him, and loves him, is alwayes and infolent, and by having emptied the deferred. I have confidered (faith sale-Cities of the world of their ancient Inha- mon) all the works that are under the Sun, bitants , and filled them again with fo and behold, all is vanity and vexation of fimany and fo variable forts of forrows.

had neither greatnes nor continuance) joyn his Son Philip to reftore Navarre; and there hath been no State fearful in the King Francis the first of France, to com-

East, but that of the Turk : nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with pound continued but for two years, or perfinaded to live in peace, but all their Now these great Kings, and conquering swelling and overflowing streams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one feeking to root out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the Tuth and fincere Profession thereof; the one to joyn all Europe to Asia, the other the rest of all Europe to

For the rest, if we seek a reason of the less ambition in mortal men, we may add That the Kings and Princes of the world which preceded them. They are alwayes rit: but who believes it till Death tells it Since the fall of the Roman Empire us? It was Death, which opening the con-(emitting that of the Germanes, which Icience of Charls the fifth, made him enMurderers of the Protestants in Merindol tered, thou only hast cast out of the world and Cabrieres, which till then he neglected. and despised : thou hast drawn together It is therefore death alone that can fud-all the far stretched greatness, all the denly make man to know himself. He pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and tells the proud and infolent, That they covered it all over with these two narrow are but abjects, and humbles them at the words, Hic jacet. instant; makes them cry, complain, and repent; yea, even to hate their forepassed it hath, calls it self, The first part of the Gehappines. He takes the account of the rich, neral History of the World, implying a second and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, and third Volume; which I also intended, which hath interest in nothing, but in the and have hewn out; besides many other gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a discouragements, perswading my silence; Glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, it hath pleased God to take that gloand makes them see therein their deformi- rious Prince out of the world, to whom ty and rottennels; and they acknowledge they were directed, whose unspeakable

whom none could advise, thou hast per- luctum Cithara mea. & Organum meum in swaded; what none have dared, thou hast vocem flentium.

mand that justice should be done upon the done; and whom all the world hath flat-

Lastly, whereas this Book, by the title and never enough lamented loss hath O eloquent, just, and mighty Death! taught me to say with 70b, Versa est in

FIN IS.

TO THE READER.

Annalls, yearly fet down all occurrences not more illustration, nor indeed so much to those coharent. This here following, may ferve as that are acquainted with works of this kind. To an Index to the prefent part of this work, avoid prolixity, I have forborn to insert those pointing unto the several matters, that having years, which I find not signed with some regarfallen out at one time, are far dif-joyned in dable accident, as with the birth or death of the relation. Certainly it is not perfect, neither Some Patriarch; the beginning of Some Kings do I think that any can be. For how sever reign ; some change of Government ; some frattions, and the last year, or years, of one all between the 4. of Jehosaphat, wherein Caforms of the year, which were in use among 12. lines of idle ciphers, numbring forth, 2. 3. Such Jundry Nations, causing the * Summer months, 4. 5. and so still onwards, till I had come to in process of some ages, to fall into the win- the first of Aventinus, and the 17. of Joho.

For example, The walls of Jerusalem were fi- to insert; as likewise otherwhiles, the day, the nished in the 319. year from the building of moneth, upon which Nabonassar's year began

HE use of Chronological Tables | Rome, and in the 314. from Nabonasser. In is needful to all Histories, that like manner it is to be understood, That Jehoreach to any length of time ; and saphat began his reign in the 3774. of the Iumost of all, to those that are most lian Æra, in the 3092. of the World, and in general: since they cannot, like the 99. year of the Temple. This needs not the years of the first Patriarchs may seem to battel fought, or the like. So of the 12, years have been well-neer compleat, yet in the reigns wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over the of the Kings of Juda and Ifrael, we find many Latines, I note only the first; that is, omitting King reckneed also as the foremost of another, petus began, unto the 17. wherein Sylvius The same is most likely to have fallen out in Aventinus succeeded, and wherein schoram many other, though not so precisely recorded. first reigned with Jehosaphac his father. For I Hereto may be added the divers and imperfect thought it vain to have filled up a Page with ter; and so breeding extream confusion in the Saphat. In setting down the Kings, there is reckning of their times. Neither is it a noted over the head of every one, what place small part of trouble, to choose out of so ma- he held in order of succession: as whether he ny, and so utterly disagreeing computations, were the first, second, fifth, seventh, or so forth, as have already gotten authority, what may in rank of those that reigned in his countrey, probably be held for truth. All this, and without notable interruption: Before the name; a great deal more, is to be alledged, in excuse is the first year of his reign; at the end or of fuch errours, as a more intentive and perfect foot of the name (as the space gives leave) Calculator Shall happen to find herein. It may is the whole number of years in which he ferve to free the Book, and likewise the Rea- reigned; in the spaces following underneath, der (if but of mean judgement), from any are those years of his, which were concurrent notorious Anachronicism; which ought to with the beginning of some other King, or with suffice. The book indeed will need it, even in the year of any remarkable accident. Where two that regard; not only from some errours of numbers, or more, are found before one Kines the Press, in the numbring of years, but for name; there it is to be understood, that the some hastie mif-reckonings of mine own, which same year belonged not only to the King then I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that beginning, but unto some one or more of his the Printing of this Tableshall not want care foregoers: as the first year of Jehoram King of ful diligence. The Reader, if he be not of Israel, was the same with the second of his brofended with the rest, shall find reason to be ther Ahaziah, and the 22. of his father Ahab. pleased with this, as tending wholly to his Sowhere two or three names are found in one space, as in the 3077. year of the World, Zimri, The titles over the Columns, have reference | Tibni, and Omri; it is meant, that every one to that which follows under them, as will rea- of them reigned in some part of the same year, dily be conceived. Where two titles, or more, which is reckoned the second of Ela, and the are over the head, as [North of Omri. Particularly, under the reigns numbers underneath proportionably answer, the of the Egyptian Kings, are set down the years higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. of those Dynasties, which it was thought meet

which, how it varied from other years, may be crowned, held a Farliament, brake it up, threm found in the place last above cited.

from Iphitus, who began the Olympiads from year 1558. but the greater part in the year fol-Rome built, from Nabonassar, and the like; lowing, whether we begin with the first of Januas much as was thought convenient hath been ary, or with the 25. of March. The like may faid, where due place was, in the book it felf: be otherwhiles found in this Table, but so, as the fo as it remaineth only to note, that under the difference is never of a whole year. title of Olympiads, is fet down, first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the year greater number, over the years of the World of that Olympiad: as that Cyrus began his was delivered by that honourable, and excellentreign in Persia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the ly learned Joseph Scaliger: being accommo-

Olympiads, of Rome, of Nabonassar, and the multiplication of 19. 28. and 15. that is, other, had not beginning in one moneth, but of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the sun. fome of them in March, some in April, some and the years of an Indiction. Being divided about Midsommer, and some at other times: the by any of these, it leaves the number of the prebetter to express their several beginnings, some Sent year, or if no fraction remain, it shows the painful Chronologers have divided them pro- last year of that Cycle to be current. For examportionably in their several Columns, opposing ple, in the 4498 of this Period, when was part of the one year to part of the other: not fought the great battel of Canna, the trime or (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart golden number was 14. the Cycle of the Sun, with one straight line, as if all had begun and 18. and consequently the Dominical letter F. as ended at one time. But this labour have Ispared may be found by dividing the same number of as more troublesome than useful, since the more the Julian Period 4498. by 19. for the Prime, part would not have apprehended the meaning, by 28. for the Cycle of the Sun. This Julian and fince the learned might well be without it. I eriod, after the present accompt, alwayes exanaparce necessarians of the Maria and Sanda San elder than that of Rome, and 29. than that of a better Character of a year, than any other Nabonassar, yet the reign of some King may Era (as, From the beginning of the World, have begun at such a time of the year as did From the Flood, From Troy taken, or the not sute with this difference. But hereof I take like) which are of more uncertain position. More little regard. The more curious will easily find I shall not need to write, as touching the use or my meaning: the vulgar will not find the dif-ficulty. One familiar example will explain all. much requifite to such as are conversant in Queen Elizabeth began her reign the 17.0f No- works of this kind: it sufficeth if hereby all be vember in the year of our Lord 1558. She was made plain enough to the vulgar.

down Images, and reformed many things in re-Concerning the Ara, or account of years, ligion, all in ber first year, yet not all in that

The Julian Period which I have placed as the dated to the Julian years, now in use among us. Now, for that the years of the world, of the It consisteth of 7980. years, which result from



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Years of the Julian Period, World, Patriarchs, toc.

												-			
	Julian. The World and Adam														
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	813	1. Seth 912										ĺ		-	
	918 236	106	1. Enos 905	Ì			1				1 1		İ		
	1008 326	196	91	1.Cai- nan. 910	children	unto th	the Ba mpleat: hose tha	triarck which i it follow	mberei inferre ed; ma	n they be dout of king alm	gat chi the adi	ldren, di lition of ompleat	ed,or perf the years sum, Ge	l formed a before the	ny thing, ney begat
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	1143 461	331	226	136	66	1.7area - 962							1		
	623	493	388	298	228	163	1. E- noch. 265								
	688	558	453	363	293	328	66	thuseld 969							
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Adam died a- but the end of the year.	930	800	695	605	\$35	470	30 8	243	\$6						
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Seth died about the end of this Jear.	1724 1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168						
	1739		822	732	662	597		370	183	ah. 950					
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Vide lib. 2. c.2. § 2.	2 53 184	30	592 2	90	190	155	12	25	91	63	61	29	1 Cham 161	I. Na-	
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	18	61	823	321	221	186	5 1	56	122	92	92	69	32	30	-
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The last year of highis life.	1996	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	7 118		g	
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ab die a this year.	340 2688 2006	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		13	8	19	
The 16 Dynaftie Egypt, Fid. 12.	2009		451	351	316	286		222	43	199	1. Miz- raim or O Tris		13	ı		1. A- bram
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	392 Julian, World, Flood:	Sem.	Arp	haxad.	Salak	Hebe	r. A	∬yria.	. I	gypt.	7	erah.	Si	cyon.	Ab	ram.
	2739 2053	495		395	360	330	,	35		45	17		Apis,	25	4	5
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denote receives the pro if. Yearh dies in Haran.	2083	525	4	25	3.9	0 36	io	23		75	205		6			75
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Aram enters into Canasa ad defends into Egypt. The first of the 430 Jon of servitude.	208			426	3	91 3	61	76		24		76	7			
Abram returns int Canaan.	2089	2		427	3	92 3	62	77		25	1 2	7	8			
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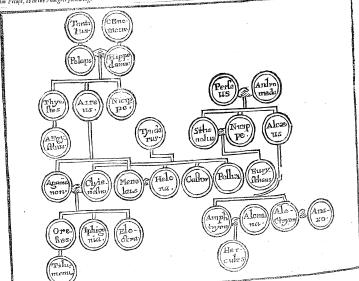
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	2781 2099 16	541	406	376		6 . Ari- us, 30	91	22		
pleat, 101. current.	25	5 S I	416	386	101	11	101	32	! Isaac 180	_
The last year of Salah.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18	
	2811 2129 46	571		456		7 1. Ara- lius,40	121	52	21	_
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	1.Æ. gir' 54	22	_
Sarai the wife of Abraham died this year.	2827 214 5 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37	
I/aac took Rebecca to wife, when he was 40. years old compleat.	66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41	
The last year of Sem.	3840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	120	29	50	
	Julian World promije.	Heber	Abra- bam.	- Isaac	, 7 acob.	Assy.	Egypt.		Ar- gives.	
	28+6 2164 8	441	156	56		36	156	1,Thuri- machus 45	1	
-	2169	446	161	61	1.7 acol	8 1 Bale- 1 us. 30	161	6	t. Ina- chus,50	
Abraham died this year.	2.83 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15	
Heber died this year.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19	_
The 17. Dynastie, called of the Shepheards, begin ning this year, lasted 103 years.				91	3 I	9 1. Arma- mi bres, 38	191	36	3 I	
	1209 1209			10	1 41	11	201 11	1 1Leucip- pus. 53	41	-
	2901 221 9 13	6		111	1 51	21	211	-11	seus, 60	1
The Floud of Ogjges, a thou fand and twenty year before the Olympiads.	2237 15	Ì		125	9 6	9 Prifcus 35	229	29	19	1
See lib. 1. c. 7. §. 2.	2942 3260 17			15	2 92	24	25 ² 62	52	42	Jef
	2944			15	54 94	1 26	254 64 3. 6 +	Moffa- pius,47	7	1
See L.2. c.2. §.6.	2952 2270 18			16	10:		t. Typhon, O	af 9	52	1
	2954 2272 18	+		16	104	1.Bale 1.8,52		11	54	1

	Julian. World.! tromije		Isas.	7 асьь.	Affyria.		Sicyon.	Argives.	
Joseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194		169	109		1.0745, 79,	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196		171	111	8	3 8 :	18	3 1. Ațis. 35	20
The last year of Isaac.	29 7 0 2288 205		180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Ifracl into Egypt.	2980 2298 215			130	27	22 160	15	20	39
The eighteenth Dynastie in Egypt, which Taste. 3 years.	2984 2302 219			134	ĝ i	26 I	41	24	43
	299 1 2309 226			141	58	33	10 I.Pera tus,40		50
	2996 2314 231			146	43	38	6	I. Argus.	55
Jacob dies in Egypt.	2997 231 5 232			147	44	39	7	2	
	Julian. World. promise		A∬yria,	Eg	ypt.	Sicyon	. Ar	gives,	
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Altades. 32		48 23	16		11	
	3037 2355 272	96	32		9	1 I I Plem næus, 4		.2	
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1 Mamitus,3		80 55	2	4	3	
The last year of Toseph.	305 I 2369 286	110	14		93 68	15		56	
	3066 2384 301		29.		108	30	1.Pi	rasus, or sus, \$4	
	3068 23 8 6 303		14 1, Mancalen 3		10 35	32		3	
	3074 2392 309		7	T.So Grea	foffris she t. 33			9	
	3085 2403 320		18		12	1.Orth polis.6	3	20	
	3098 3416 333		15 1. Spherus, e Iphereus, 2		2 5 11 5	14		33	
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	3120 2438 355	15	Ī	3	14	36	1. Phorbas,35	
	3121 2439 356	6	T	4	8 1 Orus, 2.07 Bufi- ris, 38.138.		2	Athe- nians.
	3148 2406 38	33	ı.	.Sparetus,40	28 165	13 1 Mara- thins,30	29	
	3151 2469 386	36	T	4	31	4	32	1 . Ce- crops, 50
Moles vilits his brethren the Ilraelites, kils an yptian,and flies into Midian.	3155 2473 39	40	1	8	35 172	8	7 1.Tripas, 46	5
	3 I 59 2477 3 S	9 7 44		12	1. Thermutis, 0 Acencheres, Qu	1 2	5	9
	3171	I	T	24	1.Rathoris, or A shoris 9 188.	_	17	21
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	320		36	14	6 218	4	8 1.Crotopus,	I Cra-
	3 20	04	89	17	1. Cherres, 221	, 15 7	7 4	4
	32	211	96	24	8 228	14	4 11	rion.12
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	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26		Eillho mius, 50	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	15 Ramefics 68	27	3	2 2	roy.
	3228 2 5 46	113	19 1. Amyntas, 4	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229	114	.2	6 246	32	8		i . Dard. us, 6
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250	36	.Danaus, 50	11	5
The last year of Moses.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 25%	38	3	13	7
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he Ifraelites enter the Landof Promise.	3236 2554 41	1 1 7 of ua 18	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1.Co- rax 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	2 1 Otho- niel,40	27	31	2	3 2	32	26
	3273 2591 78	20	1.Belochus the fecond. 25		21	41	t Pan- dion 40	
	3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300	1.Epo- peus35	11 1. Lynceus, 4	ı i i	55
	3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1. Menophis 40 309	10	10	20	64
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	3313 2631 118	20	16	22	31	31	I Eritt	
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	3324 2642 129	31	27	33 34 I	7	12 1. Abbas, 2.	112	32
	3328 2646 13		1. Lamprides.		11	Š	16	36

The 19.Dynastie : of the Larthes, 194. years, See lib. 2. c. 26. \$. 4.	2650	39		holis, 5	15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	23	16	27	1.7
Tantalus in Phrygia.	3347. 2665	54	20	16 16	30	13 1.Præ- tus, 17	35	9
	3358 2676 163	ত 5	21	27 27	19 1.Sicyon, 45	12	46	10
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1.Sefares, 20	29 2 9	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6		7 1 - Cecrops, the feemal 40	2.5
Pelops in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.	13564	71	. 5	33	71	14 (Acri- fius, 3		2
1011 and Xuthus the fons of Helien. See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 6.	3374	1 Gebore	1)	43 43	17	.11	12	3
	3380 2698	7	1. Lampare	d9 0 49	23	17	18	1
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After the death of Aerifius, the Kingdom of the Agi as divided into many finall parts, and overgrown by that Is tena whereaf for e Kings deficiated from Perfent, oth		21	15	8	37	31	32	1



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	3399 2717 204	26	20	68	42		3.7	1. Ilus, 55
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	L. Eary. Theus.	÷o	4
	340; 2721 208	30	2.1		10 1. Poly bus,40		3 Pandic be 225	\$
	3410 2728 215	37	2 5 1. Pannias, 45	24 7 9	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1 Gide- on. 40	5	28 83	12	13	13	1.5
tion chafed out of his Kingdom, which is recovered by Beens, in few years after the omiffion of this inter- and rechange the years in the forty eight of Ægeus, umbring them spart by themfetves , heeds anjmerable	2745 232	14	28	41 96	25	26	25	29
ce in the times of the Athenians following, as Muelthe ops, and the refs.	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	ρ ι Æ30- 11, 40	34
ipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. [na- chus, 41	42	12	45
	3447 276 5 2 5 2	34	33	61 116	5	us and Thyestes	. 16	49
	3453 27 7 1 258	40	44	19 1. Amenophis, 122 40	1 1	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	1.Abi- melech	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1. Laomedon. 36
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1.Sofarmus,19	3	13	9	24	2
		7 1.Tbo ¹ las, 23	3	S 126	15	11	2 6	4
	3474 2762 379	18	27 1.Mitrens,27	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2792 285	8 1.7sir	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. The feus, 30	27
	348 5 2803 290	6	12	33	1.Phe- ftus, 8	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	1 . Priamus.
	3493 2811 298	14	20	20 L. Annementi	23 1. Adra flus, 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5	2.4 1. Poly phides 31	51	18	8
	3501 281 <i>9</i> 306	22	28 1. Tentanes,	<i>9</i> 170	5	55	2 Ž	12

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3512 2830		5	1.5	2			16	1 Ag4- memnon 18	3	23
3515	I I	Elon	15	2	3 84	1	9	4	6	26
3519 2837			19	2. Thu	cris,	7,	23	8	10	30
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an 3526 b. 2844	5	2	26	1. D	o ynastie	,	30	15	17	37
3528	5	4	28		3	jr	. Pelaj		19	39
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	World. Exod.		Ijrael.		A∬y. ria	Egy/t.		Myse- na.		The kingdom o the Latines.
The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zeucippus.	3579 2 897 384	50	27	7	7	54	32	44	[4 Aphi as 1	6
	3580 1898 385	51	28		8	55			15 1. Frm@- tes, 8.	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36		16	63		5 3	16 Melm ibus,37.	15
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	3603 2921 408	74	11	, ,	3 I. 1 Derci lus,40	78		68	16	1.Sylvius A
	3606 2924 411	77	14		4	81		I Tifame- nus, 2	19	4
fiedeficent of the Heraclida, into Peloponnefus,gave end to the Kaedom of Mycene,and beginning to the Kingdom of Spar- gleinth;and Meffene, the Kingt whereof I forbear to infer publi Table.	3609 2927 414	80	17		7	84			22	7
	3625 2943 430	96	33		23	100			17 1. Co drus 2	
	Fulian World Exod.	Ų.	From Troy taken.	Ifra	iel.	Assy-	Egypt,	Athens	Latins	-
	3633 2951 43	3	104	1. Da	vid. 40	3 1	108	9	31	
	3634 2951 439		105	2		32	109	10	1. Syl. Latinus	
	3643 29 61 44	8	114	1	1	32 Eupales 38.	118	19	19	
The Medontide succeed unto the Athenian Kings, fittishe death of Codrus. Seelib.2. c-17. \$.10.	2904	1	117		4	4	121	1 . Me don, 20	13	
	3006 2984 471		137	3	4	2.1	141	1. Aga Ifus, 30	33	
Vaphres reigneth in Egypt, See L.2.0, 26. §. 5.	3673 2991 47	Temple 1	144	1.Sale	mon,40	31	148	8	40	
Salomon began to build the Temple 408 . years com- plat after the deliverance out of Egypt.	48	3	147		1 - 6-	34	151	LI	43	13,50
	2999	6	152		9	33 1. Leost- benes, 45	156	16	48	
	30 0 2	9	155	1	2	4	159	19	1.Syl. Alba.	
	3010	17	163	: : : 	0	12	1.Sefac 26 167	27	9	
	3702	27	173	3	0	22	177	3. Archip	19	

	fulian. World.	emple	From \ Troy taken.	Ifrat	ı.	A∬yria	Egypt.	Athens	Latines	
	3704	29	175	32		24	13	3	21	
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Jehosaphat dies, and Jehosam reigns alone.	3798 3116 123 38 0 2	269	25	8	23	31	6	Agrip.	
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Zacharia began at the very end of the year. L.2, c.23, §. 1.	3925 3143 250	396	38	Zachariah six	34	2	9	8	

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The beginning of the first Messenian War. Where f see L. 2. c. 27. §. 4. It lasted 20 years.	3971 3280 29	10	3.1	9	3	6	9	42	10	10	16
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